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Most Voters Say Harris Will Concede – and Trump Won’t – If Defeated in the Election

66% of voters say the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is a major problem in the country

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand Americans' views of the 2024 presidential election campaign.

For this analysis, we surveyed 5,110 adults – including 4,025 registered voters – from Sept. 30 to Oct. 6, 2024. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), a group of people recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses who have agreed to take surveys regularly. This kind of recruitment gives nearly all U.S. adults a chance of selection. Surveys were conducted either online or by telephone with a live interviewer. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other factors. [Read more about the ATP's methodology.](#)

Here are the [questions used for this report](#), the [topline](#) and the survey [methodology](#).

Most Voters Say Harris Will Concede – and Trump Won’t – If Defeated in the Election

66% of voters say the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is a major problem in the country

The presidential race between Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald Trump continues to be deadlocked among all registered voters. And with less than a month until the election, a growing share of voters (86%) say it’s not yet clear who will win on Nov. 5.

Looking beyond Election Day, Harris and Trump supporters are deeply divided over the importance of their candidate conceding defeat if they lose.

Nearly twice as many Harris supporters (61%) as Trump supporters (32%) say, if their candidate loses next month, it is very important for them to acknowledge the opposing candidate as the legitimate president.

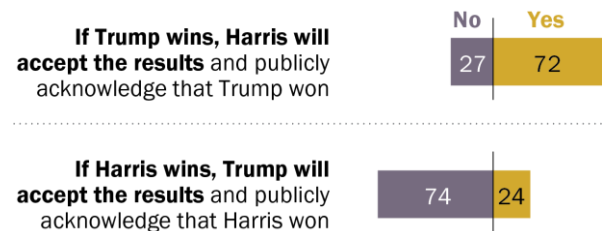
There also is a sizable gap in expectations for [how each candidate will handle a possible election defeat](#):

- 72% of voters overall say if Harris loses – that is, if Trump wins enough votes cast by eligible voters in enough states – she will accept the results and acknowledge Trump’s victory. Virtually all Harris supporters (95%) and about half of Trump supporters (48%) expect Harris to concede.
- Just 24% say if Trump loses he will concede, while 74% say he will not. About half of Trump supporters (46%) and only 4% of Harris supporters expect Trump to acknowledge Harris as the election winner.

The latest national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted among 5,110 adults (including 4,025 registered voters) from Sept. 30 to Oct 6, 2024, finds that the race among all registered voters (not all of whom will vote) is little changed [since early September](#), before the presidential and vice presidential debates held over the last month: 48% favor Harris or lean toward supporting her, while 47% back Trump or lean toward supporting him. Another 5% of voters support or lean toward a third-party candidate.

Sharp divide in voters’ views of whether Harris and Trump will concede if they lose the election

% of registered voters who say ...



Note: Based on registered voters. Win is defined as “receiving enough votes cast by eligible voters in enough states.” Refer to the Topline for full question wording.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Jump to [Chapter 1](#) for more on voters' preferences.

In further evidence of the tightness of the presidential contest, there are virtually no meaningful differences in the shares of Harris and Trump supporters who say they are certain to back their own candidate, are extremely motivated to vote and that it “really matters” who wins the election.

These attitudes are closely associated with voting. However, an analysis of voters who expressed these views prior to the 2020 election and their actual turnout finds that small shares of voters who said they had thought a lot about the candidates, were highly motivated to vote or saw high stakes in the election did not end up voting, while some voters who did not express these views did vote.

Views of Harris and Trump as president and prospects for change in the country

Voters' expectations for a Harris or Trump presidency are deeply polarized. This also is the case for opinions about [whether each candidate would change the country](#), for better or worse.

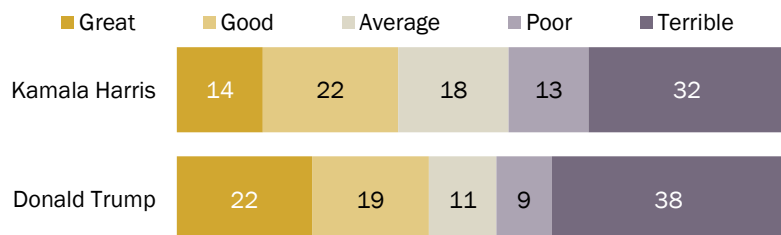
More voters express negative than positive views of both candidates as possible presidents.

While 36% say Harris would be a good or great president, 18% say she would be average and 46% say she would be poor or terrible.

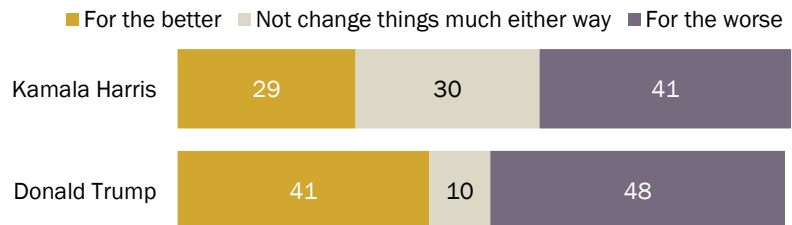
More voters also think Trump would be a poor or terrible president (48%) than a good or great one (41%). Fewer expect

More voters say Trump than Harris would bring change; larger shares say BOTH candidates would change things for the worse than for the better

% of registered voters who say each would be a(n) ____ president



% of registered voters who say each would change the way things work in Washington ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Trump to be an average president (11%) than say that about Harris (18%).

Compared with Harris, Trump is viewed more widely both as a great *and* a terrible potential president: 22% of voters say he would be a great president while 14% say this about Harris. Nearly four-in-ten (38%) say Trump would be a terrible president, while fewer (32%) view Harris that negatively.

More voters say Trump would change the way things work in Washington (89%) than say that about Harris (70%). **However, more voters say *both* candidates would change Washington for the worse than for the better.** Nearly half of voters (48%) say Trump would change Washington for the worse, while 41% say he would bring positive change to the nation's capital and just 10% say he would not bring much change. By 41% to 29%, more voters say Harris would make things worse than better, while 30% say she would not change things much.

Jump to [Chapter 2](#) for more on expectations of potential Harris and Trump presidencies.

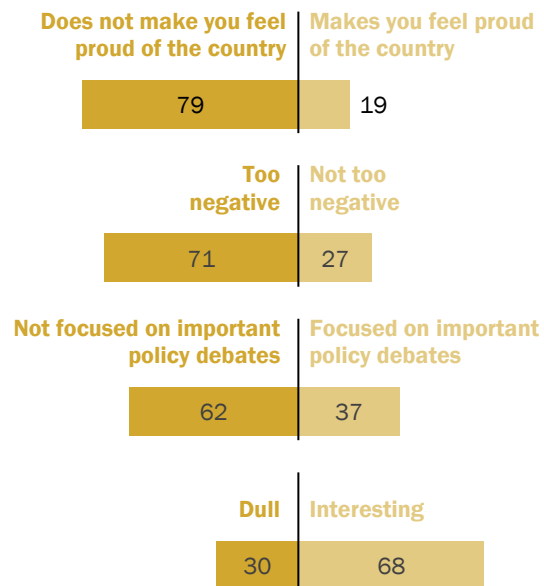
Other findings: Views of the campaign, concerns over political violence, clearness of candidates' issues positions, an absence of shared facts

Views of the 2024 campaign are mostly negative. Just 19% of voters say the campaign makes them feel proud of the country. That actually is higher than the share who said this in July (12%), with much of the change coming among Harris supporters. Majorities also say the campaign is too negative (71%) and not focused on important policy debates (62%). Still, more than twice as many voters describe the campaign as interesting (68%) than dull (30%).

Trump voters are more likely than Harris voters to say the threat of violence against politicians is a major problem. Overall, 66% of voters say the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is a major problem, while 30% say it is a minor problem. Just 4% think it is not a problem. While majorities of both candidates' supporters view the threat of political violence as a major problem, Trump supporters (74%) are more likely than Harris supporters (60%) to express this view.

How voters view the 2024 presidential campaign: Too negative, not policy focused, but interesting

% of registered voters who say the 2024 presidential campaign (is) ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Harris' positions on several issues, including immigration and the economy, are seen as less clear than Trump's. Among voters overall, far more say Trump has clearly explained his plans and policies for addressing illegal immigration (70%) than say that about Harris (37%). A similar pattern is evident on other issues, including the economy and foreign policy. However, voters are more likely to say Harris has clearly explained her positions on abortion and health care than say that about Trump.

More voters say Harris than Trump would work with the opposing party. A

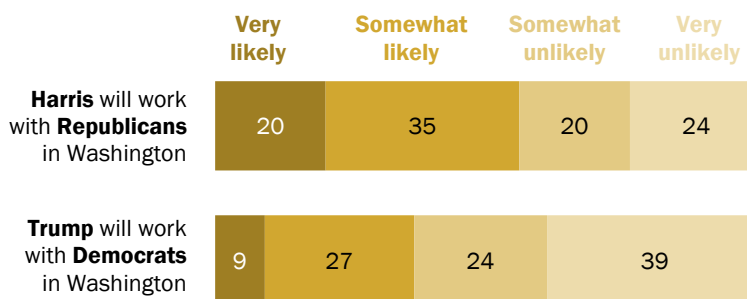
majority of voters (55%) say that if Harris is elected, it is very or somewhat likely she will work with Republicans on important issues. But just 20% see this as *very* likely. Even fewer voters say it is very (9%) or somewhat likely (27%) Trump will work with Democrats on key issues if he is elected.

Most continue to see disagreements on “basic facts.” For the third

consecutive election, large majorities of voters say that supporters of the two presidential candidates not only disagree about plans and policies, but also about basic facts. More than eight-in-ten voters (86%) say Harris and Trump supporters differ on basic facts, as well as on policies. Just 13% say they can agree on facts even though they disagree about policies.

More voters say Harris will work with the GOP if she wins than say Trump will work with Democrats

% of registered voters who say, if they win the election, it is ____ each candidate will work with the opposing party in Washington on important issues facing the country



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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1. The Harris-Trump matchup

With just weeks until Election Day, Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald Trump are in a dead heat among all registered voters: 48% say they would vote for Harris if the election were held today and 47% say they would support Trump. Another 5% of voters opt for a third-party candidate.

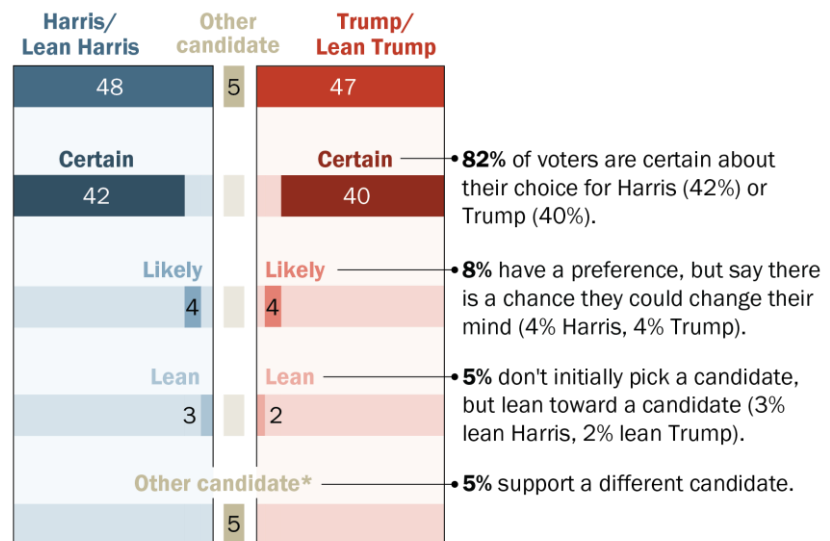
A large majority of voters (82%) say they are *certain* they support Harris or Trump in the election. A much smaller share say they might change their mind about who to support – or only *lean* toward either of the two major party candidates when asked in a follow-up question.

Among registered voters:

- 42% say they are certain about their support for Harris.
- 40% say they are certain about their support for Trump.
- 5% say they support Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein or Cornel West.
- Roughly one-in-ten say they are likely to support or lean toward supporting Harris or Trump.

As election nears, roughly 8 in 10 voters are locked in on their 2024 choice – but some are less certain

% of **all registered voters** who say that if the 2024 presidential election were held today, they would vote for ...



* Includes those who support Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein or Cornel West. Those who do not lean toward any candidate not shown. Refer to the Topline for full question wording.

Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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When forced to choose between Harris or Trump in a two-way matchup, voters who initially say they would support a third-party candidate or do not lean toward any of the candidates are divided in their preferences: 35% say they would pick Trump if forced to choose, while 36% say Harris. About three-in-ten decline to answer.

The snapshot of the race in this report is based on **all registered voters**. Not all voters will turn out in the 2024 presidential election – and those who are undecided or unsure about their choice are *far* less motivated to vote than are those who express more certainty.

Voters who are certain about their choice are significantly more likely to say they have thought “a lot” about the candidates running for president, that it really matters who wins the race, and that they are extremely motivated to vote.

Among Harris or Trump backers who say they’re **certain** about their candidate choice:

- 70% have thought “a lot” about the candidates.
- 84% say it really matters who wins.
- 70% say they are extremely motivated to vote.

In contrast, far smaller shares of those who are unsure about supporting Harris or Trump say they are interested or invested in the outcome.

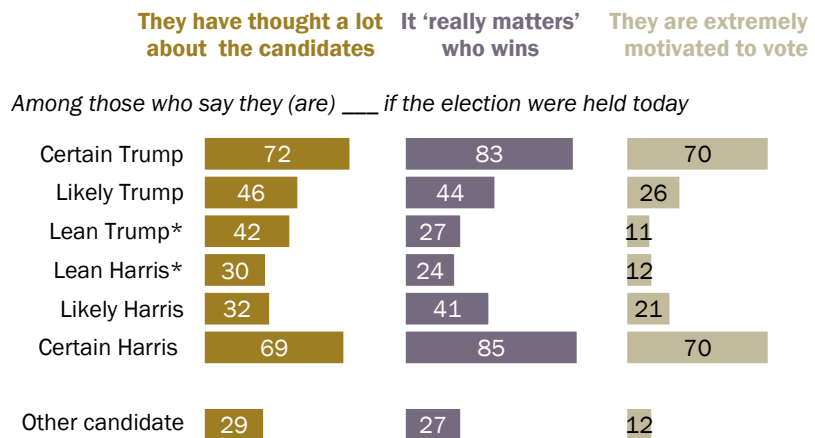
Among voters who are less certain about their choice (i.e., those who support Trump or Harris, but say they could change their minds, or lean toward supporting Trump or Harris):

- 38% have given a lot of thought to the candidates.
- 36% say “it really matters” who wins.
- 19% are extremely motivated to vote.

Those who support a third-party candidate are also significantly less likely to say they are motivated to vote, have thought a lot about the election, or that it “really matters” who wins.

Voters who are ‘certain’ about their choice of candidate far more motivated to vote in 2024 election

% of **registered voters** who say ...



* Relatively low sample size for those who lean toward Trump (N=90, margin of error of +/- 13.0 percentage points at 95% confidence) or Harris (N=115, margin of error of +/- 11.0 percentage points at 95% confidence).

Note: Based on registered voters. “Certain” includes those who say they are certain about their choice of Trump/Harris. “Likely” includes those who support Trump/Harris but say there is a chance they could change their mind. “Lean” includes those who don’t initially pick a candidate, but they say they lean toward Trump/Harris in a follow-up. “Other candidate” voters include registered voters who say they support Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein or Cornel West.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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How turnout was related to preelection measures of interest in 2020

While most registered voters say they have a preference for president in the 2024 election, data from the 2020 election shows how challenging it is to predict who will actually turn out.

The data in this report is based on all registered voters. Any adult citizen who says they are “absolutely certain” they are registered to vote is included in the analysis.

But it is important to note that not *all* registered voters will vote in the election. In the [most recent presidential election](#), roughly a third of voting-eligible adults did not cast a ballot for president.

[REFER TO CHART ON NEXT PAGE FOR MORE DETAIL]

Analyses that [link survey respondents to their vote records](#) find that many more voters express an intention to vote in surveys conducted before an election than ultimately turnout to vote.

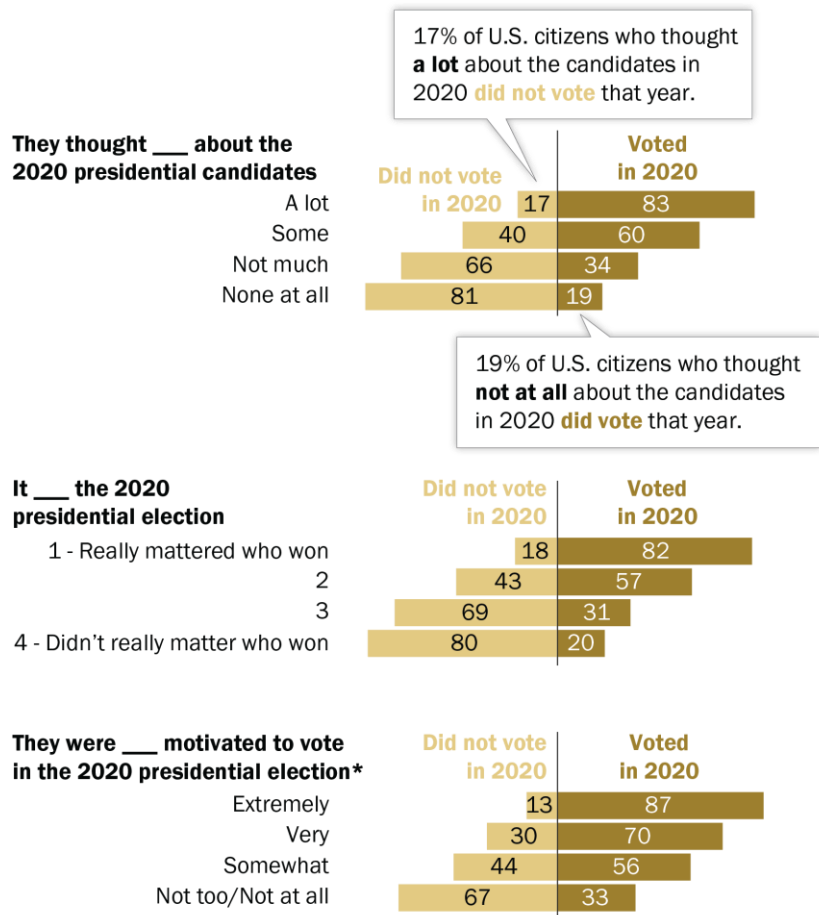
For instance, in an October 2020 survey, 86% of U.S. citizens said they planned to vote. However, a post-election analysis that matched these respondents to their voting records found that while 98% of those who ended up casting a ballot in the election had said they intended to vote, *roughly half of those who did not vote* (53%) also had expressed that they planned to vote in the preelection survey.

Surveys often ask other measures of self-reported voting interest and enthusiasm, and these are also highly correlated with actual turnout. But some voters who express high levels of preelection interest and enthusiasm ultimately end up staying home, while some who are relatively uninterested end up casting ballots.

This report looks at the broader pool of all registered voters to shed light on how different types of voters view the candidates and the potential outcome. For more information about election polling, [refer to our explainer](#).

Data analysis from 2020 shows it is hard to exactly identify who will turn out to vote

Voter turnout in the 2020 election among U.S. citizens who, in an October 2020 survey, said ... (%)



* A small share of citizens (11%) who were not registered or planning to register to vote were not asked about motivation in 2020.

Note: Based on 10,587 U.S. citizens who took both a preelection and a post-election survey in 2020, including 9,132 validated 2020 general election voters. Validated voters are those citizens who said they voted in a post-election survey and were found to have voted in commercial voter files. More details are in the Methodology.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020, and Nov. 12-17, 2020.

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Voting preferences among registered voters

The current snapshot of how all registered voters view the race shows Harris and Trump in a virtual tie: 48% say they would vote for or lean toward Harris if the election were held today, while 47% say they would support Trump.

The underlying pattern in voting preferences mirrors those from last month: Harris is preferred among younger voters, Black voters and those with a college degree while Trump is favored among older voters, White voters and men.

Gender

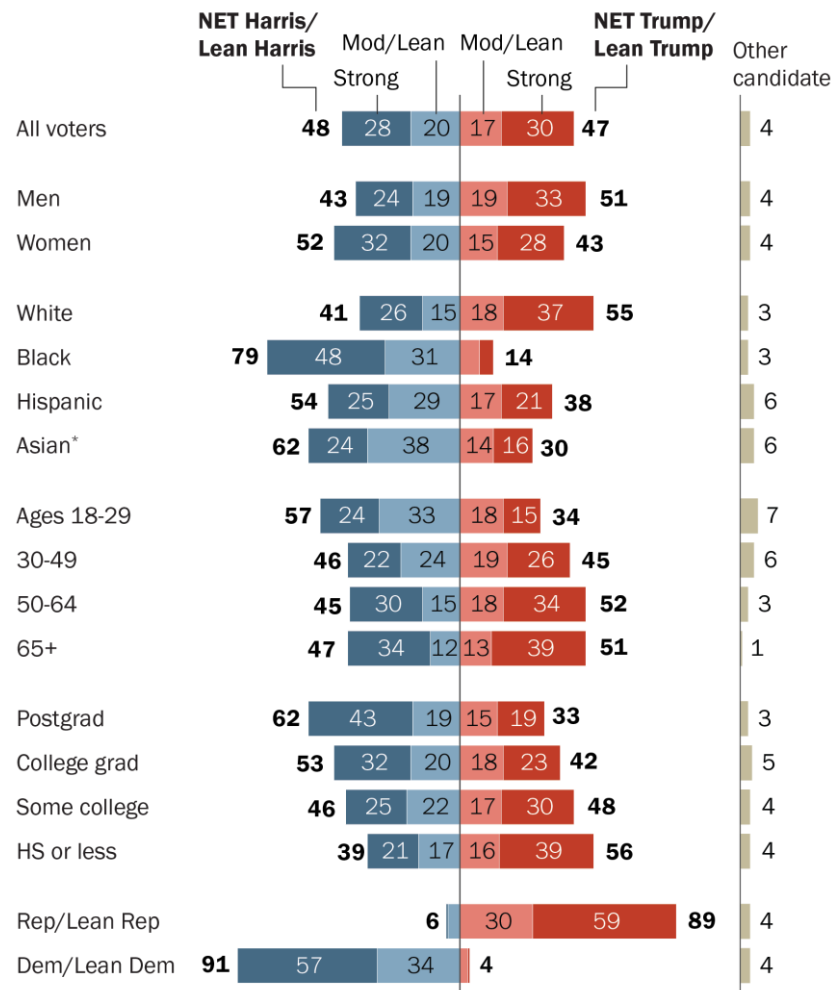
Men are more likely to prefer Trump than Harris, while women favor Harris by a similar margin.

Race and ethnicity

More White voters prefer Trump to Harris (55% to 41%), while Black voters overwhelmingly back Harris (79% vs. 14%). Among all registered Hispanic voters, roughly half (54%) support Harris, while a smaller share (38%) support Trump. And

Trump is favored among older voters and men; Harris performs better among younger voters, women

% of **all registered voters** who say that if the 2024 presidential election were held today, they would vote for ...



* Estimates for Asian voters are representative of English speakers only.

Note: Based on registered voters. White, Black and Asian voters include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanic voters are of any race. "Other candidate" includes those who say they would vote for or lean toward Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein, Cornel West Oliver or someone else. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Asian voters back Harris over Trump by two-to-one (62% vs. 30%).

Education

Registered voters without a four-year college degree back Trump over Harris (52% vs. 42%). The reverse is true for registered voters with a college degree (57% Harris vs. 38% Trump).

Age

Voters under 50 are more likely to prefer Harris over Trump (50% vs. 41%) while those ages 50 and older prefer Trump (52% vs. 46%). Voters under 50 are more likely to say they would support a candidate other than Harris or Trump (7%) than are those 50 and older (2%).

For more on voting preferences among registered voters, refer to the detailed tables [<LINK>](#).

2020 turnout and support for Harris and Trump

Trump has held onto most of his supporters from 2020 (94% say they support him this year). And Harris receives a similar level of support from President Joe Biden's 2020 voters (92% support her).

Just 5% of voters who backed Biden four years ago say they now support Trump, while 4% of voters who cast ballots for Trump last time now back Harris.

Voters who did not vote in 2020 – either because they chose not to or were too young – are split about evenly between Trump (45%) and Harris (44%), while 8% say they back a third-party candidate.

2020 Trump voters

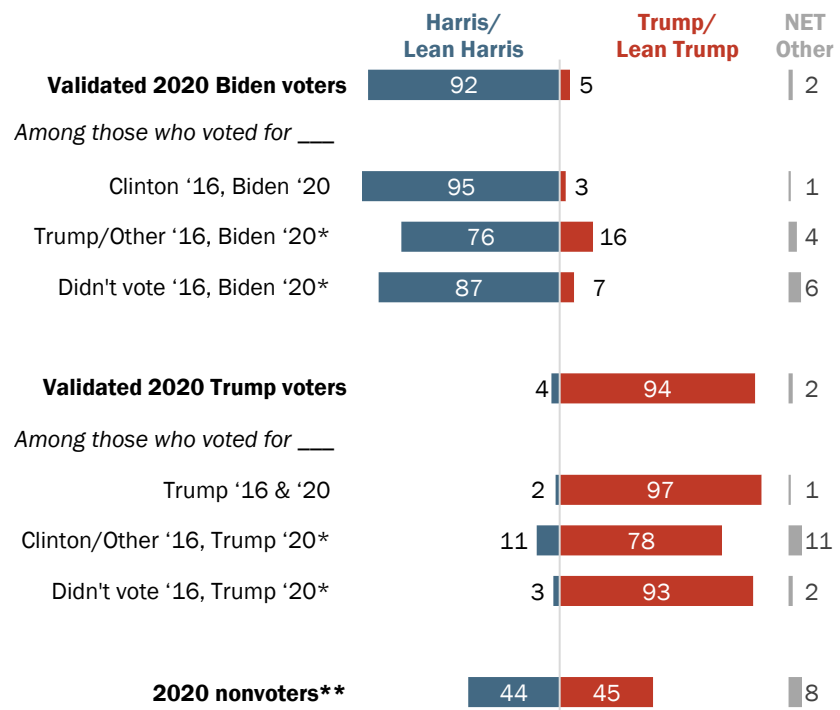
Trump's support is strongest among voters who backed him in both 2016 and 2020 (97%) and among those who did not vote in 2016 but turned out for him four years ago (93%).

Most voters who switched from Clinton or another candidate in 2016 to Trump in

2020 continue to support Trump (78% back him now), but their support is lower than among his

About 9 in 10 of those who voted for Trump in 2020 back him again; Harris is backed by a similar share of Biden's 2020 voters

% of **registered voters** who say that if the 2024 presidential election were held today, they would vote for ...



* Several groups have relatively small sample sizes. Voters who backed Trump/Other in '16 and Biden in '20 have a sample size of 221, for an effective sample size of 98 (margin of error of +/- 9.9 percentage points at 95% confidence). Voters who did not vote in '16 and backed Biden in '20 have a sample size of 115, for an effective sample size of 68 (+/- 11.9 percentage points). Voters who backed Clinton/Other in '16 and Trump in '20 have a sample size of 152, for an effective sample size of 76 (+/- 11.2 percentage points). Voters who did not vote in '16 and backed Trump in '20 have a sample size of 78, for an effective sample size of 63 (+/- 12.3 percentage points).

** 2020 nonvoters include both citizens who did not vote and citizens who are now old enough to vote but were too young then (ages 18-21 today).

Note: Based on registered voters. 2020 and 2016 voters are citizens who said they voted in a post-election survey and were found to have voted in commercial voter files. More details are in the Methodology. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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other 2020 voters. About one-in-ten of these voters (11%) say they support a third-party candidate, while an identical share supports Harris.

2020 Biden voters

Support for Harris among Biden's 2020 voters follows a similar pattern: 95% of voters who voted for Clinton in 2016 and Biden in 2020 say they support Harris, and 87% of those who did not vote in 2016 but cast a ballot for Biden in 2020 now support Harris.

About three-quarters of Biden's 2020 voters who backed Trump or another candidate in 2016 are with Harris this year (76%), while 16% say they support Trump and 4% support a third-party candidate.

Harris and Trump supporters' views of their vote

Harris' supporters are more likely than Biden's supporters were four years ago to view their vote as more of a vote for their candidate rather than a vote against Trump. About half of Harris supporters (48%) say they view their vote as a ballot for her. In 2020, 36% of Biden supporters said this about their vote for him.

The share of Democratic candidate supporters who say they are voting *against* Trump is down from 63% in 2020 to 52% today.

As in 2020, most Trump supporters say they are primarily voting for him rather than against his Democratic opponent.

Two-thirds of Trump backers say they view their vote as a vote for him, while a third say their vote is against Harris.

Harris draws more positive support than Biden did in 2020, but far less positive support than Trump

% of registered voters who say their choice is more a vote ...

Among Dem candidate supporters

	Against Trump	For Harris
Oct 2024	52	48
	Against Trump	For Biden
Oct 2020	63	36

Among Rep candidate supporters

	Against Harris	For Trump
Oct 2024	33	67
	Against Biden	For Trump
Oct 2020	29	71

Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Voter engagement and interest

Supporters of both Harris and Trump are about equally engaged with the election across three measures of interest in the campaign and voting. As was the case [ahead of the 2020 presidential election](#), neither side has a clear advantage in voter engagement.

Yet voters overall report being less motivated to vote than at a similar point in 2020.

Strength of support

Trump (64%) holds a slight edge over Harris (59%) in the share of voters who say they strongly support their candidate, but his advantage over Harris is significantly narrower now (5 percentage points) than what it was over Biden in July (20 points).

Motivation to vote

Equal shares of Harris and Trump supporters say they are extremely motivated to vote (63% each).

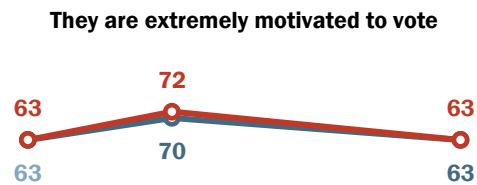
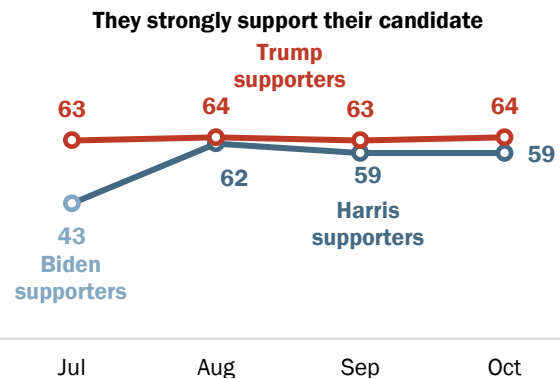
Motivation to turn out to vote has decreased modestly since August, when 72% of Trump supporters and 70% of Harris supporters said they were extremely motivated to vote.

'Really matters' who wins

About eight-in-ten Harris supporters (79%) and nearly as many Trump supporters (76%) say the outcome of the election really matters.

Harris and Trump supporters continue to be about equally engaged in election

% of registered voters who say ...



Note: Based on registered voters. July data show voters who supported Biden.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

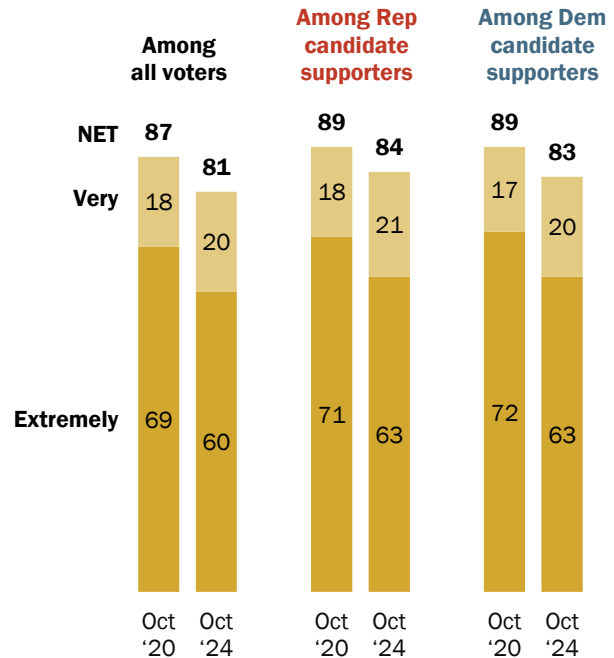
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Voters are somewhat less likely to say they are highly motivated to vote than in October 2020. Today, 81% of voters say they are extremely or very motivated to vote, 6 points lower than the share of voters who said this at a similar point in the 2020 campaign. The share who are *extremely* motivated is down from 69% in 2020 to 60% today.

Supporters of both candidates are now less motivated to vote than four years ago. About six-in-ten Trump supporters (63%) are extremely motivated to vote, which is down from 71% in October of 2020. Similarly, while 63% of Harris supporters say they are extremely motivated, that is down from the 72% of Biden's supporters who said this in October of 2020.

Voters are somewhat less motivated to vote than in 2020

% of registered voters who say they are personally ____ motivated to vote



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Motivation to vote across key demographic groups

Overall, six-in-ten registered voters say they are *extremely* motivated to vote this year.

But, [as in past elections](#), there are some significant demographic differences in the shares expressing motivation to vote.

Among registered voters, men (59%) and women (62%) are about equally likely to say they are extremely motivated to vote. Women voters who support Harris (66%) are modestly more motivated than men who support the vice president (60%).

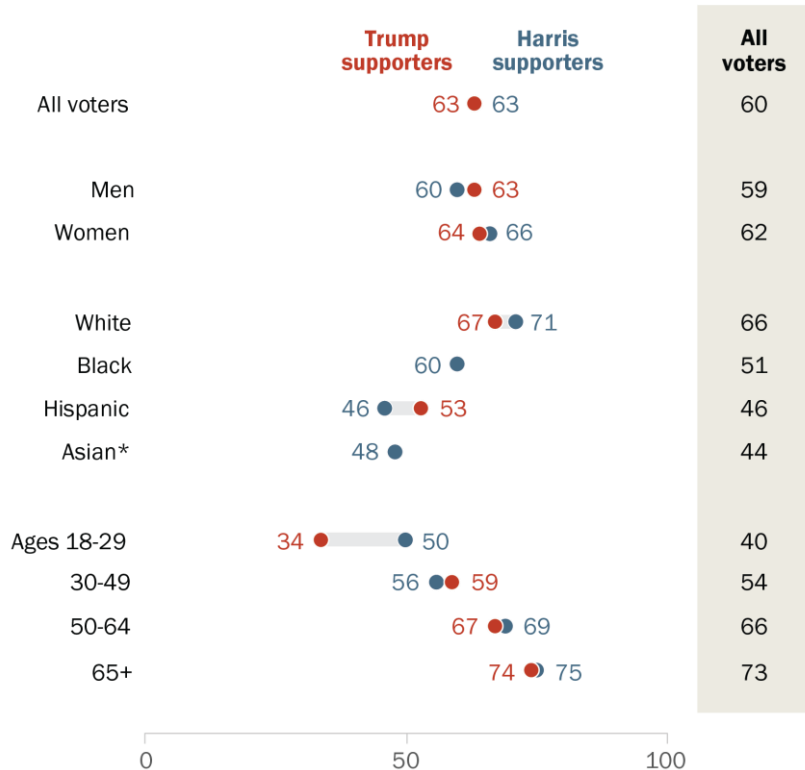
There are wide differences in motivation across racial and ethnic groups.

- 66% of White voters are extremely motivated to vote.
- 51% of Black voters are extremely motivated.
- 46% of Hispanic voters are extremely motivated.
- 44% of Asian voters are extremely motivated.

Motivation to vote increases with age: Today, 73% of voters ages 65 and older say they are extremely motivated to vote, compared with 66% of voters 50 to 64 and 54% of voters 30 to 49.

Black, Hispanic and Asian voters are less likely White voters to say they are ‘extremely motivated’ to vote

% of registered voters who say they are personally *extremely* motivated to vote



* Estimates for Asian voters are representative of English speakers only.

Note: Based on registered voters. White, Black and Asian voters include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanic voters are of any race. There is insufficient sample size to report Black and Asian Trump supporters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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As in 2020, voters under age 30 are the least likely to say they are motivated to vote: 40% of voters in this age group say they are extremely motivated to vote. And Trump supporters under 30 are less likely than young Harris backers to be highly motivated to vote (34% to 50%, respectively).

2. Expectations about Harris and Trump as president

Voters overall are divided in their predictions about how Vice President Kamala Harris or former President Donald Trump would perform as president – with negative expectations outweighing positive ones for both candidates. And while majorities of voters see both Trump and Harris as bringing change to Washington – though more say this about Trump than Harris – they are also split over whether that change would have positive or negative effects.

Would Trump and Harris be above or below average presidents?

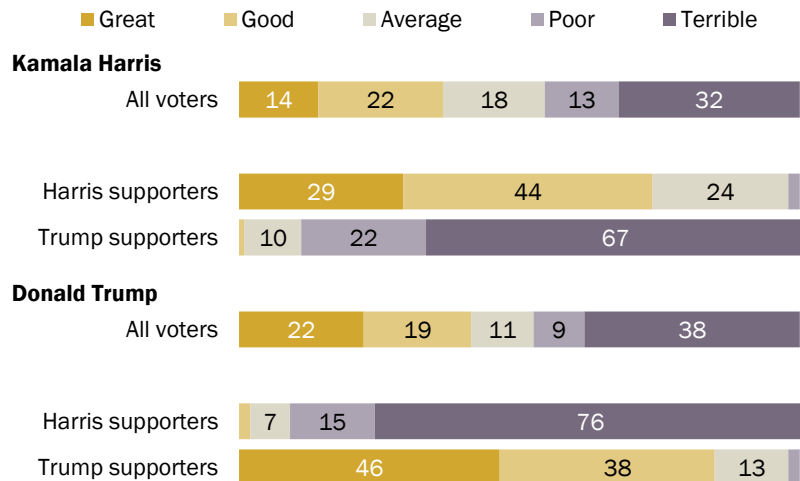
Voters are more likely to say each of the presidential candidates would be poor or terrible presidents than to say they would be good or great at the job.

More voters today say Trump would be a “good” or “great” president than say this about Harris (41% vs. 36%). But similar shares of voters say each would be a “poor” or “terrible” president (48% say this about Trump, 46% about Harris).

Views of a potential second Trump presidency are more polarized than views of a potential Harris presidency: Voters are more likely to say Trump would be great than to say this about Harris (22% vs. 14%). But they’re also more likely to say Trump would be terrible (38%) than to say the same for Harris (32%). Voters are more likely to predict Harris would be an “average” president (18% say this about her, 11% about him).

Voters’ predictions for a Harris or Trump presidency

% of registered voters who say each candidate would be a(n) ____ president



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Supporters' views of their candidate

While most supporters of both candidates offer positive predictions about how their candidate would perform as president, Trump supporters are more likely to say a potential Trump presidency would be good or great than Harris' supporters are to say this about her.

- 84% of Trump supporters say he would be a good or great president, including 46% who say he would be great. Just 13% say he'd be an average president.
- 73% of Harris supporters say that she would be a good (44%) or great (29%) president, while 24% say she'd be an average president.

Very small shares of each candidate's supporters (just 2% each) say their candidate would be a poor or terrible president.

Supporters' views of the opposing candidate

About nine-in-ten among both Harris supporters (91%) and Trump supporters (89%) predict that the opposing candidate would be a poor or terrible president. Harris supporters are particularly likely to say Trump would be a terrible president (76% say this). By comparison, 67% of Trump supporters predict Harris would be terrible.

Who would bring change – for good or bad – to Washington

An overwhelming majority of registered voters say that Trump would change the way things work in Washington, but they are fairly divided over whether that change would be for the better or for the worse.

While 41% say Trump would change things for the better, a somewhat larger share (48%) say he would change things for the worse. Relatively few (10%) say that he would not change things much either way.

In contrast, three-in-ten voters say Harris would not change things much either way in Washington, while 41% say she would change things for the worse and 29% say she would change things for the better.

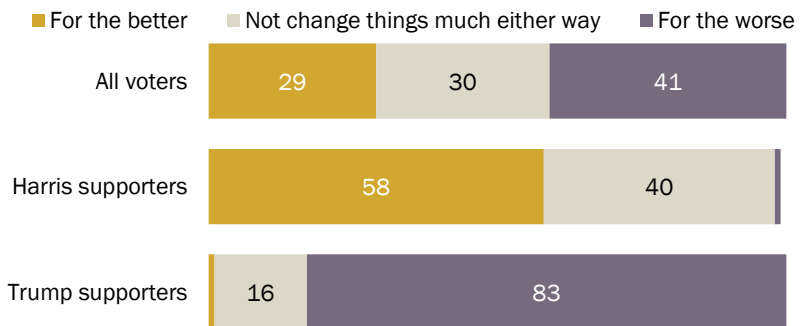
Harris and Trump supporters have different opinions on whether their candidate would change the way things work in Washington:

- 40% of Harris supporters say that Harris would not change the way things work much in Washington, while 59% say she'd change things for the better.
- 86% of Trump supporters say Trump would change things for the better. Just 12% say he would not change things much.

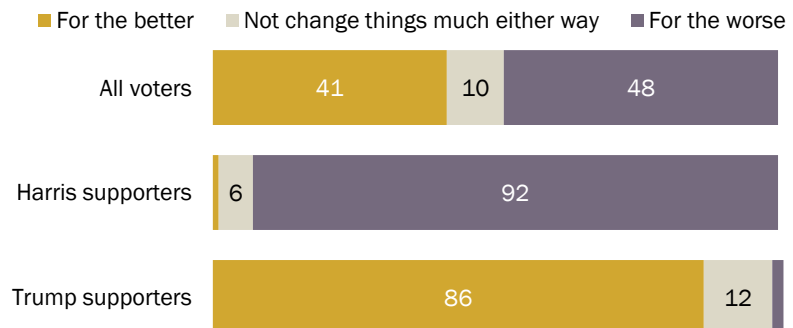
Overwhelming shares of both Harris (92%) and Trump (83%) supporters say the opposing candidate would change things in Washington for the worse. But Trump supporters are more

Most voters say Trump will change Washington but are split over whether that will be good or bad

% of registered voters who say **Kamala Harris** would change the way things work in Washington ...



% of registered voters who say **Donald Trump** would change the way things work in Washington ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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likely to say Harris would not change things much (16%) than Harris supporters are to say this about Trump (6%).

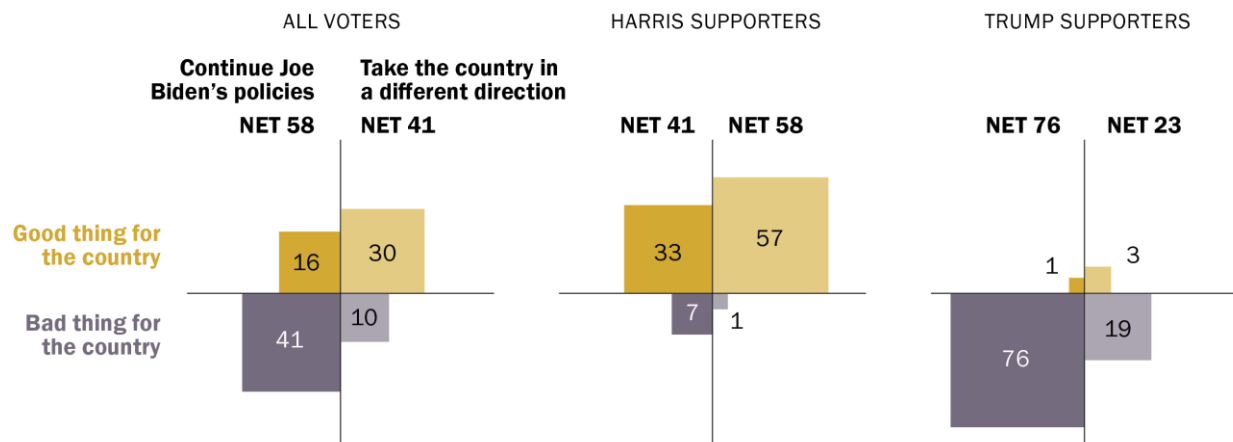
Harris presidency: Biden's policies versus a new direction

Nearly six-in-ten voters (58%) expect Harris to continue President Joe Biden's policies, while about four-in-ten (41%) expect her to take the country in a different direction.

- Among the 58% who say Harris would continue Biden's policies, far more say this would be a bad thing (41%) than say it would be a good thing (16%).
- Those who say she'll take the country in a different direction are more likely to say this would be good (30%) than bad (10%).

Most voters say Harris would continue Biden's policies

% of registered voters who say if **Kamala Harris** won the presidency, she would ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Harris supporters

More than half of Harris supporters (58%) say she would take the country in a different direction – and they nearly unanimously view this course positively.

About four-in-ten Harris supporters (41%) say that she would continue Biden's policies and most of this group (33%) say doing so would be a good thing for the country.

Trump supporters

Conversely, an overwhelming majority of Trump supporters (76%) say Harris would continue Biden's policies – and this group nearly unanimously sees that as bad for the country.

Only about a quarter of Trump supporters (23%) say Harris would take the country in a different direction – and most of this group (19%) say that would be a bad thing.

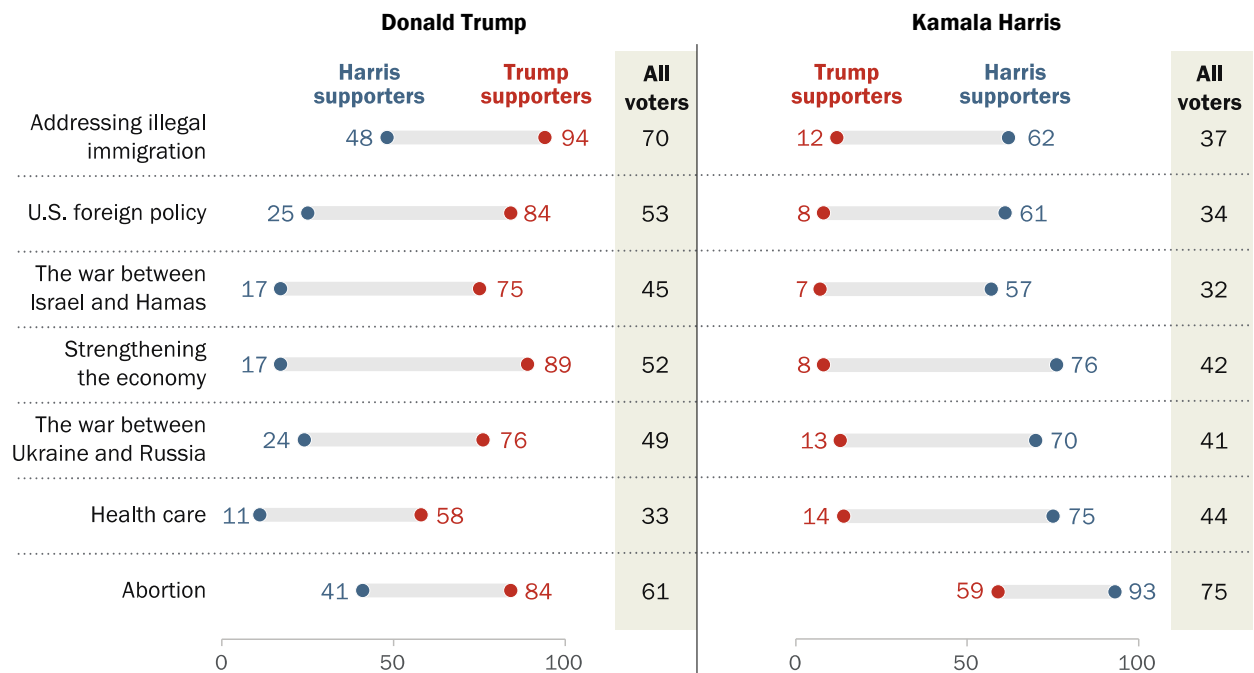
Have Harris and Trump clearly explained their views on issues?

When it comes to several major issues, voters are fairly divided on whether the candidates have clearly explained their policies and plans, with two notable exceptions.

- 75% of all voters say Harris has clearly outlined her views on abortion, including 93% of her supporters and 59% of Trump backers. About six-in-ten voters (61%) also say Trump has been clear about his views on abortion.
- 70% of all voters say Trump has clearly explained his policies and plans for addressing illegal immigration. Nearly all of his supporters (94%) and about half of Harris' supporters (48%) say Trump has been clear about his plans on this issue.

Most voters say both candidates have made their abortion policies and plans clear, and that Trump has been clear about his plans for addressing illegal immigration

% of registered voters who say each candidate has clearly explained their policies and plans when it comes to ...



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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At least half of each candidate's supporters say their candidate has clearly outlined their policies and plans for each of the policy domains asked about in the survey. But no more than a quarter of each candidate's supporters say the other candidate has been clear about their policies and plans – with the exceptions of both candidates' abortion policies and Trump's policies on immigration.

Trump supporters are somewhat more likely than Harris' to say their candidate has been clear on issues, while also being less likely to say the candidate that they oppose has clearly outlined their positions.

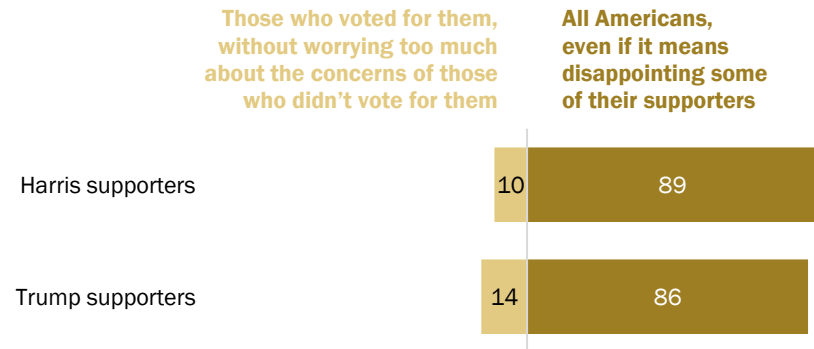
Addressing the concerns of supporters versus all Americans

Both Harris (89%) and Trump (86%) supporters overwhelmingly say that, if their candidate is elected, they should focus on addressing the concerns of all Americans – even if it means that some of their supporters will be disappointed.

Only 10% of Harris supporters and 14% of Trump supporters say that their candidate should focus primarily on the concerns of those who voted for them without worrying too much about the concerns of those who did not.

Vast majority of voters say the candidates should address the concerns of all Americans

% of registered voters who say if their preferred candidate is elected, they should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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These opinions closely mirror those of [Biden and Trump supporters in 2020](#).

Views of whether the next president will work with the opposing party

A 55% majority of voters say it is likely that Harris will work with Republicans in Washington if she wins. A much smaller share (37%) say it is likely Trump will work with Democrats if he wins.

Majorities of each candidate's supporters believe it is at least somewhat likely that their candidate will work with the opposition on important issues facing the country:

- 91% of Harris supporters believe it is very or somewhat likely she will work with Republicans in Washington if she wins, including 38% who say this is very likely.
- 70% of Trump's supporters think he'd be at least somewhat likely to work with Democrats if he wins. Just 19% say this is very likely.

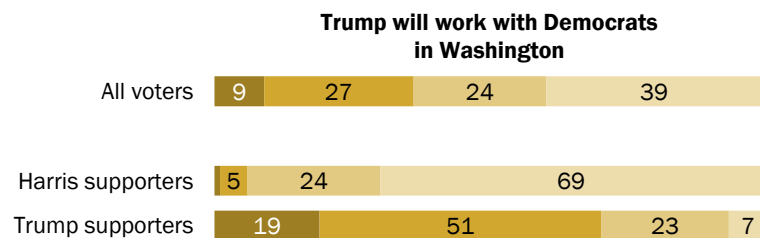
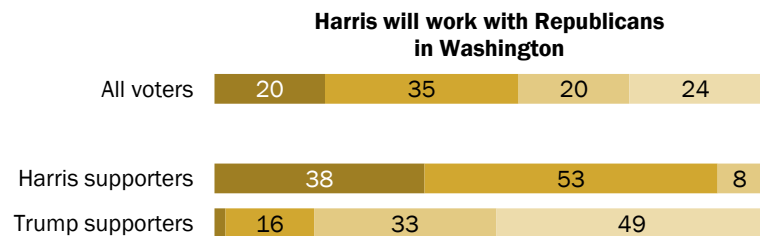
In 2016 – the last time this question was asked leading up to an election – voters were more likely than they are today to say Trump would work with Democrats if he won (45% said this was at least somewhat likely).

Voters' assessments about whether Harris would work with Republicans are on par with their beliefs about a potential victory for Hillary Clinton in 2016.

Voters' views on whether Harris and Trump, if they win the election, will work with the opposing party

% of registered voters who say, if they win the election, it is ____ each candidate will work with the opposing party in Washington on important issues facing the country

Very likely Somewhat likely Somewhat unlikely Very unlikely



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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3. Voters' feelings about the 2024 campaign and election outcomes; concerns about political violence

With less than a month to go until Election Day, voters continue to express mostly negative opinions about the 2024 presidential campaign.

Reflecting the closeness of the presidential race, the share of voters who think it is clear which candidate will win – which was already low in July – has edged lower.

Harris and Trump supporters differ in their views of the importance of their candidate conceding if they lose, and they have sharply different expectations for how their candidate might handle a defeat.

Following two assassination attempts against former President Donald Trump, there are widespread concerns about political violence. A majority of voters say the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is a major problem in the country.

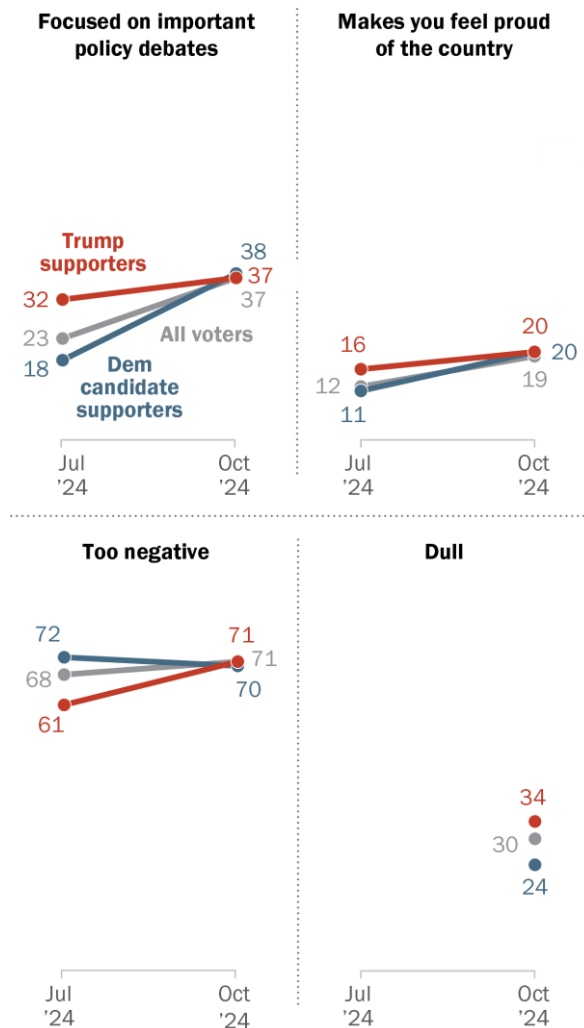
Campaign widely seen as too negative – but few think it's dull

Voters continue to describe the presidential campaign so far in mostly negative terms:

- 71% say that the campaign is too negative. Only 27% say it is not too negative.
- 62% say the campaign is *not* focused on important policy debates, while 37% say it is.
- Just 19% say that the campaign makes them feel proud of the country, while 79% say it does not make them feel proud.

Most voters largely characterize the 2024 campaign in negative terms

% of registered voters who say the 2024 presidential campaign (is) ...



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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- 68% of voters say the campaign is interesting, while 30% say it is dull.

While voters continue to view the campaign negatively across most dimensions, an increasing share say it is focused on important policy debates. Nearly four-in-ten (37%) say it is focused on policy debates, up from 23% in July. Over the same period, the share of voters who say the campaign makes them feel proud of the country also has risen, from 12% to 19%.

Views among Harris and Trump supporters

For the most part, Harris and Trump supporters express similar views of the 2024 campaign. Majorities of both candidates' supporters say it is too negative and comparable shares say it is focused on important policy debates. Similar shares of Harris and Trump supporters (20% each) say it makes them feel proud of the country.

While majorities of both Harris and Trump supporters find the campaign interesting, Harris supporters are more likely to say this (74% vs. 65%).

Since July, the increase in the shares of voters who say the campaign is focused on important policy debates and makes them feel proud has come largely among Harris supporters. Currently, 38% of Harris supporters say it is focused on policy. In July, when President Joe Biden was still the Democratic nominee, just 18% of his supporters said this.

And while just 20% of Harris supporters say the campaign makes them feel proud of the country, that is nearly double the share of Biden supporters who said this in July (11%).

Trump supporters' views on some of these questions have shown less change. But over this period, there has been a 10 percentage point increase in the share of Trump supporters who say the campaign is too negative (from 61% to 71%).

Is it clear who will win the presidential election?

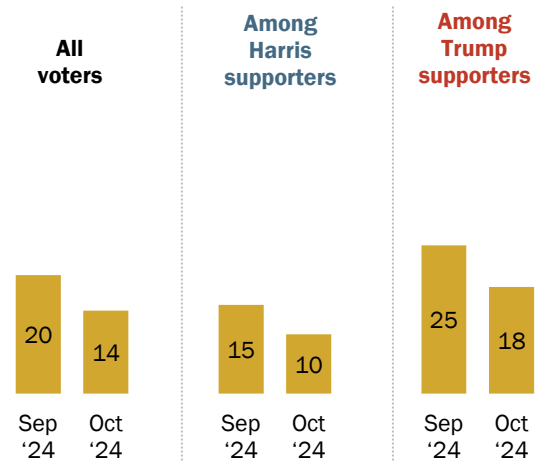
With a little less than a month before the 2024 election, just 14% of voters say that it is already clear who is going to win. An overwhelming 86% say it is not yet clear who is going to win.

The share who says it is already clear who is going to win is down slightly from September, when 20% said it was already clear who was going to win.

As was the case in September, Trump supporters (18%) are somewhat more likely than Harris supporters (10%) to say it is already clear who is going to win.

Just 14% of voters say it's already clear who will win the presidential election

% of registered voters who say it's **already clear** who is going to win the 2024 presidential election



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Voters' emotions if Harris or Trump won

Voters overall have largely similar feelings about a possible Trump or Harris win in November.

Roughly three-in-ten say they would feel relieved if Trump (33%) or Harris (31%) won in November, while less than two-in-ten say they would feel *excited* if Trump or Harris won (15% and 17%, respectively).

Voters are slightly more likely to say they would feel *angry* with a possible Trump victory compared with a Harris one (25% vs. 21%, respectively), while they are slightly more likely to say they would feel *disappointed* with a Harris victory than a Trump one (30% vs. 26%).

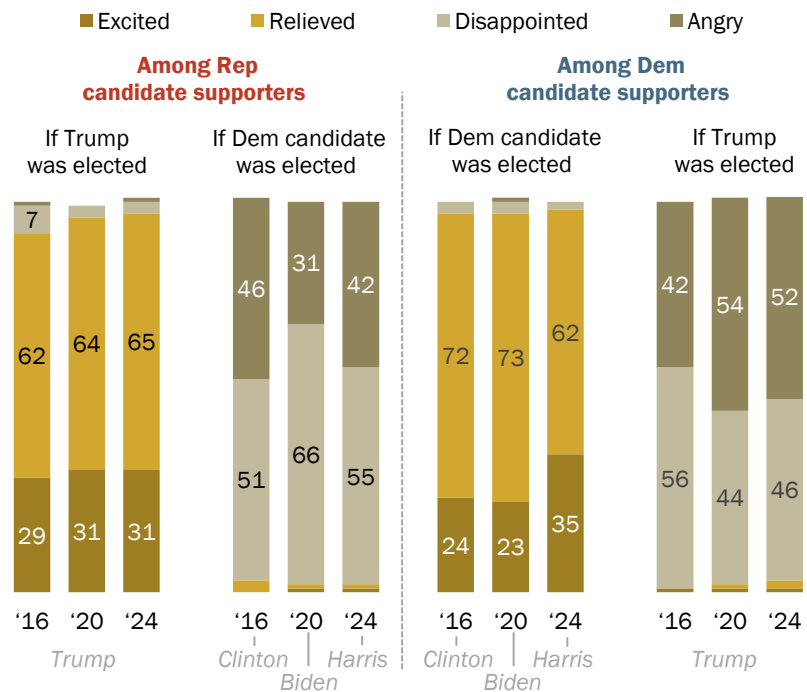
Among Harris supporters

Roughly six-in-ten Harris supporters (62%) say they would feel relieved if Harris won in November, while about a third (35%) say they would feel excited.

Harris supporters are more likely to say they would feel excited (35%) about the prospect of a Democratic victory than Clinton (24%) or Biden (23%) supporters were at similar points in the 2016 and 2020 elections.

As in past elections, most voters say they'd be relieved rather than excited if their candidate won

% of registered voters who say they would feel ____ if each of the following candidates won the election



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown. Responses from 2016 and 2020 are from surveys conducted at similar points prior to the presidential election in those years. Refer to the Topline for full dates.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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About half of Harris supporters (52%) say they would feel angry if Trump won in November, while 46% say they'd be disappointed. These feelings are nearly identical to the shares of Biden supporters who said the same four years ago (54% angry, 44% disappointed).

Among Trump supporters

A large majority of Trump supporters say they would feel relieved (65%) or excited (31%) if their preferred candidate won. This is similar to the shares who said they would feel relieved (64%) or excited (31%) in 2020.

However, Trump supporters are more likely to say they would feel *angry* with a Harris victory in November than they were at a similar point in 2020 about a Biden victory (42% today, 31% in 2020).

How important is it for Harris, Trump to concede if they lose

When asked how important it is for each candidate to concede the election if they lose, majorities of registered voters say it is very or somewhat important for the losing candidate to publicly acknowledge the opposing candidate as the legitimate president of the country.

However, Trump supporters are less likely than Harris supporters to say it is important that the losing candidate concede – particularly if Trump is the losing candidate.

Majorities of both Harris and Trump supporters say it is important for the *other* candidate to concede if they lose the election:

- 87% of Harris supporters say it is at least somewhat important for Trump to concede if he were to lose the election, including 71% who say this is very important.
- A smaller majority of Trump supporters (77%) say it is at least somewhat important for Harris to concede if she loses the election, with 55% saying it is very important.

Harris supporters are much more likely than Trump supporters to say it is important for *their* candidate to concede if they lose the election:

- An overwhelming majority of Harris supporters (86%) say it's at least somewhat important for Harris to concede if she loses the election, with a 61% majority saying this is very important.
- A smaller majority of Trump supporters (59%) say it is important for Trump to concede if he loses the election, including only 32% who say this is very important.

Voters' views of the importance of their own candidate – and the opposing candidate – conceding in defeat

If a candidate wins the election (by receiving enough votes cast by eligible voters in enough states), how important is it for the losing candidate to publicly acknowledge the winner as the legitimate president? (%)

If the candidate they support **LOSES the election, it is ___ important for their candidate to concede**

	Very	Somewhat	Not too	Not at all
Harris supporters	61	25	8	6
Trump supporters	32	27	18	22

If the candidate they support **WINS the election, it is ___ important for the opposing candidate to concede**

	Very	Somewhat	Not too	Not at all
Harris supporters	71	16	8	6
Trump supporters	55	22	16	6

Note: Based on registered voters. Win is defined as "receiving enough voters cast by eligible voters in enough states." No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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While both candidates' supporters place more importance on the *opposing candidate* conceding if their candidate wins than on *their candidate* conceding if the opposing candidate wins, the gap in these views is much more pronounced among Trump supporters:

- 55% of Trump supporters say it would be very important for Harris to concede, while 32% say it'd be very important for Trump to concede.
- By contrast, 71% of Harris supporters say it would be very important for Trump to concede, while 61% say it'd be very important for Harris to concede.

Will Harris, Trump concede if they lose?

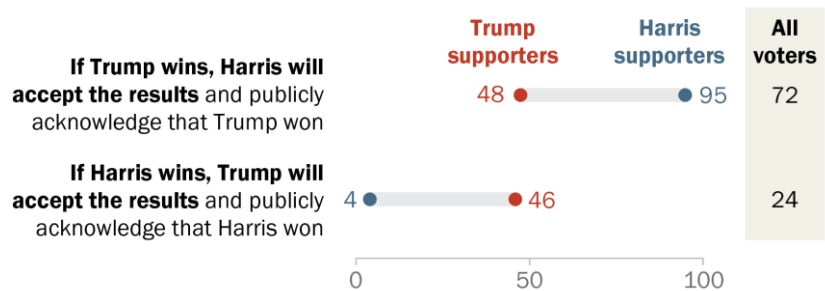
Nearly three-quarters of registered voters (72%) say they think that Harris will accept the results and publicly acknowledge Trump as the legitimate president if he wins the election. About a quarter (27%) say she will not do this if she loses the election.

But about three-quarters of voters (74%) say that Trump *will not* accept the results and publicly acknowledge Harris if she wins the election, while 24% say he will accept the outcome if he loses the election.

Nearly all Harris supporters (95%) expect that she will concede if she loses the election. But very few Harris supporters – just 4% – think that Trump will concede if he loses the election

Most voters expect Harris, but not Trump, to concede if they lose

% of registered voters who say ...



Note: Based on registered voters. Win is defined as “receiving enough voters cast by eligible voters in enough states.”

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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By contrast, about half of Trump supporters (48%) think Harris will concede and publicly acknowledge Trump as the winner if she loses, while 51% don’t expect her to concede. Trump supporters’ expectations of Trump are similar: 46% think he will concede if he loses the election, while 50% think he will not.

Most voters say political violence is a major problem

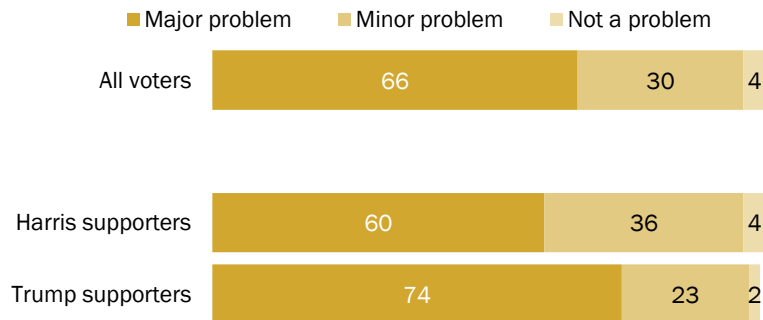
Roughly two-thirds of registered voters (66%) say the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is a major problem.

Another 30% say this is a minor problem and just 4% say it's not a problem.

And while majorities of both Harris and Trump supporters say the threat of violence against political leaders is a major problem, Trump supporters are more likely to say this (74% vs. 60%).

66% of voters say the threat of political violence is a major problem in the U.S. today

% of registered voters who say the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is a ____ in our country today



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30- Oct. 6, 2024.

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As in 2016 and 2020, most voters say candidate supporters disagree over ‘basic facts’

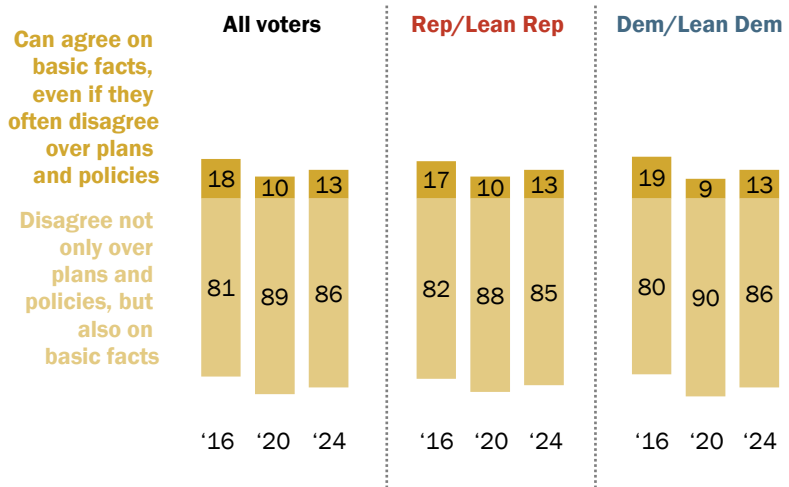
More than eight-in-ten voters (86%) say that when it comes to important issues facing the country, supporters of Trump and Harris not only disagree on plans and policies, but also on basic facts.

Only 13% say they *can* agree on basic facts, even if they disagree often over plans and policies.

Nearly identical shares of Republicans and Republican-leaning voters (85%) and Democrats and Democratic-leaning voters (86%) say that Trump and Harris supporters can’t agree on basic facts, while 13% each say they *can* agree on basic facts.

Voters continue to say supporters of presidential candidates disagree on ‘basic facts’ – not just policies

% of registered voters who say most supporters of the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses are not shown. Refer to the Topline for full question wording.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Views on partisan agreement of basic facts are largely unchanged over the last three presidential elections.

Acknowledgments

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

Data in this report comes from Wave 156 of the American Trends Panel (ATP), Pew Research Center’s nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. The survey was conducted from Sept. 30 to Oct. 6, 2024. A total of 5,110 panelists responded out of 5,689 who were sampled, for a survey-level response rate of 90%.

The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 3%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 5,110 respondents is plus or minus 1.7 percentage points.

The survey includes [oversamples](#) of non-Hispanic Asian adults, non-Hispanic Black adults, Hispanic adults, and adults ages 18 to 29 in order to provide more precise estimates of the opinions and experiences of these smaller demographic subgroups. It also included an oversample of validated 2016 and 2020 “vote switchers” (i.e., who voted for Donald Trump in 2020 but not in 2016 or who voted for Joe Biden in 2020 but not for Hillary Clinton in 2016). These oversampled groups are weighted back to reflect their correct proportions in the population.

SSRS conducted the survey for Pew Research Center via online (n=4,926) and live telephone (n=184) interviewing. Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish.

To learn more about the ATP, read “[About the American Trends Panel](#).”

Panel recruitment

Since 2018, the ATP has used address-based sampling (ABS) for recruitment. A study cover letter and a pre-incentive are mailed to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service’s Computerized Delivery Sequence File. This Postal Service file has been estimated to cover 90% to 98% of the population.¹ Within each sampled household, the adult with the next birthday is selected to participate. Other details of the ABS recruitment protocol have changed

¹ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. “[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling](#).”

over time but are available upon request.² Prior to 2018, the ATP was recruited using landline and cellphone random-digit-dial surveys administered in English and Spanish.

A national sample of U.S. adults has been recruited to the ATP approximately once per year since 2014. In some years, the recruitment has included additional efforts (known as an “oversample”) to improve the accuracy of data for underrepresented groups. For example, Hispanic adults, Black adults and Asian adults were oversampled in 2019, 2022 and 2023, respectively.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was noninstitutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the United States. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which the following subgroups were selected with certainty:

- Non-Hispanic Asian adults
- Non-Hispanic Black adults
- Hispanic adults
- Adults ages 18 to 29
- Validated 2016 and 2020 voters who voted for Donald Trump in 2020 but voted for a different candidate in 2016³
- Validated 2016 and 2020 voters who voted for Joe Biden in 2020 but did not vote for Hillary Clinton in 2016

The remaining panelists were sampled at rates designed to ensure that the share of respondents in each stratum is proportional to its share of the U.S. adult population to the greatest extent possible. Respondent weights are adjusted to account for differential probabilities of selection as described in the Weighting section below.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with SSRS. The web program used for online respondents was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the SSRS project team and Pew Research Center researchers. The SSRS project team also populated test data that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

² Email pewsurveys@pewresearch.org.

³ A validated voter is a citizen who told us that they voted in the 2016 and 2020 general elections *and* have a record for voting in a commercial voter file. A voter file is a list of adults that includes information such as which elections they have voted in. Federal law requires states to maintain voter files, and businesses assemble these files to create a nationwide list of adults along with their voter information.

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or gift code to Amazon.com, Target.com or Walmart.com. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was Sept. 30 to Oct. 6, 2024. Surveys were conducted via self-administered web survey or by live telephone interviewing.

For panelists who take surveys online: Postcard notifications were mailed to a subset on Sept. 30.⁴ Survey invitations were sent out in two separate launches: soft launch and full launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on Sept. 30. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled online panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Oct. 1.

Invitation and reminder dates for web respondents, ATP Wave 156

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	Sept. 30, 2024	Oct. 1, 2024
First reminder	Oct. 3, 2024	Oct. 3, 2024
Final reminder	Oct. 5, 2024	Oct. 5, 2024

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Panelists participating online were sent an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. ATP panelists who consented to SMS messages were sent an SMS invitation with a link to the survey and up to two SMS reminders.

For panelists who take surveys over the phone with a live interviewer: Prenotification postcards were mailed on Sept. 27. Soft launch took place on Sept. 30 and involved dialing until a total of six interviews had been completed. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled

⁴ The ATP does not use routers or chains in any part of its online data collection protocol, nor are they used to direct respondents to additional surveys. Postcard notifications for web panelists are sent to 1) panelists who were recruited within the last two years and 2) panelists recruited prior to the last two years who opt to continue receiving postcard notifications.

phone panelists' numbers were dialed throughout the remaining field period. Panelists who take surveys via phone can receive up to six calls from trained SSRS interviewers.

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, Center researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for whether respondents left questions blank at very high rates or always selected the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, eight ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the panel survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of recruitment into the panel. These weights are then calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists was invited to participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account for any differential probabilities of selection.

American Trends Panel weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed)	2022 American Community Survey (ACS)
Age x Gender	
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Race/Ethnicity x Gender	
Black (alone or in combination) x Hispanic	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metropolitan status	2021 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Volunteerism	
Voter registration	2020 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Frequency of internet use	2024 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Religious affiliation	
Party affiliation x Race/Ethnicity	
Party affiliation among registered voters	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on noninstitutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population.

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Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

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.

Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 156

Group	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	Plus or minus ...
All registered voters	4,025		1.9 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,005		2.7 percentage points
Among registered voters who are ...			
Harris supporters	2,259		2.6 percentage points
Half form	At least 1,113		3.7 percentage points
Trump supporters	1,544		2.8 percentage points
Half form	At least 769		4.0 percentage points
All U.S. adults	5,110		1.7 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,550		2.4 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	2,104	48	2.5 percentage points
Half form	At least 1,042		3.5 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	2,863	48	2.3 percentage points
Half form	At least 1,408		3.3 percentage points

Note: This survey includes oversamples of non-Hispanic Asian adults, non-Hispanic Black adults, Hispanic adults, adults ages 18-29, validated voters who did not vote for Donald Trump in 2016 and voted for Donald Trump in 2020, and validated voters who did not vote for Hillary Clinton in 2016 and voted for Joe Biden in 2020. Unweighted sample sizes do not account for the sample design or weighting and do not describe a group's contribution to weighted estimates. Refer to the Sample design and Weighting sections above for details.

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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.

Dispositions and response rates

Final dispositions, ATP Wave 156

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	5,110
Logged in (web) / Contacted (CATI), but did not complete any items	2.11	81
Started survey; broke off before completion	2.12	39
Never logged on (web) / Never reached on phone (CATI)	2.20	451
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Other non-interview	2.30	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality	2.90	0
Total panelists sampled for the survey		5,689
Completed interviews	I	5,110
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	120
Non-contact	NC	451
Other	O	8
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		5,689
AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		90%

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Cumulative response rate, ATP Wave 156

	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	11%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	73%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 156	35%
Response rate to Wave 156 survey	90%
Cumulative response rate	3%

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Validated voters

Members of Pew Research Center’s nationally representative American Trends Panel were matched to public voting records from national commercial voter files in an attempt to find records for voting in the 2016 and 2020 general elections. **Validated voters** are citizens who told us in a post-election survey that they voted in a given election *and* have a record for voting in that election in a commercial voter file. **Nonvoters** are citizens who were not found to have a record of voting in any of the voter files or told us they did not vote.

In an effort to accurately locate official voting records, up to three commercial voter files were searched for each panelist. The number of commercial files consulted varied by when a panelist was recruited to the ATP. Three files were used for panelists recruited in 2022 or before, while one file was used for panelists recruited in 2023. Altogether, files from four different vendors were used, including two that serve conservative and Republican organizations and campaigns, one that serves progressive and Democratic organizations and campaigns, and one that is nonpartisan.

Additional details and caveats about the validation of votes in 2016 and 2020 can be found in these methodological reports:

- [An examination of the 2016 electorate, based on validated voters](#)
- [Validated voters methodology](#)

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**2024 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 156 POLITICS SURVEY OCTOBER 2024
FINAL TOPLINE
SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 6, 2024
N=5,110**

Note: This survey was conducted primarily online, with some interviews conducted by live telephone. This topline shows the programming language for online administration. For details on how questions were slightly modified for phone administration, visit the questionnaire.

American Trends Panel surveys conducted between October 2016 and June 2024 were conducted fully online (with tablets and data plans provided to adults without home internet). American Trends Panel surveys conducted prior to October 2016 were conducted primarily online, with some respondents completing by mail. For additional details, visit the Methodology.

* "No answer" includes web respondents who do not answer the question as well as telephone respondents who refuse to answer or who say that they don't know how to answer. In cases where "Not sure" was offered as an explicit option to web and telephone respondents, the "No answer" category includes only web skips and telephone refusals.

ASK ALL:

SATIS All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	23	76	*
Aug 5-11, 2024	24	75	1
Jul 1-7, 2024	18	82	*
May 13-19, 2024	22	78	1
Jan 16-21, 2024	21	78	1
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	22	77	1
Jul 10-16, 2023	22	77	1
Jun 5-11, 2023	21	78	1
Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	19	80	1
Jan 18-24, 2023	22	78	*
Nov 16-27, 2022	24	75	1
Oct 10-16, 2022	21	79	1
Aug 1-14, 2022	18	81	1
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	24	75	1
Jan 10-17, 2022	21	78	1
Sep 20-26, 2021	25	74	1
Sep 13-19, 2021	26	74	*
Mar 1-7, 2021	33	66	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	22	77	1
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	18	82	1
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	12	87	1
Jun 16-22, 2020	12	87	1
Apr 7-12, 2020	31	68	1
Mar 19-24, 2020	33	66	1
Oct 29-Nov 11, 2019	31	69	1
Oct 1-13, 2019	28	71	1
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	27	72	1
Nov 27-Dec 10, 2018	34	65	1

SATIS CONTINUED ...

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	36	63	1
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017 ⁵	32	68	0
Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	23	75	2
Jun 7-Jul 5, 2016	19	80	1
Sep 15-Oct 3, 2014	25	75	0

ASK ALL:

POL1JB Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

ASK IF POL1JB=1,2:

POL1JBSTR Do you **[IF POL1JB=1: approve; IF POL1JB=2: disapprove]** of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

	NET <u>Approve</u>	<i><u>Very</u></i> <i><u>strongly</u></i>	<i><u>Not so</u></i> <i><u>strongly</u></i>	<i><u>No</u></i> <i><u>answer*</u></i>	NET <u>Disapprove</u>	<i><u>Very</u></i> <i><u>strongly</u></i>	<i><u>Not so</u></i> <i><u>strongly</u></i>	<i><u>No</u></i> <i><u>answer*</u></i>	<i><u>No</u></i> <i><u>answer*</u></i>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	35	18	16	*	63	44	19	*	2
Jul 1-7, 2024	32	16	15	*	66	46	20	*	2
Apr 8-14, 2024	35	19	16	1	62	45	17	1	2
Jan 16-21, 2024	33	16	16	*	65	44	20	*	1
Nov 27-Dec 3, 2023	33	17	16	*	64	44	19	1	1
Jun 5-11, 2023	35	17	17	1	62	41	20	*	3
Mar 27-Apr 2, 2023	37	18	18	*	60	41	19	1	3
Jan 18-24, 2023	38	18	19	1	60	41	18	*	3
Oct 10-16, 2022	38	19	19	1	59	40	18	1	3
Aug 1-14, 2022	37	17	19	1	60	39	20	*	3
Jun 27-Jul 4, 2022	37	18	18	1	62	45	16	1	2
Mar 7-13, 2022	43	--	--	--	55	--	--	--	2
Jan 10-17, 2022	41	21	19	1	56	39	18	*	3
Sep 13-19, 2021	44	27	17	*	53	38	15	1	3
Jul 8-18, 2021	55	--	--	--	43	--	--	--	2
Apr 5-11, 2021	59	--	--	--	39	--	--	--	2
Mar 1-7, 2021	54	38	15	1	42	29	12	1	4

Find past presidents' approval trends: [Donald Trump](#), [Barack Obama](#), [George W. Bush](#), [Bill Clinton](#)

¹The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only.

ASK ALL:

PRZCMPGN How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who are running for president in 2024?

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
2024 election					
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	53	32	11	4	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	52	31	12	4	*
Jul 1-7, 2024	48	31	15	6	*
Apr 8-14, 2024	38	34	18	9	*
2020 election					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020 ⁶	56	27	11	5	*
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	46	29	16	8	1
Jun 16-22, 2020	43	31	17	9	*
Apr 7-12, 2020	42	33	18	7	*
Jan 6-19, 2020	30	37	21	11	*
Sep 3-15, 2019	30	37	22	11	*
Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	26	37	23	14	*
2016 election					
May 10-Jun 6, 2016 ⁷	55	27	9	8	1
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	52	31	11	5	1
Mar 2-28, 2016	56	28	9	6	1
Mar 10-Apr 6, 2015 ⁸	26	40	23	11	*

ASK ALL:

MATTERS Thinking about how you feel about the 2024 presidential election and the next president, where would you place yourself on the following scale?

[PROGRAMMING NOTE: PLEASE FLIP THE LABELS FOR HALF OF RESPONDENTS LEAVING THE SCALE ALWAYS 1-4]

	1 Really matters <u>who wins</u>	2	3	4 Doesn't really <u>matter who wins</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
2024 election					
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	66	17	10	7	1
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	66	17	9	8	1
Jul 1-7, 2024	62	17	11	10	1
Apr 8-14, 2024	59	19	10	11	1
2020 election					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020 ⁹	67	16	9	8	1
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	68	14	8	9	*
Apr 7-12, 2020	64	17	9	8	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	62	19	10	9	*
2016 election					
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016 ¹⁰	62	19	8	10	*

⁶ In surveys conducted in 2019 or 2020, the question asked about the 2020 presidential election.

⁷ In surveys conducted in 2015 and 2016, the question asked about the 2016 presidential election.

⁸ W10 (March 10-April 6, 2015) had a minor difference in question wording: "How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2016?"

⁹ In 2019 and 2020, the question read: "Thinking about how you feel about the 2020 presidential election, where would you place yourself on the following scale?"

¹⁰ In 2015 and 2016, the question read: "Thinking about how you feel about the 2016 presidential election and the next president, where would you place yourself on the following scale?"

MATTERS CONTINUED...

	1 Really matters who wins	2	3	4 Doesn't really matter who wins	No answer*
Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	64	18	8	10	1
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	61	19	9	10	1
Jun 7-Jul 5, 2016	62	20	9	9	0
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	57	22	10	9	1
Mar 2-Mar 28, 2016	65	18	8	9	1
Nov 24-Dec 21, 2015	58	22	10	8	1

ASK IF CITIZEN (X_CITIZEN=1) [N=4,836]:

VOTEGEN24 If the 2024 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for... [ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 3, 4, 5, 6, WITH OPTIONS 7, 98 AND 99 ALWAYS HELD LAST IN ORDER]

ASK IF NONE/OTHER CANDIDATE OR SKIPPED VOTEGEN24 (VOTEGEN24=7, 98, 99) [N=532]:

VOTEGEN24_LEAN As of today do you... [SHOW OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGEN24]
[PROGRAMMING NOTE: ONLY DISPLAY OPTION 4 "None/Other" IF VOTEGEN24_LEAN IS INITIALLY SKIPPED. ALSO DISPLAY SOFT PROMPT: *If you would not support any of the candidates, please select answer choice None/Other. If you would like to skip, click Next...*]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

	Donald Trump/ Lean Trump	Kamala Harris/ Lean Harris	Robert F. Kennedy Jr./Lean Kennedy Jr.	Chase Oliver/Lean Oliver, the Libertarian candidate	Jill Stein/Lean Stein, the Green Party candidate	Cornel West/Lean West, a third-party candidate	Vote for none/ Other	No answer*
2024 Election								
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024 ¹¹	47	48	2	1	1	*	1	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024 ¹²	49	49	--	--	--	--	2	*
Aug 5-11, 2024	45	46	7	--	--	--	1	*
<i>Trend for comparison to Biden</i>								
Jul 1-7, 2024	44	40	15				2	*
Apr 8-14, 2024	49	48	--				2	1

¹¹ This is the first survey that included candidates other than Trump, Harris and Kennedy. Respondents were asked about candidates that will appear on the ballot in their states.

¹² This survey was conducted after Kennedy announced he was suspending his campaign. It did not include him as a response option.

VOTEGEN24/VOTEGEN24LEAN CONTINUED

	Donald Trump/Lean <u>Trump</u>	Joe Biden/ Lean <u>Biden</u>	Jo Jorgensen/ Lean Jorgensen, the Libertarian <u>candidate</u>	Howie Hawkins ¹³ / Lean Hawkins, Green Party <u>candidate</u>	Vote for none/ <u>other</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
2020 Election						
Sep 30- Oct 5, 2020 ¹⁴	42	52	4	1	1	*
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	45	53	--	--	2	*
Jun 16-22, 2020	44	54	--	--	2	*
Apr 8-12, 2020	45	47	--	--	8	*

	Donald Trump/Lean <u>Trump</u>	Hillary Clinton/ Lean <u>Clinton</u>	Gary Johnson/Lean <u>Johnson</u>	Jill Stein/Lean <u>Stein</u>	Vote for none/ <u>other</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
2016 Election						
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	42	46	6	4	1	*
Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	39	46	10	4	1	0
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	38	45	10	4	2	1
Jul 12-Aug 8, 2016 ¹⁵	46	50	--	--	3	1
Jun 7-Jul 5, 2016	45	51	--	--	3	1

[Find phone trends on candidate preference here.](#)

¹³ Hawkins was only asked about in the 33 states and the District of Columbia where he was on the ballot.

¹⁴ W75 was the first time this question listed candidates other than Trump and Biden. Previous asks of this question did not name other candidates specifically.

¹⁵ Surveys conducted July 12-Aug. 8, 2016, and June 7-July 5, 2016, asked only about Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Later waves included Gary Johnson and Jill Stein

ASK IF SELECTED CANDIDATE IN VOTEGEN24 (VOTEGEN24=1,2,3,4,5,6) [N=4,304]:

VOTEGEN2 And would you say...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,729]:

Sep 30-Oct
6,
2024

Aug 26-Sep
2,
2024

Among those who selected Trump [N=1,454]

91	You are certain you will vote for Donald Trump	91
9	There is a chance you might change your mind	8
*	No answer*	*

Among those who selected Harris [N=2,144]

92	You are certain you will vote for Kamala Harris	91
8	There is a chance you might change your mind	9
*	No answer*	*

Among those who selected Kennedy [N=62]

	You are certain you will vote for Robert F.	
43	Kennedy Jr.	
57	There is a chance you might change your mind	
0	No answer*	

Among those who selected Oliver [N=32]

44	You are certain you will vote for Chase Oliver
56	There is a chance you might change your mind
0	No answer*

Among those who selected Stein [N=32]

63	You are certain you will vote for Jill Stein
37	There is a chance you might change your mind
0	No answer*

Among those who selected West [N=5]

73	You are certain you will vote for Cornel West
27	There is a chance you might change your mind
0	No answer*

VOTEGEN2 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Jul 1-7,

2024**Among those who selected Trump**

87	You are certain you will vote for Donald Trump
12	There is a chance you might change your mind
*	No answer*

Among those who selected Biden

86	You are certain you will vote for Joe Biden
14	There is a chance you might change your mind
*	No answer*

2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON**ASK IF SELECTED CANDIDATE (VOTEGEN20=1,2,3,4):**

VOTEGEN20CERT And would you say...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

	Sep 30-Oct 5, <u>2020</u>	Jul 27-Aug 2, <u>2020</u> ¹⁶
Among those who selected Trump		
You are certain you will vote for Donald Trump ¹⁷	92	95
There is a chance you might change your mind	8	5
No answer	*	*
Among those who selected Biden		
You are certain you will vote for Joe Biden ¹⁸	93	94
There is a chance you might change your mind	6	5
No answer	*	*
Among those who selected Jorgensen		
You are certain you will vote for Jo Jorgensen	44	
There is a chance you might change your mind	56	
No answer		
Among those who selected Hawkins		
You are certain you will vote for Howie Hawkins	29	
There is a chance you might change your mind	69	
No answer	2	

¹⁶ The survey conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020, asked only about Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Later waves included Jo Jorgensen and Howie Hawkins.

¹⁷ In the survey conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020, the response option was "You are certain you will vote for Donald Trump over Joe Biden."

¹⁸ In the survey conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020, the response option was "You are certain you will vote for Joe Biden over Donald Trump."

**2016 VOTEGEN2 TREND FOR COMPARISON:
ASK IF SELECTED CANDIDATE (VOTEGEN=1,2):**
VOTEGEN2 And would you say ...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:

	Oct 25- Nov 8, <u>2016</u>	Sep 27- Oct 10, <u>2016</u>	Aug 16- Sep 12, <u>2016</u>	Jul 12- Aug 8, <u>2016</u>	Jun 7- Jul 5, <u>2016</u>
Among those who selected Trump					
You are certain to vote for Trump	91	90	85	91	92
There is a chance you might change your mind	9	10	15	8	8
No answer	0	0	0	0	0
Among those who selected Clinton					
You are certain to vote for Clinton	93	88	85	90	91
There is a chance you might change your mind	6	12	14	9	7
No answer	*	0	1	1	2

ASK IF SELECTED HARRIS OR TRUMP IN VOTGEN24 (VOTEGEN24=1,2) [N=4,111]:

VOTESTRONG Do you support [IF VOTEGEN24=1 Donald Trump] [IF VOTEGEN24=2 Kamala Harris]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

...

	<u>Trump</u>	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod/ Lean</i>	<u>Harris</u>	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod/ Lean</i>	<u>RFK Jr.</u> ¹⁹	<u>Oliver</u>	<u>Stein</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>None/ Other</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
2024 Election												
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024 ²⁰	47	30	17	48	28	20	2	1	1	*	1	*
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024 ²¹	49	31	18	49	29	20	--	--	--	--	2	*
Aug 5-11, 2024	45	29	16	46	29	18	7	--	--	--	1	*
<i>Trend for comparison to Biden Jul 1-7, 2024</i>	<u>Trump</u>	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod/ Lean</i>	<u>Biden</u>	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod/ Lean</i>	<u>RFK Jr.</u>	<u>Oliver</u>	<u>Stein</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>None/ Other</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
	44	27	16	40	17	22	15	--	--	--	2	*

¹⁹ For additional trend information on strength for Kennedy support, refer to the Topline [here](#).

²⁰ This is the first survey that included candidates other than Trump, Harris and Kennedy. Respondents were asked about candidates that will appear on the ballot in their states.

²¹ This survey was conducted after Kennedy announced he was suspending his campaign. It did not include him as a response option.

VOTESTRONG CONTINUED

2020			<i>Mod/</i>			<i>Mod/</i>				
Election	Trump	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Lean</i>	Biden	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Lean</i>	Jorgensen²²	Hawkins	None/	No
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	42	29	13	52	30	23	4	1	1	*
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	45	30	15	53	24	29	--	--	*	*

PRIOR ELECTION VOTESTRONG PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:

2016	Trump	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Clinton	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	(VOL.) Other/ DK/Ref
Jun 15-26, 2016	42	19	22	1	51	23	27	1	7

2012	Romney	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Obama	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Johnson	Stein	(VOL.) Other/ DK/Ref
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012	42	30	12	*	49	37	12	*	3	1	5
Oct 24-28, 2012	45	30	15	*	47	32	15	*	2	1	5
Oct 4-7, 2012	46	31	14	*	46	32	15	*	--	--	8
Sep 12-16, 2012	42	24	18	*	51	35	16	*	--	--	7
Jul 16-26, 2012 ²³	41				51				--	--	7
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	43	15	28	1	50	32	18	*	--	--	6
Jun 7-17, 2012	46	17	27	1	50	30	20	*	--	--	5
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	42				49				--	--	9
Apr 4-15, 2012	45				49				--	--	6
Mar 7-11, 2012	42				54				--	--	4
Feb 8-12, 2012	44				52				--	--	4
Jan 11-16, 2012	45				50				--	--	6
Nov 9-14, 2011	47				49				--	--	4
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48				48				--	--	4

2008	McCain	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Obama	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Nader	Barr	Other/ DK/Ref
November, 2008	39	21	18	*	50	35	14	1	1	1	9
Late October, 2008	36	20	15	1	52	39	12	1	3	1	8
Mid-October, 2008	38	21	16	1	52	36	16	*	--	--	10
Early October, 2008	40	21	18	1	50	36	14	*	--	--	10
Late September, 2008	42	23	19	*	49	33	15	1	--	--	9
Mid-September, 2008	44	25	19	*	46	30	15	1	--	--	10
August, 2008	43	17	26	*	46	27	19	*	--	--	11
July, 2008	42	17	24	1	47	24	22	1	--	--	11
June, 2008	40	14	26	*	48	28	19	1	--	--	12
Late May, 2008	44				47				--	--	9
April, 2008	44				50				--	--	6
March, 2008	43				49				--	--	8
Late February, 2008	43				50				--	--	7

²² Surveys conducted before Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020, did not list Jo Jorgensen or Howie Hawkins as response options.

²³ After July 2012, August 2008, June 2004, July 2000, July 1996, June 1992 and June 1988, the question specified vice presidential candidates.

PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED:

2004	Bush	<i>Only</i>			Kerry	<i>Only</i>			Other/ Nader	DK/Ref
		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		
November, 2004	45	34	11	*	46	29	16	1	1	8
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	45	28	16	1	1	9
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2	9
September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	7
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2	6
July, 2004	44				46				3	7
June, 2004	46				42				6	6
May, 2004	43				46				6	5
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	7
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	5
Two-way trial heats:										
June, 2004	48				46				--	6
May, 2004	45				50				--	5
Late March, 2004	46				47				--	7
Mid-March, 2004	43				52				--	5
Late February, 2004	44				48				--	8
Early February, 2004	47				47				--	6
Early January, 2004	52				41				--	7
October, 2003	50				42				--	8
2000	Bush	<i>Only</i>			Gore	<i>Only</i>			Nader Buchanan	Other/ DK/Ref
		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		<i>Strongly</i>	<i>mod</i>	<i>DK</i>		
November, 2000	41	26	15	*	45	25	19	1	4 1	9
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4 1	7
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4 1	7
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5 *	8
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2 1	9
July, 2000	42				41				6 2	9
Late June, 2000	42				35				2 2	19
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4 3	10
January, 2000	51				39				-- 4	6
September, 1999	49				35				-- 10	6
Two-way trial heats:										
July, 2000	48				46				-- --	6
Mid-June, 2000	45	20	25	*	46	18	27	1	-- --	9
May, 2000	46				45				-- --	9
March, 2000	43				49				-- --	8
February, 2000	46	19	27	*	45	18	26	1	-- --	9
December, 1999	55				40				-- --	5
October, 1999	54				39				-- --	7
September, 1999	54				39				-- --	7
July, 1999	53				42				-- --	5
March, 1999	54				41				-- --	5
January, 1999	50				44				-- --	6
Early September, 1998	53				40				-- --	7

PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED:

	<i>Only</i>				<i>Only</i>				Other/	
1996	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 1996	32	17	15	*	51	26	24	1	9	8
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8	7
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7	7
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8	6
July, 1996	34				44				16	6
March, 1996	35				44				16	5
September, 1995	36				42				19	3
July, 1994	36				39				20	5
Two-way trial heats:										
July, 1996	42	11	30	*	53	20	31	1	--	5
June, 1996	40	13	23	1	55	22	29	1	--	5
April, 1996	40				54					6
March, 1996	41				53					6
February, 1996	44				52					4
January, 1996	41				53					6
July, 1994	49				46					5
	<i>Only</i>				<i>Only</i>				Other/	
1992	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Late October, 1992	34	20	14	--	44	26	18	--	19	3
Early October, 1992	35	14	21	--	48	23	25	--	8	9
June, 1992	31				27				36	6
Two-way trial heats:										
September, 1992	38	14	21	--	53	25	28	--	--	9
August, 1992	37	14	23	--	57	24	33	--	--	6
June, 1992	46	13	33	--	41	9	32	--	--	13
May, 1992	46	15	31	--	43	10	33	--	--	11
Late March, 1992	50	19	31	--	43	9	34	--	--	7
	<i>Only</i>				<i>Only</i>				Other/	
1988	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
October, 1988	50	24	26	--	42	20	22	--		8
September, 1988	50	26	24	--	44	19	25	--		6
May, 1988	40	12	28	--	53	14	39	--		7

ASK IF CHOSE TRUMP OR LEAN TRUMP (VOTEGEN24=1 or VOTEGEN24_LEAN=1) [N=1,873]:

DTFORAGNST

Would you say that your choice of Trump is more a vote...

ASK IF CHOSE HARRIS OR LEAN HARRIS (VOTEGEN24=2 or VOTEGEN24_LEAN=2) [N=2,602]:

KHFORAGNST

Would you say that your choice of Harris is more a vote...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

Sep 30-Oct 6, <u>2024</u>		Aug 26-Sep 2, <u>2024</u>
47	Trump/Lean Trump	49
31	<i>For Trump</i>	33
15	<i>Against Harris</i>	16
*	<i>Refused</i>	*
48	Harris/Lean Harris	49
23	<i>For Harris</i>	24
25	<i>Against Trump</i>	25
*	<i>Refused</i>	*
5	Vote for none/other	2
*	No answer*	*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

	Sep 30-Oct 5, <u>2020</u>	Jun 16-22, <u>2020</u>
Trump/Lean Trump	42	44
<i>For Trump</i>	30	33
<i>Against Biden</i>	12	10
<i>Refused</i>	*	*
Biden/Lean Biden	52	54
<i>For Biden</i>	19	18
<i>Against Trump</i>	33	36
<i>Refused</i>	*	*
Jorgensen/Lean Jorgensen	4	
Hawkins/Lean Hawkins	1	
Vote for none/other	1	2
No answer	*	

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK IF RESPONDENT DID NOT PICK TRUMP OR BIDEN IN VOTEGEN24 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN (VOTEGEN24=3,4,5,6 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=3,4,5,6,7,99):

VOTEGEN24_TWO If there were only two candidates for president and you had to choose, would you vote for... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGEN24]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO DID NOT PICK TRUMP OR BIDEN IN VOTEGEN24 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN (VOTEGEN24=3,4,5,6 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=3,4,5,6,7,99) [N= 222]:

	Donald <u>Trump</u>	Kamala <u>Harris</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	35	36	28
<i>Biden trend for comparison</i>	Donald <u>Trump</u>	Joe <u>Biden</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Jul 1-7, 2024	40	44	16

BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:²⁴

	Donald <u>Trump</u>	Kamala <u>Harris</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	49	50	2
<i>Biden trend for comparison</i>	Donald <u>Trump</u>	Joe <u>Biden</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Jul 1-7, 2024	50	47	3

²⁴ This table combines the responses of VOTEGEN24 and VOTEGEN24_LEAN with VOTEGEN24_TWO.

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP EMTPRESHARRIS**ASK FORM 1 [N=2,560]:**

EMTPRESTRUMP How would you feel if Donald Trump won the November 2024 election? [**SHOW OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE, DISPLAY IN SAME ORDER AS EMTPRESHARRIS**]

Sep 30-Oct 6, <u>2024</u>		Jul 1-7, <u>2024</u>
14	Excited	13
34	Relieved	31
27	Disappointed	29
23	Angry	24
2	No answer*	2

2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you feel if Donald Trump was reelected in the November 2020 election?

	Sep 30- Oct 5, <u>2020</u>	Jul 27- Aug 2, <u>2020</u>	Jan 6-19 <u>2020</u>	Sep 3-15 <u>2019</u>
Excited	12	13	15	14
Relieved	29	27	24	24
Disappointed	33	27	35	34
Angry	25	31	23	26
No answer	1	2	3	2

2016 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How do you feel about Donald Trump winning the presidential election?

	Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>	Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u> ²⁵	Aug 16- Sep 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
Excited	18	12	10	14
Relieved	25	26	25	16
Disappointed	41	37	37	37
Angry	15	23	24	29
No answer	2	2	4	4

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP EMTPRESEBIDEN**ASK FORM 1 [N= 2,560]:**

EMTPRESHARRIS How would you feel if Kamala Harris won the November 2024 election? [**SHOW OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE, DISPLAY IN SAME ORDER AS EMTPRESTRUMP**]

Sep 30-Oct 6, <u>2024</u>	
15	Excited
32	Relieved
31	Disappointed
19	Angry
2	No answer*

²⁵ Prior to the November 2016 survey, this question was asked as a hypothetical, "How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election?"

2024 EMTRESHARRIS TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you feel if Joe Biden was elected in the November 2024 election?

	<i>Biden trend for comparison</i>
	Jul 1-7, 2024
Excited	5
Relieved	33
Disappointed	40
Angry	21
No answer*	2

2020 EMTRESHARRIS TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you feel if Joe Biden was elected in the November 2020 election?

	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020
Excited	10	8
Relieved	42	43
Disappointed	34	32
Angry	12	16
No answer	2	2

2016 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you feel if Hillary Clinton won the presidential election in November 2016?

	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	Apr 5-May 2, 2016
Excited	11	13	15
Relieved	36	36	25
Disappointed	31	29	34
Angry	20	19	22
No answer	2	4	4

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CHNGDC_DT AND CHNGDC_KH; DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE**ASK FORM 2 [N= 2,550]:**

CHNGDC_DT Do you think Donald Trump would change the way things work in Washington...

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1-2 IN SAME ORDER AS CHNGDC_KH; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 3 LAST]

	For the better	For the worse	Not change things much either way	No answer*
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	40	46	14	*

2016 PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

	Change for the better	Change for the worse	Wouldn't change things much either way	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Donald Trump Jun 15-26, 2016	33	44	21	2

ASK FORM 2 [N= 2,550]:

CHNGDC_KH Do you think Kamala Harris would change the way things work in Washington...

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1-2 IN SAME ORDER AS CHNGDC_DT; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 3 LAST]

	For the <u>better</u>	For the <u>worse</u>	Not change things <u>much either way</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	29	38	33	1

2016 PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

	Change for <u>the better</u>	Change for <u>the worse</u>	Wouldn't change things much <u>either way</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Hillary Clinton Jun 15-26, 2016	20	25	53	1

ASK ALL:TCFACTS When it comes to important issues facing the country, would you say most Trump and Harris supporters... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

Sep 30- Oct 6, <u>2024</u>		Oct 6-12 <u>2020</u> ²⁶	Sep 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>
16	Can agree on the basic facts, even if they often disagree over plans and policies	13	19
82	Not only disagree over plans and policies, but they also cannot agree on the basic facts	85	79
2	No answer*	2	2

[ASK CONCEIMP_KH AND CONCDEDO_KH TOGETHER AS A BLOCK; ASK CONCEIMP_DT AND CONCDEDO_DT TOGETHER AS A BLOCK; IF FORM 1, ASK CONCEIMP_KH AND CONCDEDO_KH BLOCK FIRST; IF FORM 2, ASK CONCEIMP_DT AND CONCDEDO_DT BLOCK FIRST]**ASK ALL:**

CONCDEIMP_KH If Donald Trump wins the election – by receiving enough votes cast by eligible voters in enough states – how important do you think it is for Kamala Harris to publicly acknowledge him as the legitimate president of the country?

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=2,560]

Sep 30- Oct 6, <u>2024</u>	
52	Very important
26	Somewhat important
14	Not too important
7	Not at all important
1	No answer*

²⁶ 2020 question asked about “Trump and Biden supporters”; 2016 question wording asked about “Trump and Clinton supporters.”

ASK ALL:

CONCDEDO_KH

If Donald Trump wins the election, do you think Kamala Harris will accept the results and publicly acknowledge that Trump won?

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=2,560]

Sep 30-
Oct 6,
2024

71	Yes
28	No
1	No answer*

[IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1), ASK CONCEIMP_KH AND CONCDEDO_KH FIRST; IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2), ASK CONCEIMP_DT AND CONCDEDO_DT FIRST]

ASK ALL:

CONCDEIMP_DT

If Kamala Harris wins the election – by receiving enough votes cast by eligible voters in enough states – how important do you think it is for Donald Trump to publicly acknowledge her as the legitimate president of the country?

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=2,550]

Sep 30-
Oct 6,
2024

46	Very important
23	Somewhat important
15	Not too important
15	Not at all important
1	No answer*

ASK ALL:

CONCDEDO_DT

If Kamala Harris wins the election, do you think Donald Trump will accept the results and publicly acknowledge that Harris won?

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=2,550]

Sep 30-
Oct 6,
2024

24	Yes
74	No
2	No answer*

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK IF VOTED OR PLAN TO VOTE (PLAN1=1,2) [N=4,302]:

FIRSTVOTE24 Is this the first year you have ever voted, or have you voted in elections before this year?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,854]

Sep 30- Oct 6, <u>2024</u>		Sep 30- Oct 5 <u>2020</u>
5	First year voting	6
95	Have voted before	94
*	No answer*	*

FIRSTVOTE24 TREND FOR COMPARISON:*Is this the first year you have ever voted, or have you voted in elections before this year?***BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO PLAN TO VOTE:**

	Oct 10-16, <u>2022</u>	Nov 7-16, <u>2018</u>
First year voting	3	3
Have voted before	97	97
No answer	*	--

[DISPLAY CMPGNTRAIT_PROUD, CMPGNTRAIT_NEG, CMPGNTRAIT_POLCY, CMPGNTRAIT_ENTRN ON SAME PAGE; RANDOMIZE ORDER OF QUESTIONS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE. DO NOT RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS WITHIN EACH QUESTION]

ASK ALL:

CMPGNTRAIT_PROUD So far, would you say the 2024 presidential campaign...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

	Makes you feel proud of the country	Does not make you feel proud of the country	No answer*
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	19	79	2
Jul 1-7, 2024	12	87	1

ASK ALL:

CMPGNTRAIT_NEG So far, would you say the 2024 presidential campaign is...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

	<u>Too negative</u>	<u>Not too negative</u>	No answer*
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	71	27	2
Jul 1-7, 2024	68	30	2

CMPGNTRAIT_NEG CONTINUED ...**2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

For each of the following, please select which is a better description of the 2020 presidential election campaign.

BASED ON VOTERS:

CMPGNTRAIT_POST_NEG

	Too <u>negative</u>	Not too <u>negative</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2020	76	23	1
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	61	37	2

ASK ALL:

CMPGNTRAIT_POLCY So far, would you say the 2024 presidential campaign is...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

	Focused on important policy <u>debates</u>	Not focused on important policy <u>debates</u>	No <u>Answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	37	62	1
Jul 1-7, 2024	23	76	1

2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

For each of the following, please select which is a better description of the 2020 presidential election campaign.

CMPGNTRAIT_POST_POLCY

	Focused on important policy <u>debates</u>	Not focused on important <u>policy debates</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2020	27	72	1
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020	25	73	2

ASK ALL:

CMPGNTRAIT_INT So far, would you say the 2024 presidential campaign is...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

	<u>Interesting</u>	<u>Dull</u>	No <u>Answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	68	30	2

2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

For each of the following, please select which is a better description of the 2020 presidential election campaign.

CMPGNTRAIT_POST_INT

	<u>Interesting</u>	<u>Dull</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2020	64	34	2
Jul 27-Aug 2, 2020 ²⁷	39	59	2

²⁷ CMPGNTRAIT July 2020 trend based on registered voters.

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF PRESGOODHARRIS, PRESGOODTRUMP; DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]**ASK ALL:**

PRESGOODTRUMP Regardless of who you currently support in the election, do you think Donald Trump would be a...

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024		Apr 8-14, 2024	Mar 1-7, 2021 ²⁸	Jun 16-22, 2020 ²⁹
19	Great president	17	17	16
20	Good president	22	18	18
14	Average president	16	12	11
11	Poor president	13	12	12
35	Terrible president	32	41	41
1	No answer*	*	*	1

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:

What kind of president do you think Donald Trump will be - a great, good, average, poor, or terrible president?

	Great president	Good president	Average president	Poor president	Terrible president	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	14	22	18	13	25	8
Oct 20-25, 2016 ³⁰ (RVs)	9	17	16	11	44	2
Aug 9-16, 2016 (RVs)	9	18	15	12	43	3
Mar 17-26, 2016 (RVs)	10	16	12	15	44	3
Jan 7-14, 2016	10	19	13	15	39	5

ASK ALL:

PRESGOODHARRIS Regardless of who you currently support in the election, do you think Kamala Harris would be a...

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	
12	Great president
23	Good president
21	Average president
14	Poor president
29	Terrible president
1	No answer*

TREND FOR COMPARISON BIDEN

Regardless of who you currently support in the election, do you think Joe Biden is a...

	Apr 8-14, 2024	Jun 16-22, 2020 ³¹
Great president	6	5
Good president	19	21
Average president	26	32
Poor president	18	15
Terrible president	31	26
No answer	*	1

²⁸ In the March 2021 survey, the question read, "During his time in office, do you think Donald Trump was a..."

²⁹ In the June 2020 survey, the question read, "Regardless of who you currently support in the election, do you think Donald Trump is a..."

³⁰ In Oct. 20-25, 2016, and earlier, the question was asked in a list with other candidates: "Regardless of who you currently support in the election, what kind of president do you think Donald Trump would be - a great, good, average, poor, or terrible president?" And volunteered responses of "Never heard of" included in the "Don't know/Refused" category.

³¹ In the June 2020 survey, the question read, "Regardless of who you currently support in the election, do you think Joe Biden would be a..."

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK ALL:**

KHCONTINJBPOL If Kamala Harris were to win the presidency, do you think she would... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

ASK IF KHCONTINJBPOL=1-2 [N= 5,031]:

KHCONTINJBPOL2 And, do you think that if Kamala Harris were to [IF KHCONTINJBPOL=1, continue Biden's policies / IF KHCONTINJBPOL=2, take the country in a different direction] would it be a...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

Sep 30-Oct 6,

2024

58	Continue Joe Biden's policies
16	Good thing for the country
41	Bad thing for the country
*	Neither/Other
41	Take the country in a different direction
30	Good thing for the country
10	Bad thing for the country
*	Neither/Other
1	No answer*

KHCONTINJBPOL/KHCONTINJBPOL2 PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Q.24 If Hillary Clinton were to win the presidency, do you think she would continue Barack Obama's policies, or would she take the country in a different direction? **[If Depends, ask:]** Just in general, do you think Hillary Clinton would continue Barack Obama's policies or take the country in a different direction?

Q.25 And, do you think that if Hillary Clinton were to **[IF Q.24=1, READ: continue Obama's policies / IF Q.24=2, READ: Take the country in a different direction]** would it be a good thing for the country or a bad thing for the country?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS :

Aug 9-16

2016

67	Continue Obama's policies
28	Good thing for the country
37	Bad thing for the country
2	Neither/Other/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
27	Take the country in a different direction
14	Good thing for the country
11	Bad thing for the country
3	Neither/Other/Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF KHCLEAR AND DTCLEAR]**ASK ALL:**

DTCLEAR Just your impression from what you have heard and read, do you think Donald Trump has clearly explained his policies and plans when it comes to... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

		Yes, he's clearly explained <u>his</u> <u>policies</u>	No, he hasn't clearly explained <u>his</u> <u>policies</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
ECON	Strengthening the economy			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	51	48	2
ILIMM	Addressing illegal immigration			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	69	30	1
ABRT	Abortion			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	60	39	1

ASK FORM 1 [N=2,553]:

UKR The war between Ukraine
and Russia

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	48	50	2
--------------------	----	----	---

ISLHM The war between Israel
and Hamas

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	45	52	2
--------------------	----	----	---

ASK FORM 2 [N=2,557]:

FP U.S. foreign policy

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	53	45	2
--------------------	----	----	---

HLTH Health care

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	34	64	2
--------------------	----	----	---

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF KHCLEAR AND DTCLEAR]**ASK ALL:**

KHCLEAR Just your impression from what you have heard and read, do you think Kamala Harris has clearly explained her policies and plans when it comes to... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

		Yes, she's clearly explained her <u>policies</u>	No, she hasn't clearly explained her <u>policies</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
ECON	Strengthening the economy			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	42	56	2
ILIMM	Addressing illegal immigration			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	38	60	2
ABRT	Abortion			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	72	26	2

		Yes, she's clearly explained her <u>policies</u>	No, she hasn't clearly explained her <u>policies</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
KHCLEAR CONTINUED ...				
ASK FORM 1 [N=2,553]:				
UKR	The war between Ukraine and Russia			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	39	58	3
ISLHM	The war between Israel and Hamas			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	32	65	3
ASK FORM 2 [N=2,557]:				
FP	U.S. foreign policy			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	35	62	3
HLTH	Health care			
	Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	44	54	2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

INCREMENTAL Thinking about major problems facing the country and how best to solve them...

In general, which do you think would be more effective? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Sep 30- Oct 6, <u>2024</u>		Jan 16-21 <u>2024</u>	Apr 29- May 13 <u>2019</u>	Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>
70	Using proven approaches that solve problems gradually, even if change may take a while	73	77	65
28	Using new approaches that may be able to solve problems quickly, but also may risk making things worse	26	21	33
2	No answer*	1	2	2

ASK ALL:

GOVPROTCT Please choose the statement that comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right. **[RANDOMIZE]**

	It's not the government's job to protect people from themselves	Sometimes laws to protect people from themselves are necessary	No answer*
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	37	61	1
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	39	59	2
Jul 8-18, 2021	38	60	2

ASK ALL:

USSUCSS In your view, has the U.S. been successful more because of... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024		Jul 27- Aug 2 2020	Sep 3-15, 2019	Oct 25- Nov 8, 2016
47	Its ability to change	53	52	54
50	Its reliance on long-standing principles	45	46	43
3	No Answer*	2	2	3

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK FORM 1 ONLY IF TRUMP/LEAN TRUMP (X_FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN24=1 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=1)):**

DT_REPRE Which comes closer to your view about what Donald Trump's approach should be if he is reelected? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Donald Trump should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of...

BASED ON FORM 1 TRUMP SUPPORTERS [N=769]:

Sep 30- Oct 6, 2024		Sep 30- Oct 5 2020
86	All Americans, even if it means disappointing some of his supporters	86
14	Those who voted for him, without worrying too much about the concerns of those who didn't vote for him	13
1	No answer*	1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY IF HARRIS/LEAN HARRIS (X_FORM=1 AND (VOTEGEN24=2 OR VOTEGEN24_LEAN=2)):

KH_REPRE Which comes closer to your view about what Kamala Harris' approach should be if she is elected? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Kamala Harris should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of...

BASED ON FORM 1 HARRIS SUPPORTERS [N=1146]:

Sep 30-Oct 6,
2024

89	All Americans, even if it means disappointing some of her supporters
10	Those who voted for her, without worrying too much about the concerns of those who didn't vote for her
1	No answer*

KH_REPRE TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED

Joe Biden should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of...

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS :

Sep 30- Oct 5
2020

All Americans, even if it means disappointing some of his supporters	89
Those who voted for him, without worrying too much about the concerns of those who didn't vote for him	10
No answer	1

RANDOMIZE COMPDTD AND COMPKHR; DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE**ASK FORM 2 [N=2,550]:**

COMPDTD If Donald Trump wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that he will work with Democrats in Washington on important issues facing the country?

Sep 30- Oct 6, <u>2024</u>		Nov 29- Dec 12, <u>2016</u> ³²	Oct 25- Nov 8, <u>2016</u>
9	Very likely	10	11
28	Somewhat likely	41	32
25	Somewhat unlikely	29	25
37	Very unlikely	20	31
1	No answer*	1	1

³² In the December 2016 survey, the question read: "How likely do you think it is that Donald Trump will work with DEMOCRATS in Washington on important issues facing the country?"

ASK FORM 2 [N=2,550]:

COMPKHR If Kamala Harris wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that she will work with Republicans in Washington on important issues facing the country?

Sep 30-Oct 6,
2024

18	Very likely
37	Somewhat likely
22	Somewhat unlikely
23	Very unlikely
1	No answer*

TREND FOR COMPARISON

If HILLARY CLINTON wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that she will work with REPUBLICANS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

Oct 25-
Nov 8
2016

17	Very likely
35	Somewhat likely
22	Somewhat unlikely
24	Very unlikely
2	No Answer

**ASK IF ABSOLUTELY OR PROBABLY REGISTERED TO VOTE, OR PLAN TO REGISTER TO VOTE
(REG=1,2 OR PLANREG=1) [N=4,562]:**

VOTE_MOTIV Thinking about voting in the presidential election, would you say that you are personally...

	Extremely motivated <u>to vote</u>	Very motivated <u>to vote</u>	Somewhat motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not too motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not at all motivated <u>to vote</u>	No answer*
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	55	21	14	6	4	*
Aug 5-11, 2024	66	14	10	6	4	*
Jul 1-7, 2024	56	16	12	9	6	*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

**ASK IF REGISTERED, PROBABLY REGISTERED OR PLAN TO REGISTER (REG=1,2 OR
PLANREG=1):**

VOTE_MOTIV Thinking about voting in congressional elections this year, would you say that you are personally...

	Extremely motivated <u>to vote</u>	Very motivated <u>to vote</u>	Somewhat motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not too motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not at all motivated <u>to vote</u>	No answer *
Oct 10-16, 2022	44	22	19	8	6	*

VOTE_MOTIV TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED ...**ASK IF REGISTERED, PROBABLY REGISTERED OR PLAN TO REGISTER (REG=1,2 OR PLANREG=1):**

VOTE_MOTIV *Thinking about voting in the presidential election, would you say that you are personally...*

	Extremely motivated <u>to vote</u>	Very motivated <u>to vote</u>	Somewhat motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not too motivated <u>to vote</u>	Not at all motivated <u>to vote</u>	No answer *
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	61	19	12	5	3	

ASK ALL:

PROBPOLVIOL How much of a problem do you think the threat of violence against political leaders and their families is in our country today?

Sep 30-Oct 6,
2024

61	Major problem
33	Minor problem
5	Not a problem
1	No answer*

ASK ALL:

WINCLEAR

Thinking about the presidential election that will take place in November, do you think that... **[ROTATE**

RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2 AND 2-1]**ASK IF THINK IT'S CLEAR WHO WILL WIN [N=789]:**

WINCLEARWHO

Which candidate do you think is going to win? **[ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2 AND 2-1 WITH 3 LAST]**

ASK IF THINK IT'S NOT CLEAR WHO WILL WIN OR REFUSED [N=4,279]:

WINCLEARWHO2

Just your best guess, who do you think is going to win? **[ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-2 AND 2-1 WITH 3 LAST]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,025]:

Sep 30-Oct 6,
2024

14	NET It's already clear
7	<i>Donald Trump</i>
6	<i>Kamala Harris</i>
*	<i>Another candidate</i>
*	<i>Refused</i>
86	NET It's not yet clear
37	<i>Donald Trump</i>
46	<i>Kamala Harris</i>
1	<i>Another candidate</i>
2	<i>Refused</i>
44	NET Donald Trump
52	NET Kamala Harris
1	NET Another candidate
1	No answer*

Aug 26-Sep 2,
2024

20
11
8
*
*
80
35
42
1
2
46
50
2
*

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a...

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3, 4 OR REFUSED):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...³³

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer*</u>	<i>Lean Rep</i>	<i>Lean Dem</i>
28	29	29	13	1	20	19

³³ PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.