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THE COVID STATES PROJECT: A 50-STATE COVID-19 SURVEY REPORT #46: EXECUTIVE APPROVAL UPDATE

USA, March 2021

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HARVARD Kennedy School SHORENSTEIN CENTER on Media, Politics and Public Policy









Report of March 22, 2021, v.1

The COVID States Project

From: The COVID-19 Consortium for Understanding the Public's Policy Preferences Across States

A joint project of:

Northeastern University, Harvard University, Rutgers University, and Northwestern University

 Authors: David Lazer (Northeastern University); Ata Uslu (Northeastern University): Alexi Quintana (Northeastern University); Katherine Ognyanova (Rutgers University); Matthew A. Baum (Harvard University); James Druckman (Northwestern University); Jon Green (Northeastern University); Adina Gitomer (Northeastern University); Matthew Simonson (Northeastern University); Roy H. Perlis (Harvard Medical School); Mauricio Santillana (Harvard Medical School), and Jennifer Lin (Northwestern University)

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Northeastern University Network Science Institute HARVARD Kennedy School SHORENSTEIN CENTER on Media, Politics and Public Policy







COVER MEMO

Summary Memo — March 22, 2020

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From April 2020 through March 2021, we conducted multiple waves of a large, 50-state survey, some results of which are presented here. You can find previous reports online at covidstates.org.

Note on methods:

Over eleven survey waves, we polled 173,591 individuals across all 50 states plus the District of Columbia. The data was collected between April and February 2020 by PureSpectrum via an online, nonprobability sample, with state-level representative quotas for race/ethnicity, age, and gender. In addition to balancing on these dimensions, we reweighted our data using demographic characteristics to match the U.S. population with respect to race/ethnicity, age, gender, education, and living in urban, suburban, or rural areas. The survey waves used in this report include: Late April (4/17/20-4/26/20), Early May (5/2/20-5/15/20), Late May (5/16/20-5/31/20), Late June (6/12/20-6/28/20), Late July (7/10/20-7/26/20), August (8/7/20-8/26/20), September (9/4/20-9/27/20), October (10/2/20-11/04/20), November (11/03/20-12/01/20), December (12/16/20-01/11/21), and February (02/05/21-03/01/21).

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Update on executive approval

As part of the COVID states project, we have been asking people in all 50 states about their approval of their governors and the President. Since our <u>last report on executive</u> approval, which examined trends through October, 2020, there have been radical shifts in the pandemic, with huge surges of cases and deaths, followed by a <u>dramatic drop</u> <u>since January</u>. Changes in executive approval during this time have been more subtle. See Figure 1 for approval trends overall, and Figure 2 for these trends separated by partisanship.

The average governor has witnessed a small drop in approval since October (dropping from 48% in October to 46% in February, part of a long term decline in governor approval since we began our survey in April, when it was 64%). Approval of Trump's handling of COVID-19 also dropped in the final months of his term, from 35% in October to 32% in December. Our February survey marks our first attempt to capture approval of President Biden's handling of COVID-19, which stands at 53%. Notably, this approval rate of President Biden's handling of COVID-19 exceeds President Trump's levels of approval from December in 44 states (it lags behind in AR, IN, LA, OK, WV, WY).

There were some notable trends with respect to partisanship and approval after the election. Although state-by-state numbers according to partisanship are quite noisy because of small sample sizes (see margins of error due to sample size at the state level in Table 1), we identify three major patterns.

First: since the election, Democratic respondents have generally increased their approval of all governors, and especially Republican governors.

Second: Republican respondents have generally decreased their approval of all governors, especially Democratic governors. We suspect these trends might reflect spillover from satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the outcome of the Presidential election. In particular, the sharp drops in Republican approval of the Republican governors of Arizona and Georgia (and increases in Democratic approval) may be attributable to the central role of those states in electoral disputes in the months after the election.

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Figure 1. Approval of governors' and the incumbent president's management of COVID-19

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Figure 2. Approval of governors' management of COVID-19 by partisanship

These patterns may also reflect a <u>long-term tendency</u> for Democrats to be more likely to approve of, and be more willing to positively reassess, Republican leaders than Republicans are to approve of, or positively reassess, Democratic leaders. The reason is that the Democratic Party traditionally has been, and remains, more ideologically diverse than the Republican Party, with more of its members thus located near the threshold of approval.¹ That is, more Democrats tend to be located at or near the point of ambivalence between disapproving and approving of a Republican leader than the inverse (Republicans located at the ambivalence point with respect to a Democratic leader). Consequently, there are simply more Democrats available to positively reassess a Republican leader than Republicans available to positively reassess a Democratic leader.

The final pattern we identify is that independents have been fairly steady in their (generally low) approval of all governors.

As a result, approval of Republican governors now has a notably low level of partisan splits between Republican and Democratic survey respondents (a 9-point gap: 54% approval by Republican respondents and 45% by Democratic), while quite the opposite is true for Democratic governors (a 40 point gap: 71% approval by Democrats, and 31% by Republicans). These results are displayed in Figures 3 and 4, respectively. This is a marked change from preceding months: in April, the level of the partisan split in approval was 25 points for Republican governors and 19 points for Democratic governors; in October, it was 34 points for Republican governors and 22 points for Democratic governors.

We note that there are five Republican governors who continue to have higher support in approval from Democrats than Republicans (see Figure 5): the governors of Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Vermont (all but Ohio are strongly Democratic states). The gap in approval for those governors between Democrats and Republicans was at all-time high in February, at 17 points more favorable among Democrats than Republicans. Interestingly, though, the increases in Democratic approval for the remaining 22 Republican governors were particularly dramatic, with a jump from 24% in November to 38% in February.

The governors with the highest approval ratings include the five Republican governors mentioned above (see also Figure 6), who have high levels of Democratic approval (Vermont – 71%, Maryland – 65%, New Hampshire – 61%, Massachusetts – 59%, Ohio – 57%). These rates are rivaled by just one Democratic governor (Connecticut – 61%).

¹ Kernell, Samuel, and Douglas A. Hibbs Jr. "A critical threshold model of presidential popularity." *Contemporary Political Economy: Studies on the Interdependence of Politics and Economics* (1981): 49-71.



Figure 4: Governor approval by party, average across all Democratic governors



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Figure 6: Average governor approval by party across Republican governors except Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maryland and Ohio

Figure 5: Average governor approval by party across Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maryland and Ohio governors



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At the same time, the governors with the lowest approval ratings (35% and under) are all Republicans: Iowa (32%), Arizona (32%), Missouri (33%), Idaho (33%), Mississippi (34%), Georgia (35%), and Florida (35%). More details can be found in Table 1. The wide dispersion of approval of Republican governors (having the highest and lowest approval ratings) has generally been true throughout the pandemic.

Movement in polls has to be interpreted with caution, but it is worth noting the states where approval for governors has increased at least 10 points since the fall: Arkansas (up 11 points since November), Hawaii (up 10 points since November, and 19 points since September), Indiana (up 11 points since December), and Utah (up 11 points since December). Note that Utah elected a new governor in this time span (still Republican).

Conversely, governors whose approvals have decreased by 10 points or more include New York (down 10 points since December), Montana (down 10 points since November), Rhode Island (down 18 points since November), and North Dakota (down 13 points since September). We note that Governor Cuomo of New York became <u>embroiled in a scandal</u> regarding the alleged suppression of data regarding deaths in nursing homes in the middle of our survey (and <u>additional scandals</u> since the closure of our survey). In addition, Rhode Island has been in the middle of a leadership transition due to the appointment of Governor Raimondo to be Secretary of Commerce. Finally, Montana also had a turnover in governor (from a Democrat to Republican).

Table 1: Do you approve or disapprove of the way your state governor is handling the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak?

State	Late April	Early May	Late May	Late June	Late July	Late August	Septem- ber	October	Novem- ber	December- January	February
National	64 (1)	59 (1)	54 (1)	53 (1)	51 (1)	48 (1)	48 (1)	48 (1)	47 (1)	47 (1)	46 (1)
AK	61 (14)	53 (10)	48 (13)	51 (11)	47 (11)	42 (13)	34 (11)	48 (7)	45 (8)	41 (6)	39 (7)
AL	60 (6)	52 (6)	46 (7)	48 (6)	47 (6)	44 (5)	46 (6)	46 (6)	45 (6)	45 (6)	54 (6)
AR	65 (6)	61 (7)	52 (7)	47 (7)	41 (7)	43 (6)	52 (8)	50 (6)	36 (7)	41 (6)	47 (6)
AZ	56 (6)	57 (7)	41 (5)	33 (5)	30 (7)	30 (5)	37 (6)	36 (5)	36 (6)	28 (5)	32 (6)
CA	70 (5)	67 (4)	58 (4)	58 (4)	58 (6)	47 (4)	51 (4)	48 (4)	47 (4)	42 (5)	45 (5)
со	64 (5)	54 (6)	52 (6)	52 (6)	51 (7)	52 (5)	52 (7)	56 (5)	48 (6)	55 (5)	52 (6)
СТ	66 (6)	66 (6)	64 (8)	59 (6)	59 (6)	65 (6)	57 (6)	63 (5)	62 (6)	59 (5)	61 (6)
DE	69 (7)	62 (6)	53 (7)	54 (6)	51 (8)	60 (8)	48 (8)	47 (6)	54 (6)	51 (5)	53 (7)
FL	46 (5)	46 (4)	49 (5)	43 (4)	40 (6)	29 (4)	34 (4)	39 (4)	38 (4)	38 (5)	35 (5)
GA	53 (5)	33 (5)	35 (6)	43 (5)	37 (6)	36 (5)	38 (5)	41 (5)	37 (5)	34 (5)	35 (5)
н	36 (8)	35 (9)	41 (8)	43 (6)	39 (7)	31 (8)	31 (8)	28 (5)	37 (7)	39 (5)	47 (7)
IA	52 (6)	36 (6)	37 (7)	37 (6)	28 (6)	25 (7)	27 (7)	27 (5)	32 (5)	31 (5)	32 (6)
ID	64 (6)	54 (6)	51 (6)	49 (6)	42 (6)	34 (8)	46 (7)	41 (7)	36 (6)	31 (5)	33 (5)
IL	63 (5)	54 (5)	52 (5)	58 (5)	52 (6)	57 (5)	50 (5)	50 (4)	48 (5)	51 (5)	45 (6)
IN	71 (5)	59 (6)	56 (6)	56 (6)	50 (7)	47 (5)	46 (6)	49 (5)	45 (6)	43 (5)	54 (6)
KS	68 (6)	58 (6)	57 (8)	51 (7)	50 (6)	46 (6)	51 (7)	51 (7)	51 (6)	51 (5)	44 (6)
KY	79 (4)	71 (5)	63 (7)	62 (6)	59 (6)	57 (5)	57 (7)	55 (5)	55 (5)	56 (5)	52 (6)
LA	67 (6)	67 (6)	60 (7)	64 (7)	50 (7)	52 (6)	43 (8)	49 (6)	48 (6)	49 (5)	43 (7)
MA	80 (4)	77 (4)	72 (5)	70 (5)	70 (6)	68 (5)	71 (5)	65 (5)	64 (5)	65 (5)	59 (5)
MD	79 (5)	72 (5)	69 (6)	69 (5)	75 (5)	71 (5)	67 (6)	66 (5)	67 (6)	66 (5)	65 (6)
ME	67 (6)	57 (6)	50 (6)	50 (6)	54 (7)	54 (7)	52 (7)	54 (5)	58 (5)	53 (5)	52 (5)
MI	62 (5)	62 (5)	59 (5)	69 (5)	67 (6)	64 (5)	53 (6)	54 (5)	54 (5)	55 (5)	52 (5)
MN	71 (5)	62 (6)	59 (6)	54 (5)	52 (6)	51 (5)	49 (8)	50 (5)	50 (5)	57 (5)	52 (5)

(Approve + Strongly approve, margin of error is in parentheses)

МО	59 (5)	49 (5)	42 (6)	44 (5)	38 (6)	39 (5)	37 (6)	41 (5)	38 (5)	31 (5)	33 (5)
MS	56 (7)	53 (7)	54 (9)	50 (7)	42 (7)	34 (7)	35 (8)	40 (6)	31 (6)	33 (6)	34 (6)
MT	59 (8)	62 (7)	57 (11)	57 (7)	53 (7)	49 (8)	45 (8)	49 (6)	47 (6)	46 (5)	37 (6)
NC	60 (5)	60 (5)	52 (5)	49 (5)	48 (6)	52 (5)	51 (6)	48 (4)	51 (5)	52 (5)	50 (5)
ND	66 (11)	54 (9)	63 (9)	64 (9)	58 (9)	53 (9)	51 (9)	43 (6)	30 (6)	41 (5)	38 (6)
NE	63 (7)	53 (8)	51 (10)	50 (6)	41 (6)	40 (7)	42 (9)	40 (5)	39 (6)	37 (5)	39 (6)
NH	74 (6)	71 (5)	68 (6)	71 (5)	64 (6)	63 (8)	65 (7)	55 (6)	60 (6)	61 (4)	61 (6)
NJ	65 (5)	67 (5)	58 (5)	66 (5)	60 (7)	60 (5)	58 (5)	62 (5)	59 (6)	56 (5)	51 (6)
NM	64 (13)	67 (10)	54 (11)	42 (9)	53 (8)	53 (8)	48 (8)	48 (7)	46 (7)	48 (6)	47 (7)
NV	60 (6)	60 (6)	55 (7)	51 (6)	47 (7)	41 (6)	44 (8)	50 (6)	50 (6)	44 (5)	44 (7)
NY	70 (5)	70 (4)	69 (4)	64 (4)	71 (5)	61 (5)	58 (4)	57 (4)	60 (4)	63 (5)	53 (5)
ОН	81 (4)	77 (4)	69 (5)	66 (4)	58 (5)	58 (5)	56 (5)	59 (4)	56 (5)	50 (5)	57 (5)
ОК	51 (6)	48 (7)	44 (7)	45 (7)	34 (7)	35 (6)	39 (7)	36 (6)	39 (6)	33 (5)	37 (6)
OR	61 (5)	53 (5)	54 (5)	48 (6)	47 (6)	39 (5)	46 (7)	43 (6)	44 (5)	47 (5)	39 (6)
PA	57 (5)	56 (5)	52 (5)	48 (4)	52 (6)	48 (5)	48 (5)	47 (4)	43 (5)	44 (5)	39 (5)
RI	74 (6)	72 (6)	66 (9)	63 (6)	71 (6)	60 (8)	62 (8)	58 (6)	58 (5)	54 (5)	40 (6)
SC	51 (6)	49 (6)	46 (6)	44 (6)	44 (6)	36 (6)	37 (6)	38 (5)	41 (5)	35 (5)	42 (6)
SD	43 (9)	45 (8)	40 (9)	54 (7)	54 (8)	48 (10)	42 (10)	38 (6)	38 (6)	37 (5)	43 (6)
TN	62 (5)	51 (6)	50 (6)	46 (6)	44 (6)	40 (5)	38 (5)	43 (5)	43 (6)	35 (5)	37 (5)
ТΧ	61 (5)	52 (5)	49 (5)	45 (4)	38 (6)	35 (4)	40 (4)	40 (4)	43 (4)	38 (5)	41 (5)
UT	60 (6)	57 (7)	56 (8)	49 (7)	44 (6)	44 (8)	46 (7)	42 (5)	40 (5)	40 (5)	51 (5)
VA	59 (5)	54 (5)	54 (5)	49 (5)	59 (6)	46 (5)	46 (5)	51 (5)	48 (6)	50 (5)	49 (5)
VT	72 (8)	75 (7)	74 (8)	75 (7)	75 (7)	76 (9)	70 (11)	78 (6)	77 (6)	74 (5)	71 (6)
WA	70 (6)	65 (5)	53 (5)	58 (6)	57 (6)	50 (5)	51 (5)	54 (5)	55 (5)	54 (5)	55 (5)
WI	56 (5)	56 (5)	50 (6)	48 (5)	46 (5)	43 (5)	39 (6)	41 (5)	48 (4)	47 (5)	47 (6)
WV	78 (5)	73 (6)	67 (9)	65 (7)	54 (7)	56 (7)	49 (8)	48 (5)	55 (7)	54 (6)	55 (6)
WY	65 (11)	54 (13)	59 (11)	55 (10)	60 (10)	48 (11)	42 (11)	51 (7)	43 (7)	39 (6)	37 (7)

Table 2: Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President is handling the coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak?

State	Late April	Early May	Late May	Late June	Late July	Late August	Septem- ber	October	Novem- ber	December -January	February
National	42 (1)	40 (1)	34 (1)	34 (1)	32 (1)	34 (1)	34 (1)	35 (1)	32 (1)	32 (1)	53 (1)
AK	55 (14)	41 (10)	35 (13)	37 (10)	32 (10)	26 (12)	30 (10)	36 (7)	41 (8)	37 (6)	42 (7)
AL	54 (6)	52 (6)	42 (7)	45 (6)	46 (6)	46 (5)	50 (6)	48 (6)	46 (6)	43 (6)	49 (6)
AR	55 (6)	51 (7)	46 (7)	40 (7)	39 (7)	44 (6)	44 (8)	45 (6)	36 (7)	39 (6)	38 (5)
AZ	42 (6)	43 (7)	34 (5)	35 (5)	38 (7)	31 (5)	36 (6)	37 (6)	32 (5)	37 (5)	50 (6)
CA	32 (5)	34 (4)	27 (4)	25 (4)	30 (5)	28 (4)	25 (3)	27 (4)	26 (4)	26 (4)	64 (5)
со	42 (6)	37 (6)	34 (6)	31 (5)	27 (6)	33 (5)	30 (6)	34 (5)	31 (5)	30 (5)	48 (6)
СТ	34 (6)	32 (6)	31 (8)	26 (5)	22 (5)	30 (5)	23 (5)	28 (5)	21 (5)	26 (4)	56 (6)
DE	37 (7)	38 (6)	30 (7)	28 (6)	24 (7)	33 (8)	29 (7)	28 (6)	26 (6)	30 (5)	60 (7)
FL	42 (5)	42 (4)	38 (5)	40 (4)	39 (5)	29 (4)	34 (4)	39 (4)	34 (4)	34 (4)	55 (5)
GA	46 (5)	42 (5)	35 (6)	42 (5)	38 (6)	35 (5)	39 (5)	39 (5)	36 (5)	38 (5)	54 (6)
HI	31 (7)	30 (8)	20 (6)	23 (5)	20 (6)	27 (8)	21 (7)	21 (5)	26 (6)	19 (4)	67 (7)
IA	43 (6)	39 (6)	34 (7)	29 (6)	29 (6)	34 (7)	40 (8)	31 (5)	35 (5)	30 (5)	58 (6)
ID	51 (7)	46 (6)	42 (6)	36 (6)	36 (6)	49 (8)	42 (7)	45 (7)	38 (6)	39 (5)	41 (5)
IL	37 (5)	36 (5)	34 (4)	28 (4)	26 (5)	30 (4)	30 (4)	29 (4)	33 (5)	26 (4)	57 (6)
IN	50 (6)	49 (6)	39 (6)	37 (6)	30 (6)	38 (5)	39 (6)	43 (5)	39 (5)	41 (5)	41 (6)
KS	48 (6)	44 (6)	38 (8)	36 (6)	35 (6)	39 (6)	42 (7)	38 (6)	31 (5)	35 (5)	48 (6)
KY	52 (5)	47 (6)	44 (7)	47 (6)	45 (6)	42 (5)	46 (7)	42 (5)	39 (5)	40 (5)	45 (6)
LA	50 (6)	50 (7)	45 (7)	49 (7)	38 (7)	44 (6)	42 (8)	45 (6)	37 (6)	44 (5)	37 (7)
MA	35 (5)	34 (5)	27 (5)	24 (5)	26 (5)	24 (4)	27 (5)	26 (5)	24 (4)	21 (4)	67 (5)
MD	38 (6)	27 (5)	24 (5)	30 (5)	22 (5)	26 (4)	26 (5)	27 (4)	30 (5)	25 (4)	63 (6)
ME	46 (6)	37 (6)	34 (6)	33 (6)	31 (6)	40 (7)	38 (7)	36 (5)	31 (4)	34 (5)	52 (5)
MI	37 (5)	34 (5)	29 (5)	26 (5)	30 (6)	32 (5)	33 (6)	36 (5)	34 (4)	34 (5)	52 (5)
MN	44 (5)	39 (6)	33 (6)	33 (5)	36 (6)	35 (5)	30 (7)	34 (5)	38 (5)	28 (4)	49 (5)

(Approve + Strongly approve, margin of error is in parentheses)

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	VT	30 (8)	33 (7)	22 (7)	27 (7)	33 (8)	30 (10)	21 (9)	26 (6)	19 (6)	27 (5)	55 (6)
WI 38 (5) 32 (5) 29 (5) 30 (5) 29 (5) 29 (5) 34 (6) 31 (5) 29 (4) 31 (5) 54 (6)	WA	30 (6)	30 (5)	26 (4)	30 (5)	32 (5)	26 (5)	30 (5)	31 (5)	28 (5)	25 (4)	61 (5)
	WI	38 (5)	32 (5)	29 (5)	30 (5)	29 (5)	29 (5)	34 (6)	31 (5)	29 (4)	31 (5)	54 (6)
WV 57 (6) 58 (7) 44 (9) 51 (7) 44 (7) 48 (7) 58 (8) 46 (5) 50 (7) 47 (6) 37 (6)	WV	57 (6)	58 (7)	44 (9)	51 (7)	44 (7)	48 (7)	58 (8)	46 (5)	50 (7)	47 (6)	37 (6)
WY 61 (11) 67 (12) 52 (11) 52 (10) 50 (10) 46 (11) 48 (11) 47 (7) 44 (8) 44 (6) 35 (7)	WY	61 (11)	67 (12)	52 (11)	52 (10)	50 (10)	46 (11)	48 (11)	47 (7)	44 (8)	44 (6)	35 (7)