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# Trump Has Met the Public's Modest Expectations for His Presidency

In their own words: Opinions of Trump among his supporters, opponents

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# Trump Has Met the Public's Modest Expectations for His Presidency

In their own words: Opinions of Trump among his supporters, opponents

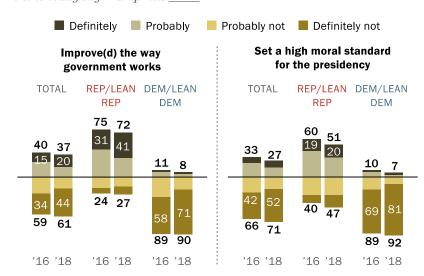
Just prior to the 2016 election, the public had fairly low expectations for Donald Trump's presidency. Majorities of Americans said that if Trump was elected, he would not be likely to

improve the way government works, set a high moral standard for the presidency or achieve other goals.

And for the most part, the public's current evaluations of Trump's administration across these dimensions vary little from these pre-election predictions.

In a new national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted July 30-Aug. 12 among 4,581 adults, 61% say that since taking office, Trump has definitely (44%) or probably (18%) not improved the way government works; 71% say he has definitely (52%) or probably (19%) not Only about a quarter of Americans say Trump has set a 'high moral standard'; more say he has improved govt

% who in November 2016 said Donald Trump, if elected, **would** \_\_\_\_\_ % who today say Trump **has** \_\_\_\_\_



Note: Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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set a high moral standard for the presidency.

These overall views are little different from the public's pre-election 2016 perceptions of what Trump would do if elected: Before the election, 59% anticipated that Trump would not improve the way government works and 66% thought he would not set a high moral standard for the presidency.

Similarly, 61% now say he has definitely or probably not run an open and transparent administration (before the election, 60% said he would definitely or probably not do this); 62% say he has not improved the U.S. standing in the world (62% before the election); and 55% say he has definitely or probably improperly used the office to enrich his friends or family (56% before the election).

But more than a year and a half into his presidency public assessments are now more definitive: For example, today 44% say Trump *has definitely not* improved the way government works, up from 34% who said he definitely would not in 2016; but at the same time, the share saying he *definitely has* improved government function is up from 15% to 20%.

Already polarized views have become even more so, as Republicans and Republican-leaning independents have grown more likely to say he has *definitely* improved government since taking office, while Democrats and Democratic-leaners have grown more likely to say he has *definitely not* done this since taking office. The survey also finds:

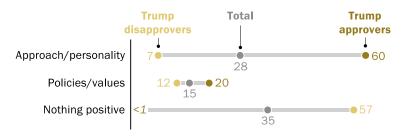
Trump's polarizing personality. Trump's personality continues to be a positive aspect of his

presidency among those who approve of his job performance (40% of the public) – and a source of concern among many of those who disapprove. Asked an openended question about what they like most about how Trump is handling his job as president, a 60% majority of those who approve of his job performance cite an aspect of his approach or personality. Specific mentions of Trump's policies or agenda are a distant second, mentioned by 20%.

# Some of those who cite Trump's personality as what they like most

# Trump approvers cite his personality as what they like most about him; many disapprovers say 'nothing'

What, if anything, do you **like most** about how Trump is handling his job as president? [OPEN-END]



Notes: Open-ended question. Top 3 common responses shown here. See topline for full set of responses. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses. Data for 'Nothing' among Trump approvers not shown because group <1%.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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about him point to his leadership, sticking to his convictions, and ability to get things done. Others say they appreciate how he speaks his mind, and is not like a typical politician.

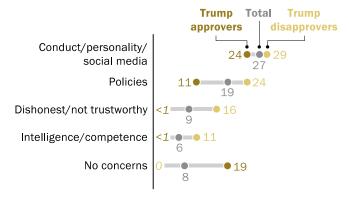
Those who disapprove of the way Trump is handling his job (59% of adults) find little to like about his presidency. When asked what they like most about it, 57% say "nothing" or mention something they do not like about Trump. Just 12% were able to point to a specific policy approach they like, while another 7% mentioned an aspect of his personality or general approach.

When asked what concerns them most about Trump, those who disapprove of his job performance name several concerns. About three-in-ten (29%) mention his personality or conduct while roughly a quarter (24%) cite one or more policy positions and 16% describe him as dishonest or untrustworthy.

Trump's approvers are generally less likely than disapprovers to offer a concern about him (19% say they have no concerns at all, and another 27% did not give an answer to the question). But among those who do cite concerns about him, aspects of his conduct – particularly his use of social media – are most commonly named. About a quarter (24%) of those who approve of the job Trump is doing as president say his conduct is a concern including 13% who explicitly say his use of Twitter and other social media warrant

# Concerns of Trump disapprovers are wide-ranging; personality, policy positions mentioned most often

What, if anything, **concerns you most** about how Trump is handling his job as president? [OPEN-END]



Notes: Open-ended question. Top 3 common responses shown here. See topline for full set of responses. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses. Missing data not shown because responses <1%.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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concern. Another 11% mention a policy or policies that are worrying.

**Changing views of Trump's ideology.** More Americans say Trump's views are conservative on nearly all issues or most issues today (58%) than did so in December 2016 (46%), shortly after he was elected. Still, nearly a third (31%) say Trump has a mix of conservative and liberal views, while 7% say he has liberal views on nearly all or most issues.

# Before the election, a partisan divide in expectations for Trump; today, deep differences on his performance

At the end of the 2016 presidential campaign, Americans were pessimistic about the next administration – regardless of whether <u>Trump or Hillary Clinton</u> won the election. Majorities had low expectations for how both candidates would handle five specific areas.

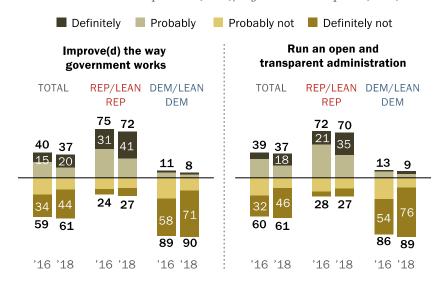
Nearly two years later, the public gives Trump negative assessments for his performance in all five areas.

There are sharp partisan divisions in these evaluations: About seven-in-ten Republicans and Republicanleaning independents say Trump has definitely or probably improved the way government works (72%) and run and open and transparent administration (70%).

Larger shares of Democrats and Democratic leaners say he definitely or probably has *not* done this (90% say he has not improved the way government works; 89% say he has not run an open and transparent administration).

# Most Democrats say Trump has definitely not improved government; fewer Republicans say he definitely has

% who said Donald Trump would (2016)/say Donald Trump has (2018) ...



Note: Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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Across all five evaluations, sizable majorities of Democrats say Trump *definitely has not* achieved these goals. In each case, fewer than half of Republicans say he *has definitely* achieved them.

For example, 71% of Democrats say he has definitely not improved the way government works and 76% say he has definitely not run and open and transparent administration. About four-in-ten Republicans (41%) say he has definitely improved the way government functions and 35% say he has definitely run an open administration. Members of both parties have become more definitive in their judgments of Trump since he has become president.

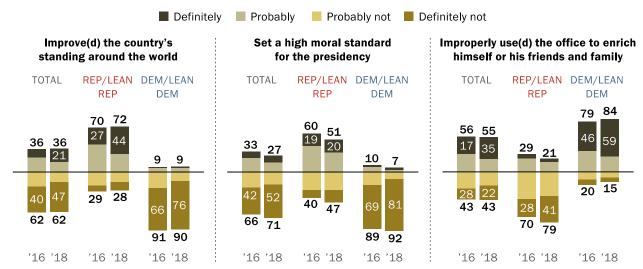
Across five evaluations in the survey, Trump gets his most negative ratings for setting a high moral standard for the presidency. The public's pre-election expectations were already quite low: In November 2016, just 33% of Americans said that if Trump was elected he definitely or probably would set high moral standard for the presidency; twice as many (66%) said he definitely or probably would not do this.

The current ratings are somewhat more negative: Just 27% say Trump has set a high moral standard for the presidency, while 71% say he has not done this. Republicans are divided in their assessment of Trump in this area: 51% say he definitely or probably set a high moral standard for the presidency, while 47% say he definitely or probably has not. Just prior to the election, 60% of Republicans said they expected Trump would set a high moral standard.

Before the election, 89% of Democrats anticipated that Trump would not set a high moral standard for the presidency; today, about the same share (92%) say he has not done this. Still, more Democrats say he *has definitely* not set a high moral standard for the presidency than said he *definitely would* do this in the pre-election survey (81% now, 69% then).

# Trump gets relatively low ratings among members of both parties for setting a high moral standard for the presidency

% who say Donald Trump would (2016)/say Donald Trump has (2018) ...



Note: Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

Similarly, before the election an overwhelming share of Democrats (91%) said Trump would definitely or probably not improve the country's global standing; today, 90% say he has not achieved this objective. Republicans' views also have changed little since before the election: Currently, 72% say he has improved the U.S. global standing; 70% expected he would do this before his election victory.

And while 84% of Democrats say Trump has improperly used his office to enrich himself, his family or friends, 79% expected he would do this before the election. Prior to the election, just 29% of Republicans said Trump definitely or probably would use the office of the presidency for personal gain; today, even fewer Republicans (21%) say has definitely or probably done this.

Across all five dimensions, independents who lean toward the Republican Party are less positive about Trump's performance than are those who identify as Republicans. By contrast, Democratic-leaning independents and Democrats have more similar evaluations of the president. (This is consistent with the wider differences between Republicans and GOP leaners, and Democrats and

Democratic leaners, in <u>Trump's job</u> approval.)

In assessments of whether Trump has set a high moral standard for the presidency, a majority (60%) of those who identify as Republicans say Trump has definitely or probably done this, while 39% say he has not.

The balance of opinion is flipped among independents who lean toward the Republican Party. A majority (59%) say he is definitely or probably *not* upholding high moral standards, while 39% say he is.

A 20-point gap on assessments of Trump can be seen on other issues as well. Unlike views of whether

### Republican-leaning independents less positive about Trump performance than those who identify with GOP

% who say that Donald Trump has definitely/probably done each of the following since taking office

	Lean Dem Lean Dem Rep	Rep
Set a high moral standard for the presidency	••8 39 ••	<b>6</b> 0
Improved the way government works	7 • 10	59●──●80
Improved the country's standing around the world	8 • 9	60 ● ● 80
Run an open and transparent administration	9 • 10	60 ● 78
Improperly used his office to enrich himself or his friends and family	16 ● ●29	80 ●=● 87

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug 12, 2018.

Trump is setting high moral standards for the presidency, however, majorities of both Republicans and Republican leaners rate him positively in other areas.

## Trump approvers and disapprovers in their own words

Among those who approve of Trump's job performance, a majority (60%) point to aspects of his

personality – including his leadership style, ability to get things done and putting Americans first – as what they like most.

Far fewer (just 20%) cite a policy, or his agenda and values. Among these approvers, just 10% mention the economy or economic policy or jobs, and 6% cite immigration policy.

Among those who disapprove of Trump, 57% could not name anything they like most, including 45% who say "nothing" and 14% who list things they do not like about Trump.

# Many Trump approvers cite his leadership, 'putting Americans first' as what they like most about him

What, if anything, **do you like most** about how Trump is handling his job as president? [OPEN-END]

		Among t	hose who
	Total	Approve of Trump	Disapprove of Trump
	%	%	%
NET Nothing/Don't like/Could be worse	35	*	57
Nothing	27	0	45
Names specific dislikes	9	*	14
Has not been effective (good thing)	1	*	1
NET His approach/Personality	28	60	7
Leadership/Keeps promises/Get things done	17	38	4
Fixing U.S. problems/Putting Americans first	7	15	1
Speaks his mind/Tells it like it is	3	6	*
Not typical politician/Draining the swamp	3	7	*
Calls out/Stands up to the media	1	3	0
NET Policies/Values	<b>1</b> 5	20	12
Economic policy/jobs	7	10	5
Foreign policy	4	7	2
Immigration policy	4	6	2
Tax policy	2	1	2
Trade policy/Tariffs	2	2	2
His agenda/Values/Beliefs	1	3	*
Opposes Democrats/Reverses Obama policies	2	3	1
Other	9	9	9
No response	19	24	17

Notes: Open-ended question. See topline for full see of responses. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses.

Source: Survey conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

### Voices: What do you like most about how Trump is handling his job as president?

Among those who of Trump's job performance

#### **APPROVE**

He has a **bold approach** in negotiations and he is putting the interests of our nation and citizens at the forefront. He has proven that he is not a politician, and that is refreshing! Where his predecessors provided a lot of talk, he is providing results! *Man*, 47

He's upfront and calls people out. He's direct and to the point. He's not a politician. Woman, 54

He's **calling an ace an ace and a spade a spade.** After years of having men in the White House mince their words, this is SO refreshing (even if he does "mis-speak" at times)! *Woman*, 64

He is keeping his word. Woman, 33

I like his **direct approach** to important matters and how he is more focused on pleasing the citizens of the USA than he is on pleasing the world at large. *Man*, 26

If he sees something wrong **he calls it out no matter who it is.** He only does what he thinks is right. When President Trump talks I don't have to figure out what he is saying. Most politicians never answer a question. *Man*, 61

He is using his **experience in business** to lead the country with a more **common sense** approach. He is a businessman first and politician second. Previous presidents have been clueless about how to run a business or government. A common sense approach to any task is preferable from my standpoint. *Man*, 78

Not afraid to **tackle tough issues**. Knows how to bargain. Not afraid to bluff to get results. *Woman*, 77

He has done, or tried to do, most of the things he promised. He **takes criticism into consideration** and will change his position when appropriately convinced. He has gotten more done in two years than the previous administrations have done. He is **harder on Russia** than the previous two administrations. He is not in it for the money, and **not afraid to think outside the box** to reach an ultimate goal. *Woman*, 40

He is doing exactly what he said he would do. He is not governing by the polls. He is doing what needs to be done, even if it's hard and unpopular. And our economy is booming because of his efforts. *Woman*, 52

**American job growth**, revitalization of American spirit nationwide, problems within the government that have been long set aside are being addressed head on. *Man*, 21

#### **DISAPPROVE**

I like that he does what he wants to do. But that is also why I disapprove of him. *Man*, 30

He is unafraid of "going against the grain," even within his own party, which I respect. *Woman, 39* 

I'm having a hard time coming up with an answer... I guess I would have to say the level of communication, but not the quality.

Woman, 44

I don't like anything at all about what he is doing or how he is handling his job. *Woman*, 53

I don't like anything he is doing; we are the laughing stock of the world. *Woman*, 57

I like that he is progressing an economically beneficial agenda. I don't like his relationship with social media and the mainstream media. *Man*, 50

I like nothing about Trump's presidency. I dislike his actions, his appointments, and his disassembling of our governments' programs. He has alienated our allies, befriended dictators, ignored human rights, set back civil rights, women's rights, LGBTQ rights, and continues enriching and empowering the rich while disenfranchising the poor, people of color, the undocumented, the unhoused, the mentally ill. Woman, 60

**Nothing.** He is unqualified and undignified for the office of the president. *Man*, 37

Beyond his policies, Donald Trump is one of the most corrupt and morally bankrupt people to run the presidency. I wish there was something I could say that I liked, because I truly try to find the best in people. I have not agreed with a single policy, or even understood how he handles himself. He chooses to benefit only himself, and worst of all, only in that moment. It's unbelievable how he has threatened war on other countries over Twitter, and invalidated our own intelligence agencies. I'm exhausted by our lack of humanity and civility. *Woman*, 28

Some elements of fiscal and foreign policy. Judicial appointments and some deregulation. Strength on border (though perhaps too much). Man. 37

He got me more money in my paycheck. So that's a plus. Man, 33

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of those who approve/disapprove of Donald Trump's job performance. Verbatim responses, edited only for minor spelling and grammar corrections.

Source: Survey conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

When asked what concerns them most about the way Trump is handling the presidency, those who disapprove of his performance list numerous shortcomings: 29% cite Trump's personality and conduct, 24% mention one or more of his policies, 16% say he is dishonest or untrustworthy and 11% raise concerns over his intelligence and competence.

Trump's handling of race issues – perceptions that he is discriminatory or racist – are mentioned by 7% of those who disapprove of him, while 5% cite "collusion with Russia" and 5% also say "everything."

Those who approve of Trump's job performance also raise a variety of concerns about him, though close to half (46%) either have no response to this question (27%) or say they have no concerns (19%). Among those who do mention a concern, 24% cite his personality – with half of those pointing to his use of Twitter.

# Concerns among Trump disapprovers: His personality, policies, competence and dishonesty

What, if anything, **concerns you most** about how Trump is handling his job as president? [OPEN-END]

		_	ose who
	Total	Approve of Trump	Disapprove of Trump
	%	%	%
NET Conduct/Personality/Social media	27	24	29
Use of Twitter/Social media	10	13	7
Temperament/Lack of tact	9	4	13
Speaks off the cuff/Loose canon	6	7	5
Narcissism/Ego	3	*	5
NET Policies	19	11	24
Foreign Policy/U.S. international reputation	9	3	13
Immigration	6	2	9
NET Intelligence/Competence	6	*	11
Ignorance/Lack of critical thought	3	*	5
Unqualified/Incompetent	3	0	6
Dishonest/Not trustworthy	9	*	16
No concerns	8	19	0
Discriminatory against groups/Race issues	4	*	7
Does not care about common people, only rich	4	0	6
Divisive	4	1	6
Everything	3	*	5
Collusion with Russia	3	*	5
Other	10	7	12
No response	22	27	19

Notes: Open-ended question. Reponses offered by at least 3% overall shown here. See topline for full see of responses. Total may exceed 100% because of multiple responses. Source: Survey conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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For the most part, the open-ended responses about Trump – both positive and negative – are similar to opinions expressed in a survey about a year ago, in <u>August 2017.</u>

### Voices: What concerns you about how Trump is handling his job as president?

Among those who \_\_\_\_\_ of Trump's job performance

#### **APPROVE**

His never ending **tweets and mouth** are distracting him and congress from accomplishing the work necessary. If he would shut up he could be the greatest ever. Man, 63

His lack of filter concerns me. Some of his points are realistic, but the way he approaches topics makes all the difference. *Woman*, 38

He's **not** a **polished politician**; he misspeaks, and has to backpedal too often. However, he's accomplished more than most presidents, especially this long into his first term. *Man*, 38

I would prefer a more humble president. Man, 46

His style is uncomfortable to watch. I cannot imagine how it would feel to experience it on a daily basis or to be the focus of his attention. However, he may be the man for his time. I do not know anyone else that could accomplish what he has in just 18 months. *Man*, 76

Nothing he does concerns me. He is smarter than he is given credit for. He plays the media like the fools they are, even FOX. *Man*, 56

He seems to be a little too casual and doesn't try to be tactful. No class, but he is getting done the things he said he would. *Woman*, 54

He needs to get off of Twitter. He needs to think about what he is saying. He has the economy on a good course and he knows what he is doing concerning trade. He has to get a little radical to reverse the errors of previous administrations. *Man*, 70

**His tweets!** His reacting to everything that is said about him! His use of superlatives! *Woman*, 63

That he is getting so much opposition on every hand. Woman, 62

**Nothing.** He has totally impressed me. Taking care of business. *Woman*, 62

#### **DISAPPROVE**

He doesn't care about those who don't have money or those who aren't the same race as him. Woman, 22

He is irrational and has authoritarian tendencies. He's a liar and a bully. Woman, 48

The rash decisions he makes and the blatant attacks he makes against people of different cultures. Very divisive and unethical... just plain immoral, dishonest, and a liar without any remorse, *Woman*, 51

He doesn't demonstrate even the slightest decorum required for a president. *Man*, 52

He is **not stable**. His policies on immigration, blatant racism and sexism, insulting allies while embracing Putin. The treasonous remarks about the Russian meddling. Making political decisions based on what **benefits his personal investments**. Much, much more. *Woman*, 61

I believe that he is **not as smart as he and his base thinks he is** and absolutely should not have the fate of the United States and the whole world to play with. *Man*, 65

His temperament, abrasiveness, disregard for the work of his forebears, and inability to accept responsibility for his mistakes. *Man.* 35

Actually some of the results have been ok – like who is becoming superior court judges. However, his demeanor and general manners and lack of professionalism is embarrassing and sometimes makes me nervous like he might incite another nation to war. Also, not thrilled with the tariff situation, *Woman*, 56

He is a **lying narcissist** who is unfit to rent out bowling shoes, let alone govern a country. *Man*, 30

His short-sightedness and lack of basic human decency. *Man*, 33

That he is unqualified. That he is totally out of touch with normal people. That he doesn't care to lead people who didn't vote for him. That he holds rallies almost constantly that the American people are paying their tax dollars for. That he will start a nuclear war. That he doesn't give a crap about minorities or women. That he doesn't understand that Russia is acting in bad faith. That he's wasting tax dollars. That he's saving the rich money...I could go on and on. Woman, 26

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of those who approve/disapprove of Donald Trump's job performance. Verbatim responses, edited only for minor spelling and grammar corrections.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

### Views of Trump's ideology

Nearly two years into his presidency, the public continues to have somewhat mixed views about Trump's ideology. About a quarter (26%) say Trump has conservative views on almost all issues,

while another 32% say he is conservative on most issues.

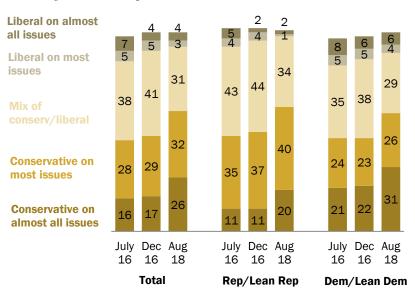
Another 31% say Trump has a mix of conservative and liberal views, while 7% say has liberal views on most or almost all issues.

An increasing share of Americans view Trump as a conservative: 58% now say he has conservative views on almost all or most issues. In December 2016, 46% said he was conservative on at least most issues.

Republicans and Democrats have both grown more likely to say Trump's positions are conservative. In December

# Increasing share of Americans say Trump has conservative views on most or almost all issues

% who say Donald Trump's views are ...



Note: Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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2016, about half of Republicans and Republican leaners (48%) said Trump's views were generally conservative, while nearly as many (44%) said he had a mix of conservative and liberal views. Today, 60% of Republicans say his views are mostly conservative, while fewer (34%) say he has a mix of liberal and conservative views on issues.

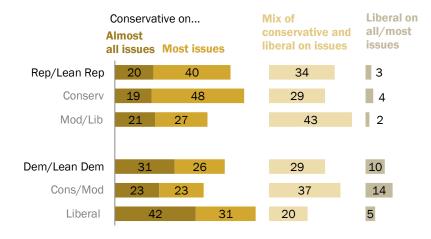
The share of Democrats and Democratic leaners saying Trump has conservative views on most or nearly all issues also has increased. Nearly six-in-ten Democrats (57%) now say his views tend to be conservative, up from 46% shortly after the election.

Among Republicans, conservatives are more likely than moderates and liberals to characterize Trump's views as conservative.

Two-thirds of conservative Republicans and Republicanleaners (67%) say Trump holds conservative views on almost all (19%) or most issues (48%). Moderate and liberal Republicans are divided; 48% say he has conservative views, while 43% say he has a mix of liberal and conservative views.

# Liberal Democrats, conservative Republicans most likely to say Trump's views are conservative

% who say Donald Trump's views are ...



Note: Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug 12, 2018.

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Among Democrats, more than seven-in-ten liberals (72%) say Trump is conservative on most issues (31%) or almost all issues (42%). By contrast, fewer than half of conservative and moderate Democrats (45%) say Trump is conservative on at least most issues.

## **Acknowledgements**

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#### Research team

Carroll Doherty, *Director*, *Political Research*Jocelyn Kiley, *Associate Director*, *Political Research*Alec Tyson, *Senior Researcher*Bradley Jones, *Research Associate*Baxter Oliphant, *Research Associate*Hannah Hartig, *Research Analyst*Amina Dunn, *Research Assistant*John LaLoggia, *Research Assistant* 

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## Methodology

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults recruited from landline and cell phone random digit dial surveys. Panelists participate via monthly self-administered Web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. The panel is being managed by GfK.

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted July 30-August 12, 2018, among 4,581 respondents. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,581 respondents is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points.

Members of the American Trends Panel were recruited from several large, national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) surveys conducted in English and Spanish. At the end of each survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The first group of panelists was recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, conducted January 23 to March 16, 2014. Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 5,338 agreed to participate.¹ The second group of panelists was recruited from the 2015 Pew Research Center Survey on Government, conducted August 27 to October 4, 2015. Of the 6,004 adults interviewed, all were invited to join the panel, and 2,976 agreed to participate.² The third group of panelists was recruited from a survey conducted April 25 to June 4, 2017. Of the 5,012 adults interviewed in the survey or pretest, 3,905 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 1,628 agreed to participate.³

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel and remain an active panelist varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on a number of dimensions. Gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region parameters come from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2016 American Community Survey. The county-level population density parameter (deciles) comes from the 2010 U.S. decennial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of 25%, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, 83% of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Respondents to the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey who indicated that they are internet users but refused to provide an email address were initially permitted to participate in the American Trends Panel by mail, but were no longer permitted to join the panel after February 6, 2014. Internet users from the 2015 Pew Research Center Survey on Government who refused to provide an email address were not permitted to join the panel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> White, non-Hispanic college graduates were subsampled at a rate of 50%.

census. The telephone service benchmark comes from the July-December 2016 National Health Interview Survey and is projected to 2017. The volunteerism benchmark comes from the 2015 Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. The party affiliation benchmark is the average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. The internet access benchmark comes from the 2017 ATP Panel Refresh Survey. Respondents who did not previously have internet access are treated as not having internet access for weighting purposes. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Survey conducted July 30-	August 12, 2018		
<b>Group</b> Total sample	Unweighted sample size 4,581	Plus or minus 2.4 percentage points	% of weighted sample 100%
Half form	2,269 (min)	3.4 percentage points	
Rep/Lean Rep	1,944	3.7 percentage points	43%
Half form	950 (min)	5.2 percentage points	
Dem/Lean Dem	2,534	3.2 percentage points	53%
Half form	1,263 (min)	4.5 percentage points	

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The July 2018 wave had a response rate of 84% (4,581 responses among 5,475 individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys (10.1%) and attrition from panel members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the wave is 2.4%.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves are removed from the panel. These cases are counted in the denominator of cumulative response rates.

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# 2018 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 37 JULY FINAL TOPLINE JULY 30 - AUGUST 12, 2018 TOTAL N=4,581

#### **ASK ALL:**

POL1DT Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president?

#### ASK IF ANSWERED POL1DT (POL1DT=1,2):

POL1DTSTR Do you [IF POL1DT=1: approve; IF POL1DT=2: disapprove] of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president...

Jul 30-		Jan 29-			Feb 28-
Aug 12		Feb 13	Aug 8-21	Apr 4-18	Mar 12
<u> 2018</u>		<u>2018</u>	<u>2017</u>	<u>2017</u>	<u>2017</u> ⁵
40	NET Approve	38	36	39	44
31	Very strongly	29	26	27	30
9	Not so strongly	9	10	12	13
*	No answer	*	*	*	*
59	NET Disapprove	60	63	61	56
48	Very strongly	48	49	45	43
10	Not so strongly	12	13	15	12
*	No answer	*	*	*	*
2	No answer	2	1	1	1

#### **ASK IF POL1DT=1,2 & FORM 1 [N=1,109]:**

DTCNCRN

[IF POL1DT=1: And while you approve of the job Donald Trump is doing, what][IF POL1DT=2: What], if anything, concerns you most about how Trump is handling his job as president?

Jul 30- Aug 12 <u>2018</u>		Aug 8-21 <u>2017</u>
27	NET Conduct/Personality/Social Media	33
10	Use of Twitter/Social media	12
9	Temperament/Lack of tact	8
6	Speaks off the cuff/Loose cannon	7
3	Narcissism/Ego	5
2	Lack of presidential traits (general)	6
2	Bullies people/Makes enemies	2
1	Unstable	2
19	NET Policies	19
9	Foreign policy/U.S. international reputation	10
6	Immigration	3
2	Health care	3
2	Concerns about policy agenda (general)	3
2	Economic policy	2
2	Tariffs/Trade	
1	Climate change/Environmental policy	1
1	Other policy	1
6	NET Intelligence/Competence	12
3	Ignorance/Lack of critical thought	9

The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only.

#### **DTCNCRN CONTINUED...**

	ON I IN OLD III	
Jul 30-		
Aug 12		Aug 8-21
<u>2018</u>		<u>2017</u>
3	Unqualified/Incompetent	4
9	Dishonest/Not trustworthy	5
8	No concerns	4
4	Discriminatory against groups/Poor handling of race issues	4
4	Does not care about common people/Only cares for the rich	3
4	Divisive	1
3	Everything	4
3	Collusion with Russia/Relationship with Putin	-
2	Obstruction from others	6
2	Cannot get things done/Not keeping promises	3
2	Clash with media	1
2	Corruption/Conflicts of interest	1
1	Undermines institutions	2
1	Presidential appointments/Personnel issues	2
10	Other	7
22	Refused	23

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

### **ASK IF POL1DT = 1,2 & FORM 2 [N=1,139]:**

DTLIKE

[IF POL1DT=2: And while you disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing, what][IF POL1DT=1: What], if anything, do you like most about how Trump is handling his job as president?

Jul 30- Aug 12 2018 35 27 9 1 28 17 7 3 3 1 1 1 15 7 4 4 2 2 1 9 2 **	NET Nothing Positive Nothing/Not much Names specific dislikes Has not been effective (good thing) NET Approach/Personality Leadership/Conviction/Keeping promises/Getting things done Fixing country's problems/Putting America first Speaks his mind/Not politically correct Not a typical politician/Draining the swamp Calls out/Stands up to the media Running the country like a business Keeping opponents off balance/Upsets everyone NET Policies/Values Economy/Jobs Foreign policy Immigration policies Tax Policy Trade Policy/Tariffs His agenda/Values/Beliefs Other Opposes Democrats/Reverses Obama policies Entertaining Refused	Aug 8-21 2017 37 27 10 2 23 11 3 5 4 1 - 9 3 2 2 - 1 5 2 1 24
19	Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses	24

# ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

### **ASK FORMS 3 AND 4 ONLY [N=2,312]:**

DTADMIN2 Since taking office, do you think Donald Trump has done each of the following, or not? [RANDOMIZE]

		Donald Trump has definitely <u>done this</u>	Donald Trump has probably <u>done this</u>	Donald Trump has probably NOT done this	Donald Trump has definitely NOT done this	No <u>answer</u>
a.	Improperly used his office to enrich himself or his friends and family Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	35	20	21	22	2
b.	Run an open and transparent administration Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	18	19	15	46	2
c.	Improved the way government works Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	20	16	18	44	2
d.	Improved the country's standing around the world Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	21	16	15	47	2
e.	Set a high moral standard for the presidency Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	11	15	19	52	2

### TREND FOR COMPARISON:

If Donald Trump won the presidential election, do you think each would happen or not?

		Would definitely <u>happen</u>	Would probably <u>happen</u>	Would probably NOT <u>happen</u>	Would definitely NOT <u>happen</u>	No <u>answer</u>
a.	Donald Trump would improperly use the office to enrich himself or his friends and family  Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	28	28	26	17	2
b.	Donald Trump would run an open and transparent administration Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	10	29	27	32	2

#### TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

IK	TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED						
		Would definitely <u>happen</u>	Would probably <u>happen</u>	Would probably NOT <u>happen</u>	Would definitely NOT <u>happen</u>	No <u>answer</u>	
c.	Donald Trump would improve the way government works Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	15	24	25	34	1	
d.	Donald Trump would improve the country's standing around the world Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	13	23	23	40	2	
e.	Donald Trump would set a high moral standard for the presidency Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	10	22	24	42	2	

### **ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 ONLY [N=2,269]:**

DTIDEO Which best describes your impression of Donald Trump's views? [REVERSE SCALE FOR RANDOM 1/2 OF FORM 1 AND 2 RESPONDENTS]

Jul 30- Aug 12 <u>2018</u>		Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>	Jun 7- Jul 5 <u>2016</u>
26	He has conservative views on ALMOST ALL issues	17	16
32	He has conservative views on MOST issues	29	28
31	His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal	41	38
3	He has liberal views on MOST issues	5	5
4	He has liberal views on ALMOST ALL issues	4	7
4	No answer	5	6
58	NET conservative views	46	44
7	NET liberal views	9	12

#### ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

#### ASK ALL:

TCFACTS2	When it comes to important issues facing the country, would you say most Republican
	voters and Democratic voters [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]

Jul 30- Aug 12 <u>2018</u>	
20	Can agree on the basic facts, even if they often disagree over plans and policies
78	Not only disagree over plans and policies, but they also cannot agree on the basic facts
2	No Answer

#### TCFACTS2 TREND FOR COMPARISON...

When it comes to important issues facing the country, would you say most Trump and Clinton supporters... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]

Sep 27- Oct 10 2016	
19	Can agree on the basic facts, even if they often disagree over plans and policies
79	Not only disagree over plans and policies, but they also cannot agree on the basic facts
2	No Answer

### ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE