

THE BULLY IN THE PULPIT
DONALD TRUMP'S LEADERSHIP OF PUBLIC OPINION

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Shortly before his inauguration, Donald Trump warned congressional Republicans that if the party faltered, he was ready to use the power of the presidency — and Twitter — to usher his legislation to passage. “The Congress can’t get cold feet because the people will not let that happen,”¹ he declared. The implication was that he could mobilize opinion behind his policies and leverage that opinion to move Congress.

Trump’s orientation to governing is standard for modern presidents.² Nevertheless, presidents almost always fail to succeed in leading the public.³ Has Trump been an exception? Have his undoubted skills at attracting attention and labeling opponents and thus dominating the media and political discourse⁴ allowed him to expand his base to win majority support for his policies, support he could then leverage to move Congress to back them?

In this paper, I examine three issues that dominated the Trump legislative agenda in his first two years in office: health care, taxes, and immigration. My focus is on the president’s success in obtaining the public’s backing for his policies. In future papers I will disaggregate the public and explore the responses of various party groups to his requests for support.

The three issues provide a best test case of the potential for opinion leadership. The health care policy the president sought to replace, the Affordable Care Act, had been unpopular since Congress passed it in 2010. Giving people a tax cut is hardly a politician’s nightmare. Finally, there is a broad consensus on the importance of securing our borders and obeying immigration laws. If the president, with all finely honed public relations skills, could not move the public to support his policies in these three areas, his failure will provide yet further evidence that persuading the public is not at the core of presidential leadership.

Theorizing about Leadership of the Public

All presidents start with a core of supporters, centered among those who share his party affiliation. Yet this base is typically too small to represent a majority of the public. Thus, the question is whether the president can persuade those outside his base to change their minds and support his initiatives.

I have argued elsewhere⁵ that a president’s potential for obtaining public support depends primarily on the context in which he or she is governing. Answers to four critical questions about the president’s strategic position regarding public opinion capture the context.

- Does the president have an electoral mandate from the voters for his policies?
- Does the public support the general direction of the president’s policies?
- How polarized is public opinion?
- How malleable is public opinion?

I am answering these questions for the Trump presidency in detail in a separate paper⁶ and only have space for a brief summary here. It is clear that Donald Trump began his tenure from a relatively weak position with the public. First, he lacked a mandate.⁷ Second, the public had not turned in a conservative direction. Moreover, the public has a tendency to move in opposition to the ideology of the party in power. In their sweeping “macro” view of public opinion, Robert Erikson, Michael MacKuen, and James Stimson show that opinion always

moves contrary to the president's position. They argue that a moderate public always gets too much liberalism from Democrats and too much conservatism from Republicans. Because public officials have policy beliefs as well as an interest in reelection, they are not likely to calibrate their policy stances exactly to match those of the public. Therefore, opinion movement is typically contrary to the ideological persuasion of presidents. Liberal presidents produce movement in the conservative direction and conservatives generate public support for more liberal policies.⁸

The public continuously adjusts its views of current policy in the direction of a long run equilibrium path as it compares its preferences for ideal policy with its views of current policy.⁹ Thus, the conservative policy period of the 1950s produced a liberal mood that resulted in the liberal policy changes of the mid-1960s. These policies, in turn, helped elect conservative Richard Nixon. In the late 1970s, Jimmy Carter's liberal policies paved the way for Ronald Reagan's conservative tenure, which in turn laid the foundation for Bill Clinton's more liberal stances. Negative reaction to the conservatism of George W. Bush encouraged the election of the more liberal Barack Obama. Stuart Soroka and Christopher Wlezien have reached similar conclusions with their thermostatic model of public opinion.¹⁰

One of the most prominent characteristics of contemporary politics is the very high level of polarization of public opinion, especially partisan opinion. The partisan divide over policy and the intense animosity party identifiers feel toward the other party and its members have only grown under Trump. This polarization triggers motivated reasoning that strongly affect perceptions and thinking about politics and bias individuals against opinion change.

Finally, there are many long-term impediments to leading the public that bedevil all presidents. These include:

- the difficulty of obtaining and maintaining the public's attention
- the dependence on the media to reach the public
- the distrust of the White House created by partisan media
- the need to overcome the public's policy and partisan predispositions (which are reinforced by partisan media)
- the public's misinformation and resistance to correction
- the public's aversion to loss and thus wariness of policy change

These constraints on the malleability of opinion have not disappeared during the Trump presidency, despite the president's efforts to reach the public and bypass and delegitimize the media. His Twitter posts certainly make the news, but they go mostly to those inclined to agree with him. Similarly, distrust of the media is centered among the same people.

Health Care

The Affordable Care Act (ACA), otherwise known as Obamacare, was a signature achievement of Barack Obama and the Democratic-controlled Congress of 2009-2010. In the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump identified repealing and replacing the ACA as a top priority and promised to act on it immediately after taking office. Republican leaders put repeal

of the ACA atop their legislative agenda and employed the budgetary reconciliation process to avoid a Democratic filibuster in the Senate.

From one perspective, repealing and replacing the ACA should not have been a difficult task. It was unpopular when it passed and remained so until Trump took office.¹¹ If presidents can move public opinion in their direction, Trump was well positioned to obtain the public's support for the alternatives he championed.

On the other hand, we also know that the public has an aversion to loss. Research in psychology has found that people have a broad predisposition to avoid loss and place more emphasis on avoiding potential losses than on obtaining potential gains.¹² In their decision making, they place more weight on information that has negative, as opposed to positive, implications for their interests. Similarly, when individuals form impressions of situations or other people, they weigh negative information more heavily than positive. Impressions formed on the basis of negative information, moreover, tend to be more lasting and more resistant to change.¹³

Risk and loss aversion and distrust of government make people wary of policy initiatives, especially when they are complex and their consequences are uncertain. Since uncertainty accompanies virtually every proposal for a major shift in public policy, it is not surprising that people are naturally inclined against change.¹⁴ Further encouraging this predisposition is the media's focus on political conflict and strategy, which elevates the prominence of political wheeling and dealing in individuals' evaluations of political leaders and policy proposals. The resulting increase in public cynicism highlights the risk of altering the status quo.

The predisposition for loss aversion is an obstacle for presidential leadership of the public. Most presidents want to leave some substantial change at the core of their legacies. Yet those proposing new directions in policy—and Barack Obama was all about change—encounter a more formidable task than do advocates of the status quo. Those opposing change have a more modest task of emphasizing the negative to increase the public's uncertainty and anxiety to avoid risk.¹⁵

Michael Cobb and James Kuklinski found in an experimental study of opinion change on NAFTA and health care that arguments against both worked especially well. They found people to be both risk- and loss-averse, and arguments against change, which accentuate the unpleasant consequences of a proposed policy, easily resonated with the average person. In addition, they suggest that fear and anger, which negative arguments presumably evoke, are among the strongest emotions and serve as readily available shortcuts for decision making when people evaluate an impending policy initiative.¹⁶ Kevin Arceneaux found a similar bias toward loss aversion.¹⁷

Affordable Care Act

If our theorizing about the prospects for presidential leadership of the public is correct, we should expect to see the public resist the Republican's initiative. That is exactly what happened. In the face of the president's criticism of the act, first pluralities and then majorities responded that they had favorable views of the ACA (Table 1). In other words, once Trump tried to repeal the law, it became more popular than it had ever been.

Insert Table 1 here

The data in Table 1 come from the Kaiser Family Foundation's Health Tracking Poll. The Gallup Poll had similar findings (Table 2). In November 2016, it found that 42 percent approved the ACA while 53 percent disapproved. By early April of the next year, opinion had changed to 55 percent approval and only 41 percent disapproving.¹⁸ This change occurred among all party groups, including Republicans.

Insert Table 2 here

The data in Table 3, from the Pew Research Center, show just how swift the opinion turnaround was. A majority of the public disapproved of the ACA just before the 2016 presidential election. By the following February, a majority approved it, approval that continued through the end of the year.

Insert Table 3 here

Republican Health Care Proposals

Nevertheless, the White House and congressional Republicans persisted in attempting to repeal and replace the ACA. Congressional leaders proposed a number of alternatives, and the president supported all of them. The House passed the American Health Care Act (ACHA) on May 4, 2017. The public's reaction was overwhelmingly negative (Table 4), both during its consideration by the House and after it passed. At no point did even a third of the public, much less a plurality, support the bill. Most polls showed majorities in opposition. Indeed, the ACHA could not garner majority support in a single state.¹⁹

Insert Table 4 here

After the House passed the ACHA, the legislative focus moved to the Senate. The Republican proposals in the upper chamber were no more popular than were proposals in the House. They had very little support and typically met with opposition from a majority of the public (Table 5).

Insert Table 5 here

Approval of Trump Handling Health Care

Presidents want not only support for their policies but also approval of their performance. Did Donald Trump win the public's approval of his handling of health care? The answer is clear. In the Quinnipiac University survey of registered voters, at least 60 percent disapproved of the way the president was handling the issue of health care (Table 6). Similarly, in its June 7-11 and November 2-8, 2017 polls, Gallup found that 67 and 64 percent of the public, respectively, disapproved of how Trump was handling health care policy.²⁰ The public did not like the president's performance any more than it cared for the policies he backed.

Insert Table 6 here

Government Responsibility for Health Care

At the heart of the Republican proposals for health care insurance was limiting the numbers covered by government programs by restricting Medicaid, cutting insurance subsidies, or abolishing the mandate for individuals to have health insurance. Trump wanted to persuade the public to support such moves. I have argued that he was likely to fail (other than on the

unpopular individual mandate) because the public's preference for increased government action tends to move in opposition to the ideology of the party in power.

That is exactly what happened. Data from both Gallup (Table 7) show that over the past few years there has been a gradual increase in the view that government has responsibility to ensure health care coverage for everyone. Those holding this belief increased to 56 percent in 2017.

Insert Table 7

The Pew Research Center found a more dramatic increase in the view that government has responsibility for health care, rising 9 percentage points between 2016 and 2017 (Table 8). The view that the government has a responsibility to ensure health coverage increased across many groups over 2016, but the rise was particularly striking among lower- and middle-income Republicans, a key Trump constituency and a group that benefitted substantially from the Affordable Care Act. In early 2017, 52 percent of Republicans with family incomes below \$30,000 said the federal government had a responsibility to ensure health coverage for all, up from just 31 percent in 2016. There was also a 20 percentage-point increase among Republicans with incomes of \$30,000-\$74,999 (from 14 percent to 34 percent).

Insert Table 8

Tax Cuts

Tax cuts are typically not difficult sells. People quite naturally prefer having more money in their pockets. Moreover, many people feel that they pay more than their fair share of taxes and that their taxes are too high.²¹ The president tried to capitalize on the public's inclinations and tweeted and spoke frequently about the benefits of cutting taxes for individuals and businesses.

Did the public respond to the president's arguments? It did not. The data in Table 9 show that at no time did the Republican tax proposals obtain the support of a majority—or even a plurality—of the public. Moreover, as Congress began focusing on tax legislation in earnest following the 2017 August recess and as the president held tax reform rallies around the country, support for the bills did not increase. There was a short period in January through March 2018, after the tax cut bill passed, when support it ticked up. Nevertheless, opponents still outnumbered supporters and support dropped to low levels as spring set in.

Insert Table 9 here

Table 10 provides data on registered voters and tells a similar story. Indeed, majorities of registered voters typically opposed the tax cuts, and there was always a substantial gap between the percentages of supporters and opponents. The president never obtained even 40 percent approval of his policy. Thus, the president could take no solace in support from those who were most likely to vote in the 2018 midterm elections.

Insert Table 10 here

Why did the public not support tax cuts? It is clear that most people did not accept the president's narrative. People thought the tax cuts would benefit the wealthy and large corporations. Table 11 shows the responses of the public regarding the individuals it expected to

benefit.²² There was little change in opinion throughout Congress's consideration of the bill. Most people opposed such reductions,²³ because they felt the wealthy and large businesses were already not paying their fair share of taxes. Indeed, the public wanted to *increase* taxes on them.²⁴ People typically did not expect the tax bill to reduce their taxes, and many expected their taxes to *increase* rather than decrease.²⁵

Insert Table 11 here

The president argued that tax cuts to businesses, especially, would stimulate the economy and create jobs. The public was skeptical.²⁶ At the end of October 2017, CBS News found that 57 percent of the public thought that corporations would use tax reductions to increase dividends for shareholders rather than to expand hiring. Although the White House and congressional Republican argued vigorously that businesses would use their tax savings to expand employment, the percentage of the public expecting corporations instead to spend their augmented revenue on dividends rose to 64 percent in early December, shortly before the tax bill became law.²⁷

America First Policies, a pro-Trump nonprofit group, commissioned a poll over February 16-20, 2018. The poll asked: "When talking about the bonuses that companies like AT&T, Wells Fargo and Visa have recently given their employees due to tax reform, Nancy Pelosi said, 'In terms of the bonus that corporate America received versus the crumbs that they are giving workers to kind of put the schmooze on is so pathetic.' Do you agree or disagree with Nancy Pelosi's statement?" We can assume that the commissioners were expecting a rejection of the Democratic leader's comments. Instead, the poll found that 49 percent of respondents totally agreed with her statement, while 43 percent disagreed.

The administration also claimed that the tax cuts would stimulate the economy, producing so much tax revenue that they would actually shrink yearly deficits.²⁸ Once again, the public was not buying the argument. Polls repeatedly found that people expected the tax cuts to increase the size of annual deficits rather than pay for themselves.²⁹

It is not surprising, then, that the public not only failed to support the Republican tax bills, but they also found the president wanting on tax policy (Table 12). Despite the president's efforts to portray himself as giving Americans a great Christmas present in the form of reduced taxes and to provide a vigorous stimulus to the economy, majorities or large pluralities of the public have consistently disapproved of his handling of taxes throughout Congress's consideration of tax cuts in 2017. Once Congress passed the tax cuts in December, approval of the president's handling of taxes ticked up, but only one poll (a Fox News poll of registered voters in March 2018) has ever found a plurality approving. No poll has ever found majority approval.

Insert Table 12 here

Immigration

Immigration was perhaps the defining issue of Donald Trump's campaign. It was the center of his June 2015 announcement speech and positions on it were the most prominent on his campaign website. He campaigned for president in 2015 and 2016 on a platform of blocking undocumented immigrants from entering the country and deporting those already living in the

U.S. Once president, Trump made tough border security and strict enforcement of U.S. immigration laws a focal point of his presidency and of his campaigning for Republicans in the 2018 midterm elections.

Debate over immigrants, legal and illegal, came to the fore of the national discourse at the start of Trump's campaign and intensified as he has moved to deliver on his pledges as president. No policy energized the president as much as immigration, speaking and tweeting frequently about his plans and strongly criticizing those who opposed them. Few Americans could be unaware of the thrust of Trump's views. The question is whether the public followed the president's lead.

Illegal Immigration: The Wall

The iconic image of the Trump presidency is a wall along the border with Mexico. Building the wall was central to Trump's promises to his base and to his identity as a candidate. The president promised to build it—and to make Mexico pay for it—throughout his campaign, and crowds greeted him chanting, “Build that wall! Build that wall!” Once in office, he wasted no time in issuing an executive order on building the wall. On January 25, 2017, he declared that it was his policy to “secure the southern border of the United States through the immediate construction of a physical wall on the southern border, monitored and supported by adequate personnel so as to prevent illegal immigration, drug and human trafficking, and acts of terrorism.” Trump also directed the Department of Homeland Security to “immediately construct, operate, control, or establish contracts to construct, operate, or control facilities to detain aliens at or near the land border with Mexico.”

From one perspective, building a wall should not have been a tough sell to the public. In a review days before the 2016 election, the Gallup Poll reported, “Most Americans agree that keeping people from entering the country illegally is a good thing. As a rule, if it is illegal, Americans want it stopped.” Gallup has found that 77 percent of Americans say that “controlling U.S. borders to halt the flow of illegal immigrants into the U.S.” is extremely or very important. Moreover, 83 percent favor “tightening security at U.S. borders.”³⁰

Despite broad backing for the principle of controlling our borders, the president has not been able to convince the American people to support his signature policy of building a wall. The data in Table 13 show that the public has consistently disagreed with the president. No matter how pollsters worded the question, clear majorities opposed the wall. Typically, less than 40 percent of the people have supported it. Thus, despite widespread agreement on the objective of stopping illegal entry into the U.S., the president has not been able to obtain the public's support for his policy to operationalize that objective.

Insert Table 13 here

Table 14 shows the results of repeatedly asking the same question to a national sample of registered voters. The results are just as lopsided against the president as are those in the previous table. Equally important, in neither table do the results indicate Trump's efforts at persuasion have increased support for building the wall over his presidency.

Insert Table 14 here

Illegal Immigration: Separating Children from Their Parents

On April 6, 2018, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced a “zero-tolerance” policy in which the federal government would prosecute all immigrants who illegally cross the border, including those with young children. When the Border Patrol apprehends families or individuals, they go into Department of Homeland Security (DHS) custody. DHS officials referred any adult believed to have committed any crime, including illegal entry, to the Justice Department for prosecution. A conviction would trigger deportation proceedings. The policy includes those seeking asylum but arriving illegally.

Illegal entry is a misdemeanor for first-time offenders and a conviction is grounds for deportation. Under the zero tolerance policy, the DHS could deport people for misdemeanors more easily, because the government would no longer prioritize the removal of dangerous criminals, gang members, or national-security threats. While parents were held in detention, the children were placed in immigrant shelters. The DHS then tried to place them with relatives or sponsors. Parents could be deported without their children, against their will. Between May 5 and June 9, more than 2,342 children were taken from their parents.

The president argued that he had no choice but to separate the immigrants’ children from them and blamed existing law—and the Democrats—for the separation. Trump also claimed that the parents illegally crossing the U.S.-Mexico border with their children “Could be murderers and thieves and so much else” and warned they could increase gang crime and usher in cultural changes. Other administration officials maintained that the separation of children from their parents would deter future immigrants and that the policy would serve as a bargaining tool for negotiating with congressional Democrats over immigration policy.

The president’s claims about his lack of discretion—and the culpability of the Democrats—were inaccurate. No law or court order required that families be separated at the border. A 1997 federal consent decree, known as the “Flores settlement,” requires the government to release all children apprehended crossing the border within 20 days. No part of the decree requires that families be *separated* after 20 days. Courts have ruled that the government must release children from detention facilities within 20 days under the Flores consent decree, but none of these legal developments prevents the government from releasing parents along with children.

In 2008, Congress passed a meant to curb human trafficking called the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act (TVPRA). This law covers children of all nationalities except Canadians and Mexicans and specifies that children who are apprehended trying to enter the United States must be released rather than detained and are exempt from prompt return to their home countries. The law passed unanimously in both chambers of Congress and was signed by Republican president George W. Bush. No part of the TVPRA requires family separations.

Both the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations chose to release parents who arrived with children, pending judicial proceedings. The Trump administration followed the same policy during its first 15 months. The legal landscape did not change in the 15 months preceding the zero tolerance policy. What changed was the administration’s handling of detainees.

The president's policy was roundly condemned. Critics included all four living former First Ladies; the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Southern Baptist Convention; the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; the entire Republican Senate conference and many Republican House members, including Speaker Paul Ryan; and the entire Democratic membership of Congress.

Despite the president's many public statements and vigorous use of social media, average citizens were no more pleased than the critics. Two-thirds of the public found the policy of separating children from parents detained after entering the U.S. to be unacceptable.³¹

On June 20, the president signed an executive order ending his policy of separating children from parents apprehended for illegally crossing the Mexican border. The zero-tolerance policy remained in place, but the White House envisioned a system in which families would be housed together in detention centers. It was also asking the courts to modify the Flores settlement and allow the detention of children for longer than 20 days. Soon it was clear that there was a lack of facilities to house families, so border security personnel stopped handing over immigrant families for prosecution.

Legal Immigration: Travel Bans

The president was concerned about legal as well as illegal immigration. On January 27, 2017, a week after his inauguration and two days after he ordered the building of a wall, Trump signed an executive order banning entry for 90 days by citizens from seven majority Muslim countries—Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen. He also suspended all refugees from entering the United States for 120 days. At the same time, he ordered the Departments of State, Defense, and Homeland Security to review the vetting procedures for all immigration and refugee admissions. When refugee admissions would resume, it called for the State Department to prioritize religious minorities like Christians in the Middle East and indefinitely ban all Syrian refugees.

The president's policy set off a fury of protests and created chaos in airports across the country. A number of judges found his order violated constitutional guarantees against religious discrimination.

On March 6, the president issued a new executive order that excluded Iraq from the list of Muslim-majority countries whose citizens he had temporarily blocked in the first order. The ban, which was set to take effect on March 16, barred foreign nationals from Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen from entering the United States for 90 days. It excised the permanent ban on Syrian refugees but maintained a 120-day ban on all refugees, and it exempted legal permanent residents and anyone who already had a valid visa.

Trump referred to the second ban as a “watered-down version of the first one,” but a number of federal courts found it unconstitutional anyway. The president complained of “unprecedented judicial overreach,” and in June, the Supreme Court allowed a limited travel ban to go into effect while scheduling a full hearing for the fall. The Court ruled that the 90-day ban on citizens from Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, and the 120-day ban on all refugees could begin, except for those who could prove a “bona fide” relationship to a person or

entity in the U.S. The ban went into effect on June 29. In response to a lawsuit filed by the state of Hawaii, the Supreme Court on July 19 expanded the definition of bone fide relationships to include grandparents and grandchildren, aunts and uncles, and cousins. In September, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that refugees with a formal assurance from a resettlement organization in the U.S. counted as a bona fide relationship, but on September 12, the Supreme Court overruled the court and allowed the stricter ban on refugees to remain in place.

The second ban expired on September 24, and the Supreme Court dismissed the case it was set to hear later in the fall because it no longer represented a case or controversy. The refugee ban remained in place until its October 24 expiration date.

On September 24, the administration issued a presidential proclamation barring travel indefinitely from seven countries that it determined lacked sufficient systems for sharing information about potential immigrants. These nations included Iran, Syria, Somalia, Yemen, and Libya from the original list plus Chad, North Korea, and Venezuela (targeting its leaders and their family members). These new conditions-based restrictions meant the administration could add or remove countries, depending on whether they complied with the new U.S. standards. (Chad was later removed from the list.) In addition, the order allowed case-by-case waivers for individuals, and the rules varied by country. These provisions were meant to inoculate the administration from legal challenges. The Supreme Court allowed the ban to take effect temporarily and formally upheld it on June 26, 2018.

Trump couched his travel bans in terms of keeping terrorists out of the country. Protecting the nation from terrorism is a consensual policy, so one might expect that the public would be inclined to support the president. However, the figures in Table 15 show that the travel bans were never popular with the American public. None obtained majority support. Within a week of the first ban, majorities or clear pluralities always opposed them. Moreover, support for the bans did not increase over time. Indeed, it typically decreased after the first few days.

Insert Table 15 here

Even wording questions specifically to mention suspending immigration from “terror prone” regions, a core argument of the Trump administration, did not win the president majority support (Table 16). Moreover, rather than increasing its support for the president’s policy, the public moved against it over time.

Insert Table 16 here

Why was public opposition to the travel bans so strong, and why did it increase some after the president announced the first ban? One reason may be that opponents succeeded in framing the ban as inconsistent with American values,³² especially the nation’s egalitarian principles and commitment to religious liberty. Most importantly, they argued that the ban it represented discrimination against Muslims. There is some evidence that a majority of people agreed.³³ Fifty-seven percent of the public viewed the ban as contrary to the nation’s founding principles.³⁴ In addition, a plurality of people felt the initial ban did more to harm values than to protect Americans.³⁵

Researchers surveyed Americans right before the executive order, and then they surveyed *the same* people just after the order. Their results mirror the national polls. In January 2017, 44 percent of respondents opposed the ban, but just a couple weeks later, 51 percent of the same respondents opposed the ban. Interestingly, the more people identified strongly as American, the more they came to oppose the travel ban.³⁶

A second major provision of Trump's executive orders was to prohibit temporarily refugees from entering the U.S. In theory, the public supports helping those in need. In February 2017, the Pew Research Center found that 56 percent of the public agreed that the U.S. had a responsibility to accept refugees into the country.³⁷ In the face of a specific crisis, views often turn less welcoming. The only time Gallup has ever found majority support for allowing in refugees was in 1999, when the question specified "hundreds" (rather than thousands) of Albanian refugees from Kosovo.³⁸

In 1939, only 9 percent of the public was willing to increase the number of European refugees admitted to the United States.³⁹ About one-fourth of the public supported accepting 10,000 refugee children from Germany.⁴⁰ In 1946, a similar percentage favored a plan to require each nation to take in a given number of Jewish and other European refugees.⁴¹ The next year, a majority opposed taking in displaced Europeans.⁴² In May 1953, 47 percent approved President Eisenhower's request to admit 24,000 refugees from communist countries, but 48 percent opposed.⁴³ In July, only 36 percent supported the president's later request to allow 200,000 such refugees to enter the U.S.⁴⁴ Similarly, in 1957 and 1958, the public opposed accepting Hungarian refugees from the 1956 uprising against the communist government.⁴⁵

In 1975, only 37 percent of the public favored allowing 130,000 Vietnam refugees to come to the United States.⁴⁶ Four years later, only modest percentages favored President Carter's increase in the number of Indo-Chinese asylum seekers, sometimes known as "boat people," admitted to the country.⁴⁷ The public was no more willing to allow Cuban refugees to settle in the United States.⁴⁸ In 1984, amid growing prosperity, the public still supported lowering the number of refugees and immigrants admitted to the United States.⁴⁹ Nine years later, the public overwhelmingly opposed granting political asylum to refugees from Haiti.⁵⁰ In 2014, as thousands of unaccompanied Central American children illegally entered the U.S. to avoid violence in their countries, most Americans favored making it easier to *deport* them.⁵¹

In sum, for decades the public has opposed opening the nation's doors to refugees under a wide range of conditions and from a variety of geographic locations and ethnic and religious backgrounds. President Trump's limits on refugees were consistent with decades of public opinion. The president could not make the sale, however. The data in Table 17 show that the public opposed his bans on refugees. Moreover, opposition grew as after the first week of the first ban.

Insert Table 17 here

It is interesting that when pollsters asked specifically about the ban on Syrian refugees (Table 18), opposition to the travel ban *increased*. Clear majorities of the public opposed the president's policy, exactly the opposite of what we would expect from historical experience. Once again, the president was not able to exploit a favorable context, Americans' traditional

reluctance to accept refugees, and to win the support of the American people for a signature policy initiative.

Insert Table 18 here

Legal Immigration

On August 2, 2017, President Trump embraced a bill sponsored by Republican Senators Tom Cotton and David Perdue, to institute a merit-based system to determine whom the government admits to the country and grants legal residency green cards, favoring applicants based on skills, education, and language ability rather than relations with people already here. The proposal would slash legal immigration to the United States in half within a decade by sharply curtailing the ability of American citizens and legal residents to bring family members into the country.

The public was not impressed. Before the president's statement, Gallup found that 35 percent of the public wanted to decrease immigration. Sixty-two percent favored increasing it or keeping it the same.⁵² Immediately after the president's decision, polls found between 30 and 35 percent of the public favored decreasing legal immigration.⁵³ By September 2017, 39 percent favored decreasing the number of legal immigrants.⁵⁴ However, in February 2018, only 17 percent wanted to decrease legal immigration,⁵⁵ a figure that had not changed by June in the Quinnipiac poll.⁵⁶ In the same month, Gallup found 29 percent wanted to decrease immigration, down from 35 percent the previous year and the lowest level since it began asking the question in 2000.⁵⁷ Similarly, Pew found that 24 percent wished to decrease immigration, but 32 percent wanted to increase it, the highest percentage in its 18-year time series.⁵⁸ Opinion had moved, but in the *opposite* direction of the president's policy.

Handling Immigration

Given the public's lack of enthusiasm for the president's specific policies, it is not surprising that it also found him wanting in handling immigration issues in general (Table 19). Despite the president's highly visible emphasis on immigration and his claims of protecting the country with his policies, clear majorities of the public consistently disapproved of Trump's performance. Moreover, the public's satisfaction did not increase over time.

Insert Table 19 here

Views of Immigrants

In addition to examining support for specific policies or handling of policies, we can also investigate the public's general views toward immigration and immigrants in the face of the president's strong criticism of both. Have Americans soured on immigrants in response to the president's antagonism?

The answer is "no." In general, Americans see immigrants in a positive light. The Gallup Poll asked employed adults what effect immigration had on their jobs or the company, business, or organization for which they worked. The findings, shown in Table 20 are striking. Most workers felt immigration had no impact. Among those who saw an impact, those seeing it as positive greatly outnumbered those who thought it was negative.

Insert Table 20 here

One of the central features of Donald Trump’s rhetoric about immigration is its effect on jobs, especially immigrants’ displacement of American workers. The public does not agree. Those who felt that immigrants helped the economy by providing low cost labor outnumbered those who felt they hurt the economy by driving wages down 49 percent to 40 percent. Seventy-two percent of the public felt that immigrants take jobs Americans do not want.⁵⁹

We can also view immigration more broadly. In the spring of 2018, 58 percent of the public said that having an increasing number of people of different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in the U.S. makes the country a better place to live; just 9 percent said it makes the country a worse place to live.⁶⁰ In June 2017, in the context of months of conflict over the president’s travel bans, a clear majority of Americans said immigrants have a positive effect on food, music and the arts (Table 21). Nearly half the public said immigration benefits the economy in general—with both of these measures up 17 percentage points from 2007, the last time Gallup asked the question. Americans’ views that immigrants have a positive effect on social and moral values and taxes were both up by 12 percentage points. Meanwhile, smaller but statistically significant increases occurred among those who said immigrants positively affect job opportunities and the crime situation. Across four measures—the economy, social and moral values, taxes, and job opportunities—Americans were the most positive they have been since Gallup began asking the questions in 2001.⁶¹

Insert Table 21 here

Although more people thought immigrants had negative effects on crime and taxes than thought they made them better (impacts in these areas might be difficult to identify), in both cases those viewing immigrants as having a positive or not much impact outnumbered those with critical opinions. Polls have found that only small percentages of the public thought immigrants commit more violent crimes⁶² or more crimes in general than native-born Americans.⁶³ Other polls also had positive findings about the value of immigrants.⁶⁴ In June 2018, the Gallup poll found the highest percentage ever—75 percent, including majorities of all party groups—of the public viewing immigration as good for the country.⁶⁵

Given the generally positive view of immigrants, it is not surprising that Americans have not been eager to deport most illegal immigrants or to decrease legal immigration. In March 2017, amid the furor over the president’s travel bans, 60 percent of the public responded that the nation’s top immigration priority should be to develop a plan to allow those in the U.S. illegally who have jobs to gain legal status. This number was *up* from 53 percent in the fall of 2016. Ninety percent of the public agreed that illegal immigrants who have been in this country for a number of years, hold a job, speak English, and are willing to pay any back taxes that they owe should be allowed to stay in the country—and eventually be allowed to apply for U.S. citizenship—rather than being deported.⁶⁶ Equally important, support for legalizing illegal immigrants *increased* during the president’s tenure (Table 22).

Insert Table 22 here

President Trump often focused on removing illegal immigrants who were criminals. Nevertheless, 58 percent of the public were more concerned that deportation efforts would be overzealous, deporting people who had not committed serious crimes. Only 40 percent were more concerned that deportation efforts would not go far enough, leaving dangerous criminals in the country.⁶⁷

The president ended the program known as DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) that allowed some individuals (known as “Dreamers”) who were brought to the United States illegally as children to receive a renewable two-year period of deferred action from deportation and become eligible for a work permit in the U.S. Trump said he would agree to support protecting the Dreamers in return for stricter border controls and tighter restrictions on legal immigration, but he expended little energy in advocating for a program similar to DACA. It was left to Democrats to promote protections for Dreamers. The president may have been hesitant, but the public overwhelmingly supported granting permanent legal status to the Dreamers.⁶⁸

Conclusion

Donald Trump came to office with more experience as a self-promoter and public personality than any previous chief executive. He is undeniably skilled at dominating the news. If such skills were critical for leading the public, we should have found him successfully doing so, especially on policies that should not have been difficult sells to the American people.

What we found, instead, was a president who consistently failed to gain the public’s backing for either his policies or his own handling of them. Indeed, he seemed to turn the public in the opposite direction. He made an unpopular health care policy popular and the health care policies he backed unpopular. Similarly, in the face of a general desire to control our borders and protect the country from terrorists, Trump managed to alienate the public from his immigration policies. At the same time, he made a tax cut for nearly all taxpayers and businesses unpopular.

Some of the president’s problems may be the result of lack of competence in the art of governing (a subject I will explore elsewhere). Yet we cannot deny that the president simply has not been able to move the American people to support his priority policies, providing further evidence that presidential power is not the power to persuade.

Table 1
Opinion of Affordable Care Act

Date	% Favorable	% Unfavorable	% Unsure
December 13-19, 2016	43	46	11
February 13-19, 2017	48	42	10
March 6-12, 2017	49	44	6
April 17-23, 2017	48	41	12
May 16-22, 2017	49	42	9
June 14-19, 2017	51	41	8
July 5-10, 2017	50	44	6
August 1-6, 2017	52	39	8
September 13-18, 2017	46	44	10
October 5-10, 2017	51	40	9
November 8-13, 2017	50	46	5
January 16-21, 2018	50	42	8
February 15-20, 2018	54	42	5
March 8-13, 2018	50	43	7
April 20-30, 2018	49	43	9
June 11-20, 2018	50	41	8

Source: Kaiser Health Tracking Poll

Question: “As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law in 2010. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it?”

Table 2
Changes in Approval of Affordable Care Act

Group	% Approval		Change in Approval (Percentage Points)
	November 2016	April 2017	
All	42	55	+13
Democrats	76	86	+10
Independents	40	57	+17
Republicans	7	17	+10
Democrats + leaners	71	87	+16
Republicans + leaners	11	19	+8

Source: Gallup polls, November 9-13, 2016, and April 1-2, 2017.

Question: “Do you generally approve or disapprove of the 2010 Affordable Care Act, signed into law by President Obama that restructured the U.S. health care system?”

Table 3
Approval of Affordable Care Act

Date	% Approve	% Disapprove	% Unsure
October 20-25, 2016	46	51	4
November 30- December 5, 2016	48	47	5
February 7-12, 2017	54	43	3
November 29- December 4, 2017	56	38	6

Source: Pew Research Center Poll

Question: “Do you approve or disapprove of the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010?”

Table 4
Support for House Republican Health Care Bills, 2017

Date	% Support	% Oppose	% Unsure
March 13-14 ¹	32	43	26
March 15-17 ²	12	41	47
March 16-17 ³	24	45	31
March 16-21 ⁴	17	56	26
March 19-21 ¹	31	45	25
March 25 ³	22	52	27
March 25-28 ⁵	29	63	10
May 4-9 ⁶	21	56	22
May 6 ⁷	31	44	25
May 11-13 ⁸	23	48	29
May 13, 15-17 ⁹	32	55	13
May 16-22 ¹⁰	31	55	13
May 17-23 ⁴	20	57	23
May 31-June 5 ¹¹	33	57	8
May 31-June 6 ⁴	17	62	21
June 14-19 ¹⁰	30	55	15
June 15-18 ⁵	32	59	10
June 17-20 ⁸	16	48	36
June 22-27 ¹²	16	58	26
July 5-10 ¹⁰	28	61	11
July 10-13 ¹³	24	50	26

¹ YouGov/Economist Poll. “Overall, given what you know about them, do you support or oppose the proposed changes to the health care system being developed by Congress and the Trump Administration?”

² YouGov/CBS News Poll: “Do you support or oppose the new health care bill from House Republicans?”

³ HuffPost/YouGov Poll: “As you may know, Republican leaders in the House of Representatives recently released a new health care bill. Do you generally favor or oppose this bill?”

⁴ Quinnipiac University Poll: “There is a Republican health care plan to replace Obamacare, known as the American Health Care Act. Do you approve or disapprove of this Republican health care plan?” Asked of registered voters.

⁵ CBS News Poll: “As you may know, Republicans in Congress passed a bill in the House of Representatives to repeal and replace the 2010 health care law. From what you have heard or read, do you approve or disapprove this plan?”

⁶ Quinnipiac University Poll: “There is a revised Republican health care plan to replace Obamacare, known as the American Health Care Act. Do you approve or disapprove of this revised Republican health care plan?” Asked of registered voters.

⁷ HuffPost/YouGov Poll: “As you may know, Republican leaders in the House of Representatives recently passed a new health care bill. Do you generally favor or oppose this bill?”

⁸ NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* Poll: “Now as you may know, health care legislation was recently passed by the House of Representatives and supported by Donald Trump. From what you have heard about this health care legislation, do you think it is (ROTATE) – a good idea or a bad idea? If you do not have an opinion either way, please just say so.

⁹ Monmouth University Poll: “Earlier this month, the House of Representatives passed the American Health Care Act. This new bill repeals or replaces certain provisions of the 2010 Affordable Care Act, sometimes called Obamacare. Do you approve or disapprove of this new bill?”

¹⁰ Kaiser Family Foundation Tracking Poll: “As you may know, Congress is currently discussing a health care plan that would repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act. Given what you know about this proposed new health care plan, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it?”

¹¹ Democracy Corps Poll. “From what you know, do you approve or disapprove the health care bill that House Republicans passed earlier this month to replace Obamacare, known as the American Health Care Act?”

¹² Quinnipiac University Poll: “There is a Republican health care plan to replace Obamacare. Do you approve or disapprove of this Republican health care plan?” Asked of registered voters.

¹³ *Washington Post*-ABC News Poll. “What do you prefer: the current federal health care law, known as Obamacare, or the Republican plan to replace it?”

Table 5
Support for Senate Republican Version of Health Care Reform, 2017

Date (2017)	% Support	% Oppose	% Unsure
June 21-25 ¹	17	55	27
June 24-27 ²	12	45	43
July 13-16 ³	27	56	17
July 17-August 1 ⁴	25	64	11
September 18-21 ⁵	33	56	11
September 21-24 ⁶	20	52	28
September 21-26 ⁷	19	59	22

¹ National Public Radio, PBS *NewsHour* Poll. “From what you have read or heard, do you approve or disapprove of the health care plan Senate Republicans have proposed?”

² Suffolk University/*USA Today* poll. “Senate Republicans have unveiled their proposed health care plan to replace Obamacare. Do you support or oppose the GOP plan, or don’t you know enough to have an opinion?”

³ Monmouth University Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of this Senate Bill (to repeal or replace certain provisions of the 2010 Affordable Care Act)?”

⁴ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the Republican ideas to replace Obamacare?” Asked of registered voters.

⁵ *Washington Post*-ABC News poll. “There’s a new Republican proposal to replace the current federal health care law, known as Obamacare. It would end the national requirement for nearly all Americans to have health insurance, phase out the use of federal funds to help lower- and moderate-income people buy health insurance, and let states replace federal rules on health care coverage with their own rules. What do you prefer: the current federal health care law, or this Republican plan to replace it?”

⁶ CBS News Poll. “As you may know, Republicans in the Senate recently put forward a new plan, called Graham-Cassidy, that would repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act of 2010. From what you have heard or read, do you approve or disapprove of Graham-Cassidy, the new Republican plan?”

⁷ Quinnipiac University Poll. “There is a Republican health care plan to replace Obamacare. Do you approve or disapprove of this Republican health care plan?” Asked of registered voters.

Table 6
Approval of Trump Handling Health Care

Date	% Approve	% Disapprove	% Unsure
<i>2017</i>			
January 31-February 2 ¹	42	50	9
March 1-4 ¹	43	53	4
March 12-14 ²	35	55	10
March 16-21 ³	29	61	10
March 23-27 ⁴	37	62	1
March 25-28 ⁵	32	59	9
March 30-April 4 ³	28	64	9
April 12-18 ³	29	65	6
April 22-25 ¹	36	61	4
April 23-25 ²	35	56	9
May 4-9 ³	28	66	6
May 17-23 ³	32	62	6
May 31-June 6 ³	28	66	6
June 7-11 ⁶	28	67	5
June 8-11 ⁴	32	66	1
June 22-27 ³	29	63	8
June 25-27 ²	36	55	9
July 16-18 ²	32	59	9
July 27-August 1 ³	28	65	7
August 3-6 ¹	31	62	7
August 3-6 ⁵	32	59	9
August 9-15 ³	33	63	5
August 17-22 ³	30	65	5
August 27-29 ²	34	60	6
September 14-18 ⁷	27	53	10
September 17-20 ¹	31	59	10
September 21-24 ⁵	29	62	9
September 21-26 ³	34	60	6
September 24-26 ²	35	58	7
September 28-October 2 ⁴	31	68	1
October 12-15 ¹	34	60	7
October 22-24 ²	33	60	7
October 23-26 ⁷	27	57	16
November 2-5 ¹	33	59	8
December 4-7 ⁸	35	58	7
December 6-11 ³	29	64	7
December 7-11 ⁴	29	70	0
<i>2018</i>			
January 12-16	33	60	6
January 2-23 ²	40	51	8

June 14-17 ¹	33	54	13
June 27-July 1 ³	37	55	8

¹ CNN Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling health care policy?”

² Fox News Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump in handling health care?” Asked of registered voters.

³ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling health care?” Asked of registered voters.

⁴ Associated Press Poll. “Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling health care?”

⁵ CBS News Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling health care?”

⁶ Gallup Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling...health care policy?”

⁷ NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* Poll. “Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of President (Donald) Trump's handling health care.”

⁸ National Public Radio, PBS NewsHour Poll. “Thinking about President Donald Trump's first year in office, do you approve or disapprove of his handling of health care?”

Table 7
Government Responsibility to Ensure Health Care

<u>Date</u>	<u>% Government Responsibility</u>	<u>%Not Government Responsibility</u>	<u>% Unsure</u>
January 13-16, 2000	59	38	3
September 11-13, 2000	64	31	5
November 8-11, 2001*	62	34	4
November 11-14, 2002*	62	35	3
November 3-5, 2003*	59	39	2
November 7-10, 2004*	64	34	2
November 7-10, 2005*	58	38	4
November 9-12, 2006*	69	28	3
November 11-14, 2007*	64	33	3
November 13-16, 2008*	54	41	5
November 5-8, 2009	47	50	3
November 4-7, 2010	47	50	3
November 3-6, 2011	50	46	4
November 15-18, 2012	44	54	2
November 7-10, 2013	42	56	2
November 6-9, 2014	45	52	3
November 4-8, 2015	51	47	2
November 9-13, 2016	52	45	3
November 2-8, 2017	56	42	2

*Asked of half the sample.

Source: Gallup Poll

Question: “Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage, or is that not the responsibility of the federal government?”

Table 8
Government Responsibility for Ensuring Health Care Coverage

<u>Date</u>	<u>% Is Govt. Responsibility</u>	<u>% Is Not Govt. Responsibility</u>	<u>% Unsure</u>
January 23- February 9, 2014	47	50	3
March 17-27, 2016	51	46	2
January 4-9, 2017	60	38	2
June 8-18, 2017	60	39	2

Source: Pew Research Center Poll.

Question: “Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage, or is that not the responsibility of the federal government?”

Table 9
Approval of Republican Tax Proposals

Date	% Support	% Oppose	% Unsure
<i>2017</i>			
September 18-21 ¹	28	44	28
October 12-15 ²	34	52	14
October 23-26 ³	25	35	40
October 29-November 1 ¹	33	50	17
November 2-5 ⁴	31	45	24
November 19-2 ⁵	30	41	29
November 28-29 ⁶	30	39	30
December 1-2 ⁷	29	56	16
December 3-5 ⁸	35	53	12
December 3-5 ⁵	31	42	27
December 5-7 ⁹	28	43	29
December 10-12 ¹⁰	26	47	27
December 10-13 ¹¹	26	38	36
December 13-15 ³	24	41	35
December 14-17 ⁴	33	55	12
December 17-19 ⁵	32	41	26
<i>2018</i>			
January 2-7 ¹²	33	55	12
January 10-15 ¹³	37	46	17
January 13-16 ¹⁴	40	48	12
January 28-30 ¹⁵	44	44	13
February 26-March 4 ¹²	39	48	13
March 2-5 ¹⁵	41	42	17
March 8-11 ¹⁶	38	47	15
March 22-25 ¹⁷	34	36	30
April 2-11 ¹²	39	52	8
April 8-11 ³	27	36	37
May 3-6 ¹⁶	43	46	11
May 14-30 ¹⁸	39	48	12
June 12-13 ¹⁹	34	41	24

¹ ABC News/*Washington Post* Poll. “Given what you’ve heard or read about it, do you support or oppose Trump’s tax plan?”

² CNN Poll. “Overall, do you favor or oppose the tax reform proposals made by the Trump administration?”

³ *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News Poll. “Is the Republican tax law a good idea or bad idea?”

⁴ CNN Poll. “Overall, do you favor or oppose the tax reform proposals made by Republicans in Congress?”

⁵ *The Economist/YouGov* Poll. “From what you know about it now, do you support or oppose the Republican tax plan being debated in Congress?”

⁶ *HuffPost/YouGov* Poll. “As you know, Republican leaders in Congress are working to pass a new tax reform bill. Do you generally favor or oppose their proposals?”

⁷ *Gallup* Poll. “From what you’ve heard or read about them, would you say you approve or disapprove of these proposed changes to the tax code?”

⁸ *CBS News* Poll. “From what you have heard or read, do you approve or disapprove of the Republican tax plan?”

⁹ *HuffPost/YouGov* Poll. “As you may know, Senate Republicans recently passed a new tax reform bill. Do you generally favor or oppose the bill?”

¹⁰ *Monmouth University* Poll. “Have you heard that the Senate and the House have passed tax reform bills and are now working on a final version, or haven't you heard about this?” “Do you approve or disapprove of this tax reform plan?”

¹¹ *CNBC All-America Economic Survey*. “From what you have heard, do you favor or oppose the approach that President Trump and the Republicans in Congress are taking to change and reform the tax system? If you do not know enough to say, please just say so.”

¹² *Gallup* Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the tax bill passed by Congress and signed into law by the president last December?”

¹³ *Pew Research Center* Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the tax law passed by Donald Trump and Congress last month?”

¹⁴ *CBS News* Poll. “From what you have heard or read, do you approve or disapprove of the tax law that was passed by Congress and signed by Donald Trump in December?” ¹⁵ *Monmouth University* Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the tax reform plan passed by Congress in December?”

¹⁶ *CBS News* Poll. “From what you have heard or read, do you approve or disapprove of the tax law that was passed by Congress and signed by Donald Trump?”

¹⁷ *HuffPost/YouGov* Poll. “Do you generally favor or oppose the tax reform law recently passed by Congress?”

¹⁸ *GW Politics* Poll. “Do you favor or oppose the tax plan that was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Trump?”

¹⁹ *Monmouth University* Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the tax reform passed by Congress in December 2017?”

Table 10
Registered Voters' Approval of Republican Tax Plans

Date	% Favor	% Oppose	% Unsure
<i>2017</i>			
November 7-13	25	52	23
November 29-December 4	29	53	18
December 6-11	26	55	18
<i>2018</i>			
January 5-9	32	52	16
February 2-5	39	47	14
March 3-5	36	50	14
March 16-20	38	47	16
June 14-17 ¹	39	46	15

Source: Quinnipiac University Poll.

Question: “Do you approve or disapprove of the Republican tax plan?”

¹“Do you approve or disapprove of the 2017 tax law passed by Congress and signed by President Trump?”

Table 11
Who Benefits from Tax Cuts?

Date	% Low Income	%Middle Class	% Wealthy	% Unsure
<i>2017</i>				
May 4-9, 2017 ¹	4	27	63	7
August 30-September 3 ²	10	29	52	9
November 7-13 ³	6	24	61	9
November 29-December 4 ³	5	24	64	8
December 6-11 ³	4	21	65	9
December 14-17 ⁴	--	27	66	7
<i>2018</i>				
January 5-9 ³	4	22	66	8
February 2-5 ³	5	26	62	7

¹ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Who do you think will benefit the most from this (President Donald Trump’s tax) plan: low income Americans, middle class Americans, or wealthy Americans?” Asked of registered voters.

² Politico/Harvard Public Health Poll. “Who do you think will benefit the most from President Donald Trump’s tax plan? Low-income households, middle-income households, high-income households?”

³ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Who do you think will benefit the most from this Republican tax plan: low income Americans, middle class Americans, or wealthy Americans?” Asked of registered voters.

⁴ CNN Poll. “Overall, do you think the tax reform proposals made by the Republicans in Congress will do more to benefit the middle class or do more to benefit the wealthy?”

Table 12
Approval of Trump's Handling of Taxes

Date	% Approve	% Disapprove	% Not Sure
<i>2017</i>			
March 1-4 ¹	43	48	9
March 23-27 ²	44	54	3
April 23-25 ³	40	44	17
May 4-9 ⁴	34	54	13
June 7-11 ⁵	35	57	7
August 3-6 ¹	34	48	18
August 27-29 ³	37	45	18
September 17-20 ¹	34	47	19
October 5-10 ⁴	37	49	14
October 12-15 ¹	36	50	14
October 12-16 ²	39	59	2
October 22-24 ³	37	51	13
November 2-5 ¹	35	51	14
November 2-8 ⁵	37	55	8
November 7-13 ⁴	34	55	11
December 3-5 ⁶	38	47	15
December 6-11 ⁴	35	58	7
December 7-11 ²	32	66	1
December 14-17 ¹	34	57	9
December 17-19 ⁶	37	47	15
<i>2018</i>			
January 4-18 ¹	42	46	12
January 5-9 ⁴	42	51	7
February 1-10 ⁵	46	52	2
February 2-5 ⁴	45	47	7
March 4-8 ⁷	47	48	5
March 14-19 ²	46	53	1
March 18-21 ³	48	46	7
April 6-9 ⁴	46	47	7
June 27-July ¹ 4	43	51	6

¹ CNN Poll. "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling taxes?" Asked of half the sample in 1,025 in the March 1-4, 2017 poll, asked of half the sample of 1,0251,018 in the August 3-6 2017 poll.

² Associated Press Poll. "Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling taxes?"

³ Fox News Poll. "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling taxes?" Asked of registered voters.

⁴ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling taxes?” Asked of registered voters.

⁵ Gallup Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling taxes?”

⁶ *Economist/YouGov* Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling taxes?”

⁷ George Washington University Battleground Poll. “And, thinking about how Donald Trump has been doing on some issues, I am going to read you a list of issues. For each one, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of the job that Donald Trump has been doing on this issue....Taxes.”

Table 13
Support for Building a Wall between the United States and Mexico

Date	% Support	% Oppose	% Unsure
<i>2017</i>			
January 12-15 ¹	37	60	3
January 13-17 ²	37	59	3
January 30-31 ³	38	60	2
January 31-February 2 ⁴	38	60	1
February 7-12 ⁵	35	62	3
February 17-21 ²	39	58	3
February 28-March 12 ⁵	40	59	1
March 9-29 ⁷	36	56	7
April 21-24 ⁶	37	61	3
August 3-6 ⁶	36	61	3
September 15-19 ⁸	35	60	5
September 17-20 ⁴	33	63	3
September 18-21 ¹	37	62	1
September 28-October 2 ⁹	33	50	18
October 18-30 ¹⁰	36	63	2
December 3-5 ⁶	36	61	3
<i>2018</i>			
January 10-15 ¹¹	37	60	3
January 13-16 ⁶	35	61	4
January 14-18 ⁴	35	62	3
January 15-18 ¹	34	63	3
January 28-30 ⁸	40	57	3
February 21-25 ¹²	41	55	4
March 8-11 ⁶	38	60	2
May 3-6 ⁶	38	59	3
June 5-12 ¹¹	40	56	4
June 27-July 2 ¹³	42	55	3

¹ ABC News/*Washington Post* Poll. “Do you support or oppose building a wall along the US border with Mexico?”

² CBS News Poll. “Would you favor or oppose building a wall along the US-Mexico border to try to stop illegal immigration?”

³ Gallup Poll. “Thinking now about some of the specific actions Donald Trump has taken since he has been in office, would you say you approve or disapprove of each of the following. How about ordering construction of a wall along the southern border with Mexico.”

⁴ CNN Poll. “Would you favor or oppose building a wall along the entire border with Mexico?”

⁵ Pew Research Center Poll. “All in all, would you favor or oppose building a wall along the entire border with Mexico?”

⁶ CBS News Poll. “Do you favor or oppose building a wall along the US-Mexico border to try to stop illegal immigration?”

⁷ Gallup Poll. “Now, I am going to read several actions either taken or proposed by President Trump. For each one, tell me if you agree or disagree with it, or if you don’t know enough to have an opinion. How about begin the construction of a wall between the U.S. and Mexico.” Asked of half the sample of 1,526.

⁸ Monmouth University Poll. “Do you favor or oppose building a wall along the US border with Mexico?”

⁹ Associated Press Poll. “Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose building a wall along the Mexican border to help stop illegal immigration into the United States?”

¹⁰ PRRI American Values Survey. “Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose building a wall along the US border with Mexico?”

¹¹ Pew Research Center Poll. “As you may know, there is a proposal to substantially expand the wall along the US border with Mexico. In general, do you favor or oppose this proposal?”

¹² *Politico*/Harvard Public Health Poll. “Do you favor or oppose building a wall along most of the US-Mexico border to try to stop illegal immigration?”

¹³ *Washington Post*-Schar School Poll. “Would you support or oppose building a wall along the U.S. border with Mexico?”

Table 14
Support for Building a Wall between the United States and Mexico,
Registered Voters

<u>Date</u>	<u>% Support</u>	<u>% Oppose</u>	<u>% Unsure</u>
<i>2016</i>			
November 17-20	42	55	3
<i>2017</i>			
February 2-6	38	59	3
February 16-21	37	60	3
March 30-April 3	33	64	3
April 12-18	33	64	3
May 4-9	33	64	3
September 21-26	37	60	3
December 6-11	36	62	2
<i>2018</i>			
January 5-9	34	63	3
February 2-5	37	59	4
April 6-9	40	57	3
June 14-17	39	58	4

Source: Quinnipiac University Poll.

Question: “Do you support or oppose building a wall along the border with Mexico?”

Table 15
Support for Trump Travel Ban

Date	% Support	% Oppose	% Unsure
<i>2017-First Travel Ban</i>			
January 30-31 ¹	42	55	3
January 30-31 ²	48	41	10
January 30-31 ³	47	49	4
January 31-February 1 ⁴	48	44	8
January 31-February 2 ⁵	47	53	0
February 1-2 ⁶	45	51	4
February 2-6 ⁷	46	51	3
February 7-12 ⁸	38	59	3
February 11-13 ⁴	45	45	10
February 16-21 ⁷	45	53	2
February 16-March 15 ⁹	47	52	1
March 2-5 ¹⁰	39	49	12
<i>2017-2nd Travel Ban</i>			
March 8 ¹¹	39	50	11
March 9-29 ¹²	40	47	13
March 16-21 ¹³	43	53	2
March 22-26 ¹⁴	46	50	4
March 22-27 ¹⁵	43	52	5
April 21-24 ¹⁶	43	53	4
<i>2017-3rd Travel Ban</i>			
September 28-October 2 ¹⁷	44	37	19
October 18-30 ¹⁸	40	55	5

¹ Gallup Poll. “Thinking now about some of the specific actions Donald Trump has taken since he has been in office, would you say you approve or disapprove of each of ordering temporary ban on entry into U.S. for most people from seven predominately Muslim countries.”

² Reuters/Ipsos Poll. “Do you agree or disagree with the Executive Order that President Trump signed blocking refugees and banning people from seven Muslim majority countries from entering the U.S.?”

³ Public Policy Polling. “Do you support or oppose Donald Trump’s executive order banning refugees and citizens of certain countries from entering the U.S.?” Asked of registered voters.

⁴ HuffPost/YouGov Poll. “President Trump recently signed an executive order banning travel for people from seven Muslim-majority countries—Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Libya, Yemen and Somalia—for 90 days, and suspending admission of refugees for 120 days. Do you approve of this ban?”

⁵ CNN Poll. “As you may know, Donald Trump signed an executive order which prohibits travel to the U.S. for the next three months by citizens of seven majority-Muslim countries, and

suspends the U.S. refugee program for four months while reducing the total number of refugees the U.S. will accept this year. Overall, do you favor or oppose this executive order?”

⁶ CBS News Poll. “As you may know, Donald Trump has issued an executive order that temporarily bans people from entering the U.S. who are from the countries of Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. Do you approve or disapprove of this action?”

⁷ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you support or oppose suspending all travel by citizens of Iraq, Syria, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, and Yemen to the U.S. for 90 days?” Asked of registered voters.

⁸ Pew Research Center Poll. “Overall, would you say you approve or disapprove of this policy (the executive order signed by Donald Trump to stop refugees from entering the US for 120 days and prevent people from seven Muslim-majority countries from entering the US on a visa for 90 days)?”

⁹ Pew Research Center American Trends Panel Poll and Pew Global Attitudes Project Poll. “As you may know, Donald Trump recently issued an executive order that would temporarily prevent people from entering the US from (February 28-March 2, ask:) seven/(March 2-12, ask:) a number of majority-Muslim countries. Do you approve or disapprove of this action?”

¹⁰ Monmouth University Poll. “Have you heard about the Trump administration's travel ban that affected people from certain countries in the Middle East and Africa, or not? Do you think the original travel ban was a good idea or bad idea?”

¹¹ YouGov Poll. “Do you support or oppose President Trump’s revised travel ban, which prevents citizens of six Muslim-majority nations from entering the US?”

¹² Gallup Poll. “Now, I am going to read several actions either taken or proposed by President Donald Trump. For each one, tell me if you agree or disagree with it, or if you don’t know enough to have an opinion.) How about...impose a 90-day ban on issuing new US travel visas for citizens of six Muslim-majority nations?”

¹³ Quinnipiac University Poll: “As you may know, Donald Trump has issued a revised executive order that temporarily bans people from entering the US who are from the countries of Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. Do you support or oppose this action?” Asked of registered voters.

¹⁴ *Politico*/Harvard Public Health Poll. “Talking about this same executive order, President Donald Trump ordered a stop to all immigration and travel, with very few exceptions, from six Middle Eastern countries to the US for a period of 90 days. Do you support or oppose this policy? Asked of half the sample of 1,019.

¹⁵ McClatchy Poll. “Do you favor or oppose Donald Trump's executive order to limit entrance to the United States of non-American citizens from six majority-Muslim countries?”

¹⁶ CBS News Poll. “Do you favor or oppose temporarily preventing people entering the US from some majority Muslim countries?”

¹⁷ Associated Press-NORC Immigration Survey. “Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose Donald Trump’s new policy indefinitely restricting travel to the US for citizens of Chad,

Iran, Libya, Somalia, Syria, Yemen and North Korea, as well a Venezuelan government officials and their family members?”

¹⁸ PRRI American Values Survey. “Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose temporarily preventing people from some majority Muslim countries from entering the US?”

Table 16
Support for Suspending Immigration from Terror Prone Regions

<u>Date</u>	<u>% Support</u>	<u>% Oppose</u>	<u>% Unsure</u>
<i>2016</i>			
November 17-20	50	44	6
<i>2017</i>			
January 5-9, 2017	48	42	10
<i>1st Travel Ban</i>			
February 2-6	44	50	6
February 16-21	43	49	8
March 2-6	42	51	7
<i>2nd Travel Ban</i>			
March 16-21	42	52	6

Source: Quinnipiac University Poll.

Question: “Do you support or oppose suspending immigrants from ‘terror prone’ regions, even if it means turning away refugees from these regions?” Asked of registered voters.

Table 17
Support for Trump Refugee Ban

Date	% Approve	% Disapprove	% Unsure
<i>2017-First Travel Ban</i>			
January 27-February 2 ¹	51	49	1
January 30-31 ²	43	48	9
February 1-2, 2017 ³	45	51	5
February 2-6 ⁴	37	60	3
February 16-21 ⁴	37	60	3
<i>2017-Second Travel Ban</i>			
March 16-21 ⁵	35	61	4
March 22-26 ⁶	42	55	3

¹ TIPP/Investor's Business Daily Poll. "Do you support or oppose a plan by the current administration to stop the entry of refugees into the US temporarily?"

² Public Policy Polling. "Do you support or oppose the United States indefinitely suspending accepting Syrian refugees?" Asked of registered voters.

³ CBS News Poll. "As you may know, Donald Trump's executive order also temporarily bans any refugees, those forced to leave their country due to violence or persecution, from entering the United States. Do you approve or disapprove of temporarily banning refugees from entering the U.S.?" Numbers reversed to match the table columns.

⁴ Quinnipiac University Poll. "Do you support or oppose suspending the immigration of all refugees to the US regardless of where they are coming from, for 120 days?" Asked of registered voters.

⁵ Quinnipiac University Poll. "As you may know, Donald Trump has issued a revised executive order that temporarily bans the immigration of all refugees to the US, regardless of where they are coming from. Do you support or oppose this action?" Asked of registered voters.

⁶ Politico/Harvard Public Health Poll. "The same executive order also stops all refugees, from anywhere in the world, from coming to the US for 120 days. Do you support or oppose this policy?" Asked of half the sample of 1,019.

Table 18
Support for Syrian Refugee Ban

Date	% Support	% Oppose	% Unsure
<i>2017-1st Travel Ban</i>			
January 30-31 ¹	36	58	6
January 31-February 2 ²	45	54	2
February 2-6 ³	26	70	4
February 16-21 ³	27	68	4
<i>2017-2nd Travel Ban</i>			
April 12-18 ⁴	38	57	5

¹ Gallup Poll. “Thinking now about some of the specific actions Donald Trump has taken since he has been in office, would you say you approve or disapprove of indefinitely suspending the United States’ Syrian refugee program.”

² CNN Poll. “Do you favor or oppose allowing refugees from Syria to seek asylum in the United States?” Numbers reversed to match table columns.

³ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you support or oppose suspending all immigration of Syrian refugees to the US indefinitely?” Asked of registered voters.

⁴ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you support or oppose accepting Syrian refugees into the US?” Asked of registered voters. Figures reversed to match the table columns. Asked of registered voters.

Table 19
Approval of Trump Handling Immigration

<u>Date</u>	<u>% Approve</u>	<u>% Disapprove</u>	<u>% Unsure</u>
<i>2017</i>			
January 31-February 2 ¹	42	56	2
February 1-5 ²	42	57	1
February 2-6 ³	41	56	3
February 7-12 ⁴	36	62	2
February 16-21 ³	40	58	2
February 17-21 ⁵	39	55	5
March 1-4 ¹	44	55	1
March 2-6 ³	41	56	3
March 12-14 ⁶	41	56	3
March 16-21 ³	38	60	3
March 23-27 ⁷	45	54	1
March 25-28 ⁵	39	56	5
March 30-April 3 ³	39	57	4
April 12-18 ³	39	58	2
April 22-25 ¹	41	57	2
April 23-25 ⁶	44	54	3
May 4-9 ³	35	62	3
May 17-23 ³	41	57	3
May 31-June 6 ³	37	60	3
June 7-11 ²	40	59	2
June 8-11 ⁷	39	60	0
June 22-27 ³	42	56	3
July 16-18 ⁶	42	53	6
July 17-August 1 ⁴	38	59	3
August 3-6 ¹	40	55	5
August 3-6 ⁵	37	57	7
August 9-15 ³	43	56	2
August 17-22 ³	40	58	2
August 27-29 ⁶	43	54	3
September 6-10 ²	39	57	2
September 14-18 ⁸	39	47	14
September 17-20 ¹	36	60	4
September 18-21 ⁹	35	62	3
September 21-24 ⁵	35	60	5
September 21-26 ³	38	59	3
September 24-26 ⁶	39	57	4
September 28-October 2 ⁵	35	64	1
October 5-10 ³	39	56	4
October 12-15 ¹	37	59	5
October 12-16 ⁷	38	61	1

November 2-5 ¹	37	57	6
November 7-13 ³	39	57	4
December 4-7 ¹⁰	38	58	5
December 6-11 ³	37	60	3
2018			
January 12-16 ³	38	60	2
January 13-16 ⁵	34	61	5
January 14-18 ¹	38	57	5
January 21-23 ⁶	40	54	6
February 1-10 ²	41	58	2
February 2-5 ³	39	58	3
February 15-19 ⁷	37	62	0
February 20-23 ¹	36	60	5
March 18-21 ⁶	41	55	4
April 22-24 ⁶	43	52	5
May 2-5 ¹	40	55	5
May 3-6 ⁵	40	57	3
May 31-June 5 ³	38	58	4
June 3-6 ⁶	43	52	5
June 14-17 ¹	35	59	6
June 14-17 ⁵	35	62	4
June 14-17 ¹	35	59	6
June 27-July 1 ³	38	58	4
June 27-July 2 ¹¹	39	59	2
August 1-12 ²	38	61	1

¹ CNN Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling immigration?”

² Gallup Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling immigration.”

³ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling...immigration issues?” Asked of registered voters.

⁴ Pew Research Center Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling...the nation's immigration policy?”

⁵ CBS News Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling the issue of immigration?”

⁶ Fox News Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling immigration?” Asked of registered voters.

⁷ Associated Press-NORC Poll. “Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling...immigration?”

⁸ NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* Poll. “Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of President (Donald) Trump's handling of border security and immigration.”

⁹ ABC News/*Washington Post* Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling...immigration?”

¹⁰ National Public Radio, PBS NewsHour Poll. “Thinking about President Donald Trump’s first year in office, do you approve or disapprove of his handling of immigration?”

¹¹ *Washington Post*-Schar School Poll. “Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling...immigration?”

Table 20
Workers' Views of the Impact of Immigration

<u>Impact on</u>	<u>% Positive</u>	<u>% No Effect</u>	<u>% Negative</u>
Your job	27	60	11
Company, business or organization you work for	33	54	12

Source: Gallup poll, June 7-11, 2017.

Question: "Would you say immigration has had a positive effect, a negative effect or no effect on -- A. Your job? B. The company, business or organization you work for? Asked of employed adults. Sample = 504.

Table 21
Impact of Immigrants

Area of Impact	% Better	% Not Much Effect	% Worse
Food, music, and the arts	57	29	10
Economy in general	45	22	30
Social and moral values	31	38	28
Taxes	23	33	41
Job opportunities	20	51	28
Crime situation	9	43	45

Source: Gallup poll, June 7-11, 2017.

Question: “For each of the following areas, please say whether immigrants to the United States are making the situation in the country better or worse, or not having much effect. How about -- [RANDOM ORDER]?” Asked of half the sample.

Table 22
Support for Legalization of Illegal Immigrants

Date	% Stay, Apply for Citizenship	% Stay, Not Apply for Citizenship	% Be Required to Leave	% Unsure
<i>2017</i>				
January 5-9 ¹	59	9	25	6
January 13-16 ²	61	13	22	4
February 17-21 ²	60	13	23	4
March 2-6 ¹	63	11	23	4
August 9-15 ¹	63	10	22	4
September 21-26 ¹	68	9	19	4
September 21-26 ³	82	6	10	2
December 6-11 ³	77	7	12	3
<i>2018</i>				
January 5-9 ³	79	7	11	3
June 14-17 ¹	67	8	19	8

¹ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are currently living in the United States? (A) They should be allowed to stay in the United States and to eventually apply for U.S. citizenship. (B) They should be allowed to remain in the United States, but not be allowed to apply for U.S. citizenship. (C) They should be required to leave the U.S.” Asked of registered voters.

² CBS News Poll. “Which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are living in the U.S.? They should be allowed to stay in the U.S. and eventually apply for citizenship. They should be allowed to stay in the U.S. legally, but not be allowed to apply for citizenship. OR, They should be required to leave the U.S.” Options rotated.

³ Quinnipiac University Poll. “Which comes closest to your view about undocumented immigrants who were brought to the U.S. as children? A) They should be allowed to stay in the United States and to eventually apply for U.S. citizenship. B) They should be allowed to remain in the United States, but not be allowed to apply for U.S. citizenship. C) They should be required to leave the U.S.”

Notes

¹ Quoted in Robert Costa and Amy Goldstein, “Trump Vows ‘Insurance for Everybody’ in Obamacare Replacement Plan,” *Washington Post*, January 15, 2017.

² See George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Samuel Kernell, *Going Public*, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2007).

³ See Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears*; George C. Edwards III, *The Strategic President*; George C. Edwards III, *Overreach: Leadership in the Obama Presidency* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); George C. Edwards III, *Predicting the Presidency: The Potential of Persuasive Leadership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); George C. Edwards III, *Governing by Campaigning: The Politics of the Bush Presidency*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 2007).

⁴ Ezra Klein, “Trump Is Winning,” *Vox*, January 29, 2018.

⁵ Edwards, *Predicting the Presidency*, chap. 2.

⁶ George C. Edwards III, “Donald Trump’s Strategic Position with the Public,” unpublished paper, 2018.

⁷ George C. Edwards III, “No Deal: Donald Trump’s Leadership of Congress,” *The Forum* 15 (October, 2017): 451-497.

⁸ Robert S. Erikson, Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson, *The Macro Polity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chap. 9.

⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 344, 374.

¹⁰ Stuart N. Soroka and Christopher Wlezien, *Degrees of Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹¹ See Edwards, *Predicting the Presidency*, pp. 83-94.

¹² David Kahneman and Amos Tversky, “Choices, Values, and Frames,” *American Psychologist* 39 (April 1984): 341–350; David Kahneman and Amos Tversky, “Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk,” *Econometrica* 47 (March 1979): 263–292.

¹³ Stuart N. Soroka, *Negativity in Democratic Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Susan T. Fiske, “Attention and Weight in Person Perception: The Impact of Negative and Extreme Behavior,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 38, no. 6 (1980): 889–906; David L. Hamilton and Mark P. Zanna, “Differential Weighting of Favorable and Unfavorable Attributes in Impressions of Personality,” *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality* 6, nos. 2–3 (1972): 204–212.

¹⁴ Richard Lau, “Two Explanations for Negativity Effects in Political Behavior,” *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (February 1985): 119–138.

¹⁵ See, for example, David W. Brady and Daniel P. Kessler, “Who Supports Health Reform?” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43 (January 2010): 1–5.

¹⁶ Michael D. Cobb and James H. Kuklinski, “Changing Minds: Political Arguments and Political Persuasion,” *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (January 1997): 88–121. On the role of emotion in political decision making, see Joanne M. Miller, “Examining the Mediators of Agenda Setting: A New Experimental Paradigm Reveals the Role of Emotions,” *Political Psychology* 28 (December 2007): 689–717; George E. Marcus, W. Russell Neuman, and Michael MacKuen, *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment*

(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); George E. Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); Michael MacKuen, Jennifer Wolak, Luke Keele, and George E. Marcus, "Civic Engagements: Resolute Partisanship or Reflective Deliberation," *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (April 2010): 440–458.

¹⁷ Kevin Arceneaux, "Cognitive Biases and the Strength of Political Arguments," *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (April 2012): 271–285.

¹⁸ Gallup polls, November 9-13, 2016, and April 1-2, 2017.

¹⁹ Christopher Warshaw and David Broockman, "G.O.P. Senators Might Not Realize It, but Not One State Supports the A.H.C.A.," *New York Times*, June 14, 2017.

²⁰ See also *Washington Post*-ABC News poll, October 29-November 1, 2017; *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News polls, September 14-18 and October 23-26, 2017.

²¹ Fox News polls, March 12-14, 2017, and March 18-21, 2018 (registered voters); Pew Research Center poll, April 5-11, 2017; NBC/*Wall Street Journal* September 14-18, 2017.

²² See also CBS News poll, October 27-30, 2017; ABC News/*Washington Post* polls, September 18-21, 2017, and October 29-November 1, 2017.

²³ ABC News/*Washington Post* polls, January 12-15, 2017, and September 18-21, 2017; Quinnipiac University polls, February 16-21, 2017, March 2-6, 2017, March 30-April 3, 2017, April 12-18, 2017, May 4-9, 2017, May 17-23, 2017 (registered voters); Pew Research Center poll, August 15-21, 2017; NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll, September 14-18, 2017; CBS News poll, October 27-30, 2017.

²⁴ Associated Press polls, October 12-16, 2017, and March 23-27, 2017; Gallup polls, April 5-9, 2017, and April 2-11, 2018; CBS News poll, October 27-30, 2017; ABC/*Washington Post* polls, September 18-21, 2017, and October 29-November 1, 2017; NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, September 14-18, 2017.

²⁵ Quinnipiac University polls, November 7-13, 2017, November 29-December 4, 2017, December 6-11, 2017, January 5-9, 2018, and February 2-5, 2018 (registered voters); CBS News poll, January 13-16, 2018.

²⁶ Quinnipiac University polls, May 4-9, 2017, and July 17-August 1, 2017 (registered voters); Bloomberg poll, July 8-12, 2017; Pew Research Center poll, October 25-30, 2017. But see NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, September 14-18, 2017; and CBS News poll, October 27-30, 2017.

²⁷ CBS News polls, October 27-30, 2017, and December 3-5, 2017.

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³¹ *Washington Post*-Schar School poll, June 27-July 2, 2018; CBS News poll, June 14-17, 2018; CNN poll, June 14-17, 2018; Quinnipiac University poll, June 14-17, 2018 (registered voters).

³² Loren Collingwood, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra A. R. Oskooii, "A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted Against Trump's Muslim Ban," *Political Behavior* (forthcoming).

³³ POLITICO/Harvard Public Health poll, March 22-26, 2017 (asked of half the sample of 1,019); Quinnipiac University poll, February 2-6, 2017 (registered voters); CNN poll, January 31-February 2, 2017. But see POLITICO/Harvard Public Health poll, March 22-26, 2017; and Fox News poll, February 11-13, 2017 (registered voters).

³⁴ CBS News poll, February 1-2, 2017.

³⁵ CNN poll, January 31-February 2, 2017.

³⁶ Loren Collingwood, Nazita Lajevardi, and Kassra A. R. Oskooii, "A Change of Heart? Why Individual-Level Public Opinion Shifted Against Trump's Muslim Ban," *Political Behavior* (forthcoming).

³⁷ Pew Research Center poll, February 7-12, 2017.

³⁸ Gallup poll, May 7-9, 1999.

³⁹ Roper poll, January 1939.

⁴⁰ Gallup poll, January 22-27, 1939. Asked of half the sample.

⁴¹ Gallup poll, August 30-September 4, 1946. The figure in support was 40 percent two months earlier (Gallup poll, June 28-July 3, 1946).

⁴² Gallup poll, February 14-19, 1947. Asked of half the sample.

⁴³ Foreign Affairs Survey, May 1953.

⁴⁴ Gallup poll, July 25-30, 1953.

⁴⁵ Gallup poll, September 19-24, 1957 and July 30-August 4, 1958.

⁴⁶ Harris poll, May 23-27, 1975.

⁴⁷ CBS News/*New York Times*, poll, July 9-11, 1979; Gallup poll, August 3-6, 1979; Roper poll, August 18-25, 1979

⁴⁸ Gallup poll, May 16-19, 1980; ABC News/Louis Harris polls, May 16-18 and June 5-9, 1980; CBS News/*New York Times* poll, June 18-22, 1980;

⁴⁹ Public Attitudes Toward Refugees and Immigrants poll, February 2-7, 1984.

⁵⁰ NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, January 23-26, 1993.

⁵¹ CNN poll, July 18-20, 2014. See also Pew Research Center poll, July 8-14, 2014.

⁵² Gallup poll, June 7-11, 2017.

⁵³ HuffPost/YouGov poll, August 2-3, 2017; CBS News poll, August 3-6, 2107.

⁵⁴ CNN poll, September 17-20, 2017.

⁵⁵ Quinnipiac University poll, February 2-5, 2018 (registered voters).

⁵⁶ Quinnipiac University poll, June 14-17, 2018 (registered voters). Also see Quinnipiac University poll, June 27-July 1, 2018.

⁵⁷ Gallup poll, June 1-13, 2018.

⁵⁸ Pew Research Center poll, June 5-12, 2018.

⁵⁹ Gallup poll, June 7-11, 2017. Asked of half the sample. Also see Pew Research Center poll, June 5-12, 2018; Monmouth University poll, September 15-17, 2018; Quinnipiac University polls, February 2-5, 2018, and April 6-9, 2018 (registered voters).

⁶⁰ Pew Research Center poll, April 25-May 1, 2018. See also the Pew polls of February 7-12, 2017; August 9-16, 2016; March 17-26, 2016; and August 27-September 13, 2015.

⁶¹ Justin McCarthy, “Americans More Positive about Effects of Immigration,” Gallup Poll, June 28, 2017.

⁶² ABC News/*Washington Post* poll, September 18-21, 2017; Pew Research Center poll, June 5-12, 2018.

⁶³ CBS News poll, February 17-21, 2017, Quinnipiac University polls, April 6-9, 2018, and June 27-July 1, 2018 (registered voters).

⁶⁴ *Washington Post*-Schar School poll, June 7-July 2, 2018; NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, HuffPost/YouGov poll, August 2-3, 2017; August 5-9, 2017; Quinnipiac University poll, January 12-16, 2018 (registered voters); ABC News/*Washington Post* poll, January 15-18, 2018;

⁶⁵ Gallup poll, June 1-13, 2018.

⁶⁶ CNN polls, September 1-4, 2016, and March 1-4, 2017. See also McClatchy poll, February 15-19, 2017, and March 22-27, 2018

⁶⁷ CNN poll, March 1-4, 2017.

⁶⁸ *Washington Post*-Schar School poll, June 27-July 2, 2018; Investor’s Business Daily poll, February 24-March 4, 2017; Suffolk University poll, March 1-5, 2017; NBC News/SurveyMonkey poll, August 24-29, 2017; YouGov/*Economist* poll, September 3-5, 2017; HuffPost/YouGov poll, September 5-6, 2017; Monmouth University polls, September 15-19, 2017, and January 28-30, 2018; CNN polls, September 17-20, 2017, and January 14-15 and 17-18, 2018; Quinnipiac University polls, September 21-26, 2017, and December 6-11, 2017 (registered voters); Marist polls, September 11-13, 2017, and December 4-7, 2017; ABC News/*Washington Post* polls, September 18-21, 2017, and January 15-18, 2018; PBS NewsHour poll, September 25-27, 2017; NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* poll, December 13-15, 2017; Pew Research Center poll, January 10-15, 2018; Politico/Harvard School of Public Health poll, February 21-25, 2018, half the sample of 1,007; Pew Research Center poll, June 5-12, 2018; CBS News poll, June 14-17, 2018; CNN poll, June 14-17, 2018, Quinnipiac University poll, June 14-17, 2018.