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Public Narrowly Approves of Trump's Plans; Most Are Skeptical He Will Unify the Country

Americans express 'warmer' feelings toward Trump today than after the 2020 or 2016 elections

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Carroll Doherty, Director of Political Research
Jocelyn Kiley, Senior Associate Director, Research
Nida Asheer, Senior Communications Manager

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand Americans' views of Donald Trump, his conduct since the election and their feelings about the country.

For this analysis, we surveyed 9,609 U.S. adults from November 12 to 17, 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. In addition, this survey is also weighted to benchmarks for voter turnout and presidential vote preference. [Read more about the ATP's methodology.](#)

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

Public Narrowly Approves of Trump's Plans; Most Are Skeptical He Will Unify the Country

Americans express 'warmer' feelings toward Trump today than after the 2020 or 2016 elections

Following Donald Trump's victory in the Nov. 5 presidential election, Americans narrowly approve of the president-elect's plans and policies for the future. Roughly half of U.S. adults (53%) approve of his plans, while 46% disapprove.

As was the case during the presidential campaign, Trump draws broad confidence for his handling of the economy. Nearly six-in-ten Americans (59%) say they are very or somewhat confident in the president-elect to make good decisions about economic policy.

Majorities also express confidence in Trump on law enforcement and criminal justice (54%), immigration (53%) and foreign policy (53%), while fewer (45%) are confident in Trump's handling of abortion policy.

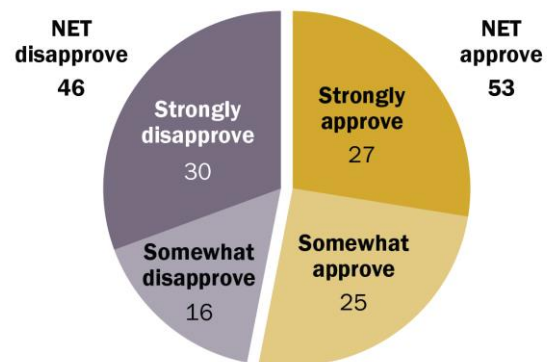
Jump to [Chapter 1](#) for more on Americans' views of Trump

Following a divisive presidential contest, 41% are confident in Trump to bring the country closer together; 59% express little or no confidence that Trump can do this. And Americans give Trump low marks for his efforts to date to reach out to those who supported Kamala Harris in the election.

Roughly half of Americans (52%) say it is extremely or very important for Trump to reach out to Harris' supporters to try to unify the country. Another 30% say this is somewhat important. Only 17% say this is not too or not at all important.

A narrow majority of Americans approve of Trump's plans, policies for the future

% who say they ____ of Donald Trump's policies and plans for the future



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Just 31% of Americans say Trump has done an excellent or good job reaching out to the vice president's supporters to try to bring the country together; more than twice as many (66%) say he has done only a fair or poor job.

Jump to [Chapter 2](#) for more on expectations of the transition and Trump's conduct

The latest national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted among 9,609 adults from Nov. 12 to 17, 2024, finds that Trump's personal image is more positive than it was shortly after the 2020 or 2016 elections.

(Note: Most interviews were completed before Trump announced several of his nominees for Cabinet positions, including Robert F. Kennedy Jr. for secretary of Health and Human Services, and his initial selection of Matt Gaetz for attorney general)

About a third say Trump has done an excellent or good job reaching out to Harris' supporters to unify the country

% who **say it is** ____ **important** that Donald Trump reach out to Kamala Harris' supporters to try to bring the country together



% who **rate Donald Trump's efforts** at reaching out to Kamala Harris' supporters as ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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When asked to indicate their feelings toward Trump on a “feeling thermometer” ranging from 0 to 100, 43% give Trump a “very warm” or “warm” rating (between 51 and 100 on the 0-100 scale). Somewhat more (48%) give Trump a “cold” rating (below 50), including 40% who rate him “very cold” (between 0 and 24).

Still, the share of Americans rating Trump warmly today (43%) is higher than it was after the 2020 (34%) or the 2016 (36%) elections.

Fewer than four-in-ten describe Trump as even-tempered and a good role model.

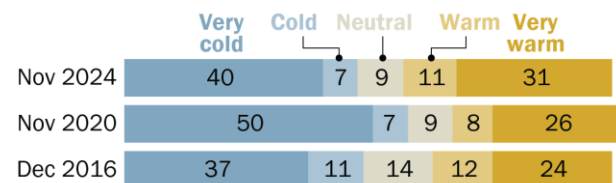
In evaluating Trump’s personal traits and characteristics, a 55% majority say the phrase “mentally sharp” describes Trump very or fairly well, while nearly as many (51%) say he keeps his promises.

Fewer than half describe the president-elect as caring about the needs of ordinary Americans (45%) or honest (42%).

And as was the case during the presidential campaign, Trump draws relatively low ratings for being even-tempered (37%) and a good role model (34%).

Americans’ ratings of Trump are warmer today than shortly after the 2020 or 2016 elections

% who rate Donald Trump ____ on a ‘feeling thermometer’ from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)



Note: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50), warm (51-75) and very warm (76-100). No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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How Americans feel about the country after the election

The share of Americans who are satisfied with the way things are going in the country has increased since October, from 23% to 29%. As has been the case for the past several years, a large majority (70%) remains dissatisfied with national conditions.

Jump to [Chapter 3](#) for more on Americans' feelings about the state of the nation

Republicans and Democrats have traded places in their views of the country since Trump's victory:

- 35% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents express positive views of national conditions, up from just 10% last month.
- About a quarter of Democrats and Democratic leaners (24%) have positive views, compared with 38% in October.

Partisans also express starkly different sentiments about the state of the country today:

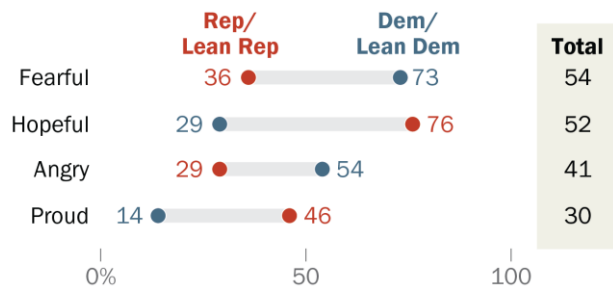
Fear and anger are dominant emotions among Democrats. Nearly three-quarters of Democrats (73%) say they are “fearful” about the state of the country, while 54% say they feel “angry.” Just 29% of Democrats feel “hopeful” and even fewer (14%) feel “proud.”

Republicans are more hopeful, less fearful. Most Republicans (76%) say they feel hopeful about the state of the country, while nearly half (46%) say they are proud. Fear and anger are less widespread among Republicans than Democrats.

Related: [After Trump's victory, Democrats are more pessimistic about their party's future](#)

Most Democrats feel ‘fearful’ about the state of the country, while most Republicans feel ‘hopeful’

% who say that when thinking about the state of the country these days, they feel ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Other findings: Presidential transition, emotional reactions to Trump's win, the state of partisan relations

Smooth presidential transition anticipated, in contrast with 2020. A sizable majority of Americans (70%) say they are very or somewhat confident that the transition to the Trump administration will go smoothly. Republicans (79%) are more likely than Democrats (64%) to say the transition will go well. At a similar point four years ago, when Trump was contesting the election results, just 26% expected the transition to go smoothly.

Trump's post-election conduct viewed much more positively than four years ago.

Shortly after the 2020 election, only about a quarter of Americans (28%) viewed Trump's post-election conduct as excellent or good. Today, nearly twice as many (53%) view his conduct positively. A comparable share (56%) rate Harris' post-election conduct as excellent or good.

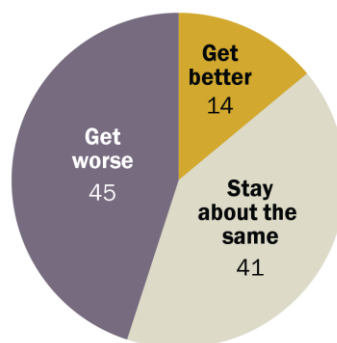
Reactions to Trump's victory. Republicans are reacting to the election results with a mixture of relief (46% say they are relieved by Trump's victory) and excitement (43%). A majority of Democrats (56%) express disappointment at the outcome, while 31% say they are angry. For the most part, reactions to Trump's victory are comparable to his election win in 2016.

Just 14% expect partisan relations to improve.

Most Americans expect relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington to get worse (45%) or stay about the same (41%) in the coming year. In post-election surveys over the past decade, no more than about one-in-five (21% in 2020) have predicted improvement in partisan relations.

Few expect partisan relations to get better next year

% who say relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will ____ in the coming year



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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1. Views of Trump: Personal traits, confidence on issues, ideology

Americans' ratings of Donald Trump on some dimensions have ticked up modestly since preelection surveys. For example, 59% now express confidence in Trump to make good decisions about economic policy, up from 55% in September.

On other evaluations, such as whether Trump is a good role model, public views are identical or nearly identical to those expressed before the election. And across a wide range of issues and personal characteristics, Republicans and Democrats remain sharply divided in their assessments of the president-elect.

Views of Trump's ability to handle key issues

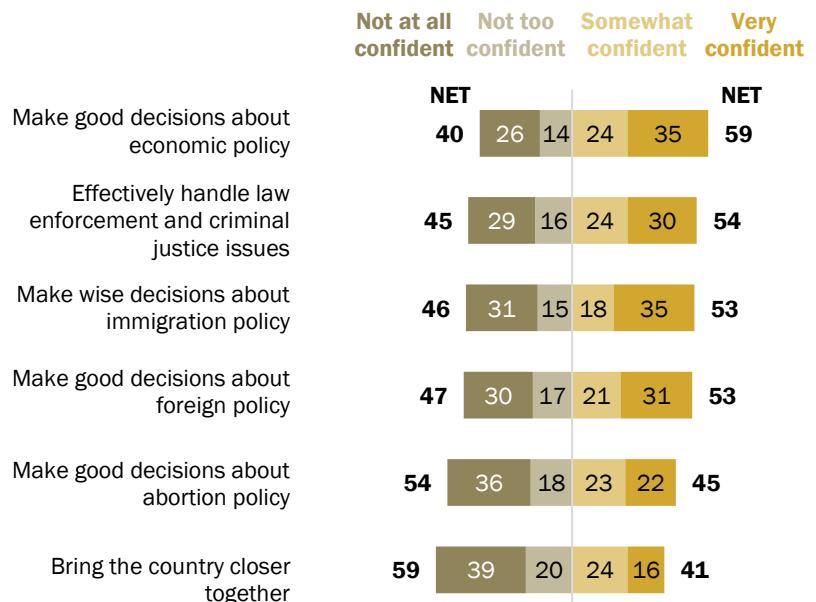
Nearly six-in-ten Americans (59%) express confidence in Trump to make good decisions about economic policy, including 35% who say they are very confident.

Narrower majorities express confidence in Trump to effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues (54%), make wise decisions about immigration policy (53%) or make good decisions about foreign policy (53%).

By contrast, 54% say they are either not too confident (18%) or not at all confident (36%) in Trump's ability to make good decisions about abortion policy. And 59% express little confidence in his ability to bring the country closer together.

Majorities express confidence in Trump on economy, law enforcement, immigration and foreign policy

% who say they are ____ Donald Trump can do each of the following



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Wide partisan gaps in confidence in Trump on issues

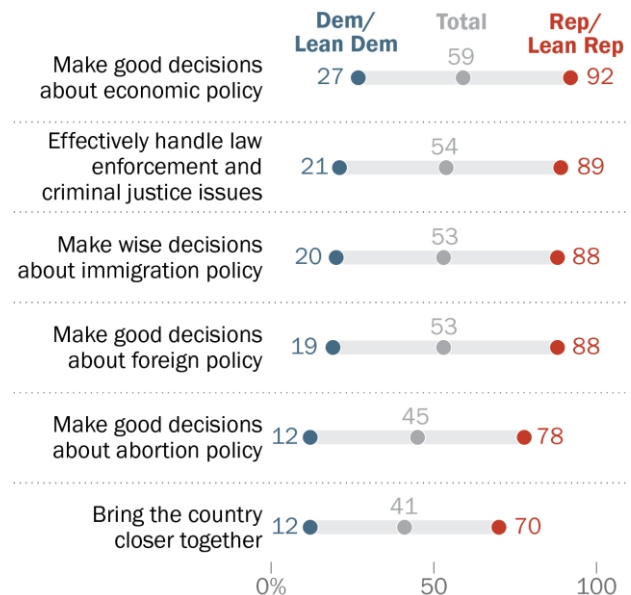
As is often the case for presidents, Republicans and Democrats express very different levels of confidence in Trump's ability to handle several key issues facing the nation.

Seven-in-ten Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say they are at least somewhat confident in Trump on all six of the issues asked about in the survey, while fewer than three-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners express this level of confidence in Trump on any of these issues. For example:

- Republicans and Democrats alike have the most confidence in Trump when it comes to the economy. Yet while 92% of Republicans are confident in Trump to make good decisions about economic policy, 27% of Democrats say the same.
- Republicans are also 58 percentage points more likely than Democrats to express confidence in Trump's ability to bring the country closer together: 70% of Republicans and just 12% of Democrats say they are very or somewhat confident in Trump to do this.

Across a range of issues, Republicans express much more confidence in Trump

*% who say they are **very/somewhat confident** Donald Trump can do each of the following*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Views of Trump's personal traits

A 55% majority of Americans say the phrase “mentally sharp” describes Donald Trump very (28%) or fairly (27%) well, nearly identical to the 53% who said this in September.

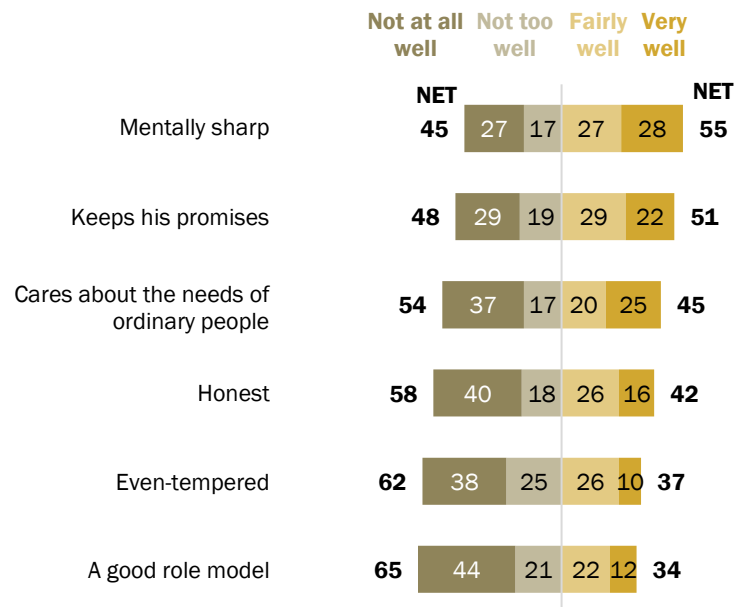
Roughly half of the public (51%) says that Trump keeps his promises, including 22% who say this describes Trump very well.

Slightly fewer than half of Americans (45%) say the phrase “cares about the needs of ordinary people” describes Trump well; 54% say this phrase does not describe Trump.

Roughly four-in-ten (42%) say Trump is honest, while 37% describe him as even-tempered. Trump receives his lowest ratings on whether he is a good role model – about a third of Americans (34%) describe the president-elect this way.

A majority of Americans describe Trump as mentally sharp, while far fewer see him as a good role model

% who say each of the following describes Donald Trump ...



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Several of these traits have been asked in prior Pew Research Center surveys in both 2020 and 2024, and views of Trump's mental sharpness, empathy and whether he is a good role model are largely unchanged. But ratings of his honesty and temperament are more positive than they were before the election:

- 42% say “honest” describes him at least fairly well today, up from 37% in September.
- 37% say “even-tempered” describes him at least fairly well, up from 30% in September.

Republican and Democratic views of Trump's personal traits

Just as partisans are sharply divided in their views of Trump's ability to handle key issues, they are similarly divided in their views of his personal characteristics.

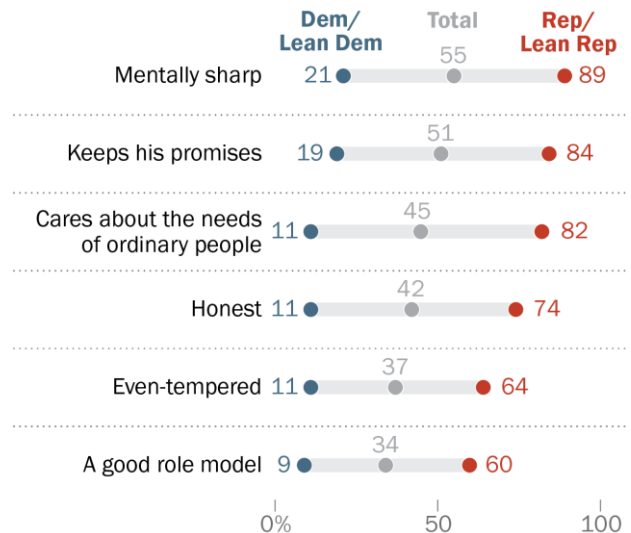
Republicans are consistently much more likely than Democrats to say that positive descriptions apply to Trump.

In particular, eight-in-ten or more Republicans say he is mentally sharp (89% very/fairly well), keeps his promises (84%) and cares about the needs of ordinary people (82%). By comparison, narrower majorities of Republicans say he is a good role model (60%) and even-tempered (64%).

Fewer than a quarter of Democrats say any of these positive traits describe Trump.

Views of Trump's personal qualities remain sharply polarized by party

% who say each of the following describes Donald Trump very/fairly well



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Views of Trump's ideology

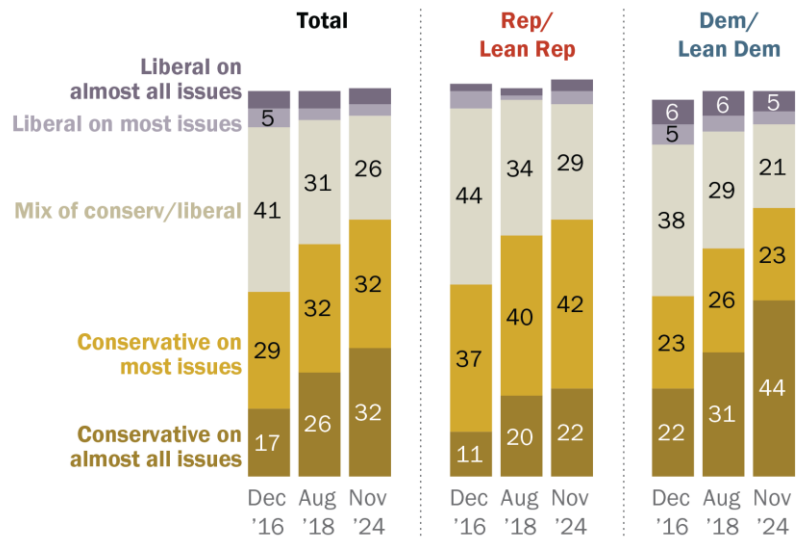
Today, 64% of Americans say Trump has conservative views on most or almost all issues, 26% say he holds a mix of conservative and liberal positions on issues and 7% say his views are largely liberal.

The public's perception of Trump's ideological positioning has shifted substantially over time: Shortly after he was first elected in 2016, fewer than half (46%) of Americans said Trump was conservative on most or almost all issues.

Republicans and Democrats both view Trump as more conservative than they did eight years ago. The share of Democrats describing Trump's views as conservative has increased to 68% from 46% in 2016. Among Republicans, the share describing Trump's views this way has increased to 64% from 48% before his first term.

More than 6 in 10 Americans now say Trump's views are conservative on all or most issues

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



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Feelings about Trump

Americans' feelings about Trump are modestly more positive than they were at most other points since he entered political life. On a "feeling thermometer" where 0 is the coldest rating and 100 is the warmest, 48% give him a "cold" rating (0-49), while a smaller share (43%) rate him warmly (51-100). Roughly one-in-ten give him a neutral rating (50).

As has been the case since Trump first ran in the GOP primary in 2016, Democrats and Republicans take starkly different views of the president-elect.

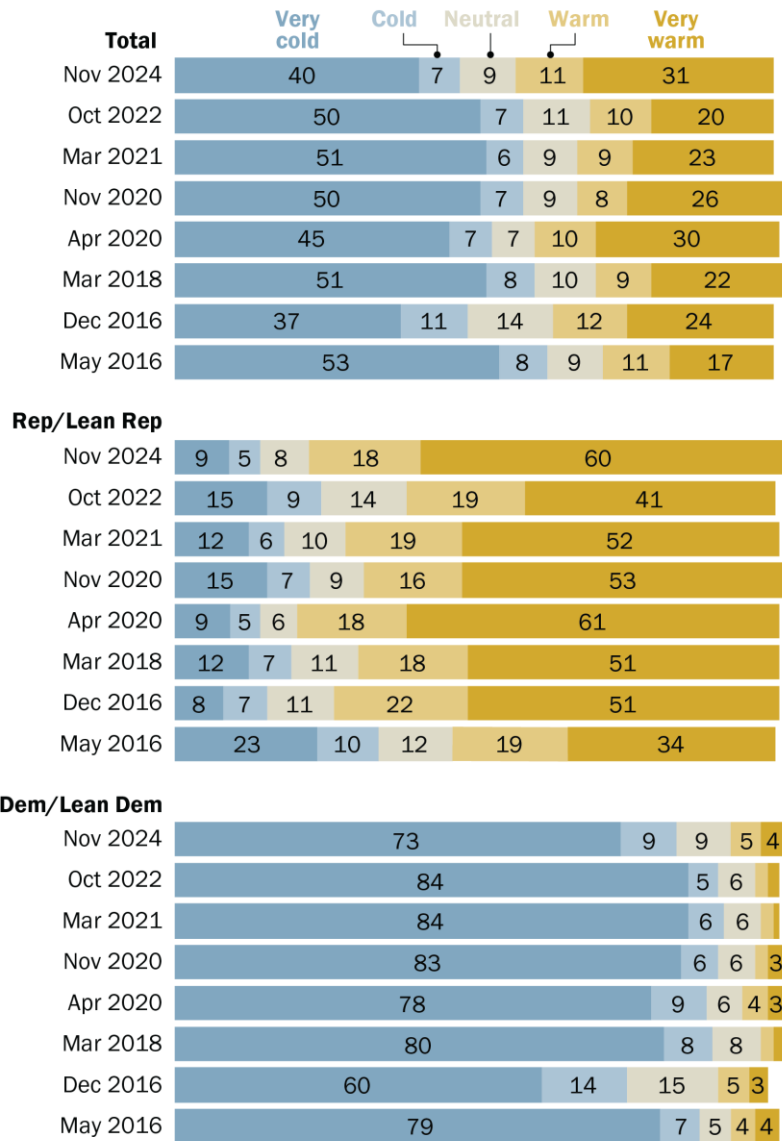
Republicans' views of Trump

In May 2016, about half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (53%) expressed a warm view of Trump. By December 2016, after his first win, a much higher share of Republicans (73%) rated him warmly.

GOP views of Trump remained fairly stable through his first term in office – but warmed up during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic in April 2020. Then, roughly eight-in-ten rated him warmly, including 61%

Trump rated more 'warmly' than in recent years, but nearly half continue to view him 'coldly'

% who rate Donald Trump ____ on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)



Note: Feeling thermometer ratings (0-100): very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50); warm (51-75); and very warm (76-100). See topline for full trend and question wording. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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who expressed *very* warm feelings toward the president.

Republican feelings toward Trump cooled again after his election defeat in November 2020. Then, roughly seven-in-ten expressed warm feelings toward him – including about half who rated him very warmly (53%).

Today, Republicans and Republican leaners feel very warm toward Trump. About eight-in-ten (78%) rate him very warmly (60%) or warmly (18%), while relatively small shares say they have a neutral (8%) or cold (14%) view of him.

Democrats' views of Trump

Democrats continue to view Trump in largely negative or cold terms. About eight-in-ten give him a cold rating, including 73% who give him a very cold rating.

Still, Democrats' views of Trump are less cold today than they were throughout much of his presidency and post-presidency: From 2018 to 2022, roughly nine-in-ten Democrats gave him a cold rating.

Democrats are more negative about Trump today than they were shortly after his 2016 victory. In December 2016, 60% rated him very coldly. Today, 73% rate him very negatively.

2. Views of President-elect Trump's plans and transition conduct

With President-elect Donald Trump set to return to the White House in January, Americans are narrowly divided over his policies and plans for the future.

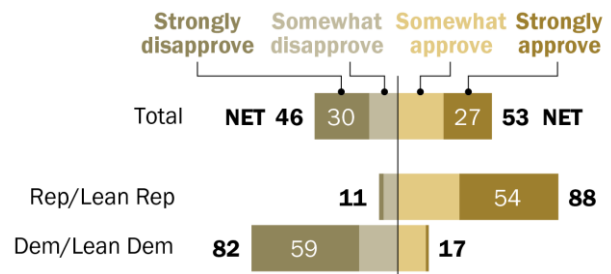
- A narrow majority of U.S. adults (53%) say they approve of his plans, including 27% who strongly approve.
- 46% say they disapprove, including 30% who disapprove strongly.

Republicans and Democrats are deeply divided over the president-elect's plans.

- 88% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say they approve of Trump's plans, with more than half (54%) saying they *strongly* approve.
- 82% of Democrats and Democratic leaners disapprove of Trump's plans. About six-in-ten (59%) *strongly* disapprove.

About half of Americans say they approve of Trump's policies and plans

% who say they ____ of Donald Trump's policies and plans for the future



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Confidence the presidential transition will go smoothly

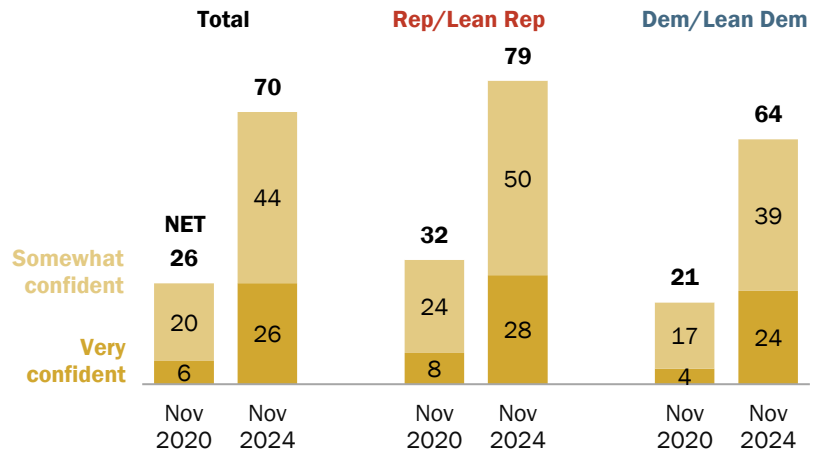
In contrast to 2020, most Americans (70%) today are at least somewhat confident the transition from the Biden administration to the Trump administration will go smoothly, including 26% who are *very* confident.

Four years ago, only about a quarter of Americans (26%) were confident that there would be a smooth transition from the Trump administration to the incoming Biden administration.

Both Republicans and Democrats are more confident in an orderly transition now than they were in 2020.

Americans are more confident there will be a smooth presidential transition than they were in 2020

% who are ____ that the transition to the next administration will go smoothly



Note: 2024 survey asks if “the transition from the Biden administration to the Trump administration will go smoothly.” 2020 survey asked if “a transition from the Trump administration to the Biden administration would go smoothly.”

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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- 79% of Republicans are very or somewhat confident in a smooth transition, up from 32% in 2020.
- Democrats are less confident than Republicans that the transition will go well (64% say they are very or somewhat confident), but the share who say this is about three times higher than it was in 2020 (21%).

Trump's conduct since the election seen more positively than in 2020

Trump and Vice President Kamala Harris receive similar marks from the public for their conduct since Election Day.

- 53% say Trump's conduct has been good or excellent in the post-election period, while 45% say his behavior has been only fair or poor.
- 56% say Harris' conduct has been excellent or good, while 42% rate her conduct as only fair or poor.

Both Trump and Harris receive somewhat lower marks for their conduct than President Joe Biden did [after the 2020 election](#), when 60% of adults said Biden's conduct was excellent or good.

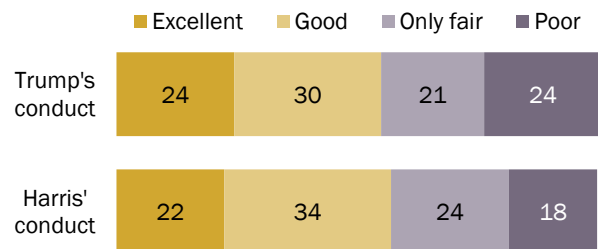
Ratings of Trump's conduct are significantly more positive now than after the 2020 election.

The share of Americans who rate his conduct as excellent or good is 25 percentage points higher than it was in the 2020 post-election period, when just 28% viewed his behavior positively amid his campaign's legal challenges to the vote and ballot counting in several states.

Today, the overwhelming majority of Republicans (85%) give Trump positive marks for his behavior since Nov. 5. Four years ago, slightly more than half of Republicans (54%) characterized Trump's behavior as excellent or good.

Trump and Harris receive similar ratings for their post-election conduct

How would you rate ____ since the presidential election on Nov. 5? (%)



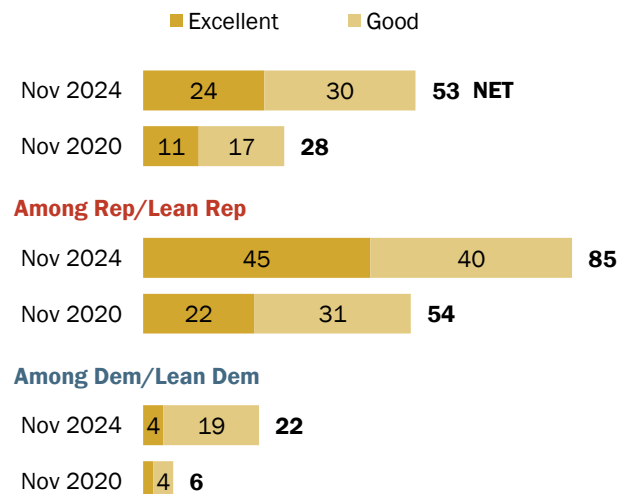
Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Trump's conduct viewed more positively than after the 2020 election

How would you rate **Donald Trump's conduct** since the presidential election on Nov. 5? (%)



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Democrats are overwhelmingly negative about Trump’s post-election conduct. Still, 22% give positive ratings, which is up from just 6% four years ago.

Trump’s outreach to Harris supporters

Most Americans – regardless of political party – say it is at least somewhat important that Trump reach out to Harris’ supporters to try to bring the country together.

Overall, 22% say it is extremely important that Trump reach out to Harris’ supporters, while 30% say it is very important. Three-in-ten say reaching out is somewhat important, while just 17% say it is not too (10%) or not at all (7%) important for Trump to try to unify the country.

Democrats (58%) are somewhat more likely than Republicans (48%) to say it is very or extremely important for Trump to reach out to Harris’ supporters.

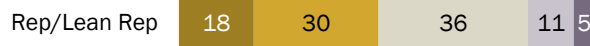
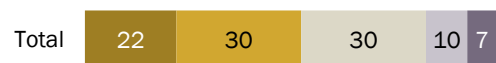
Voters see Trump’s efforts to reach out to Harris’ supporters as lacking so far.

- Overall, just 31% of Americans rate Trump’s efforts at reaching out to Harris’ supporters as excellent (6%) or good (25%). About two-thirds say his efforts have been only fair (28%) or poor (38%).
- Republicans are more positive about Trump’s outreach than Democrats: 54% in the GOP say he’s done a good or excellent job reaching out, while only 9% of Democrats say this. Two-thirds of Democrats say Trump’s efforts have been poor; just 10% of Republicans say the same.

Most Americans say it is important Trump reach out to Harris supporters, but few rate his efforts positively

% who say it is ____ important that Donald Trump reach out to Kamala Harris’ supporters to try to bring the country together

■ Extremely ■ Very ■ Somewhat ■ Not too ■ Not at all



% who rate Donald Trump’s efforts at reaching out to Kamala Harris’ supporters as ...

■ Excellent ■ Good ■ Only fair ■ Poor



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Expectations for bipartisan relations in Washington

Nearly half of Americans (45%) expect relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington to get worse in the coming year. By comparison, just 14% expect relations between the two parties to get better, while 41% expect them to stay about the same.

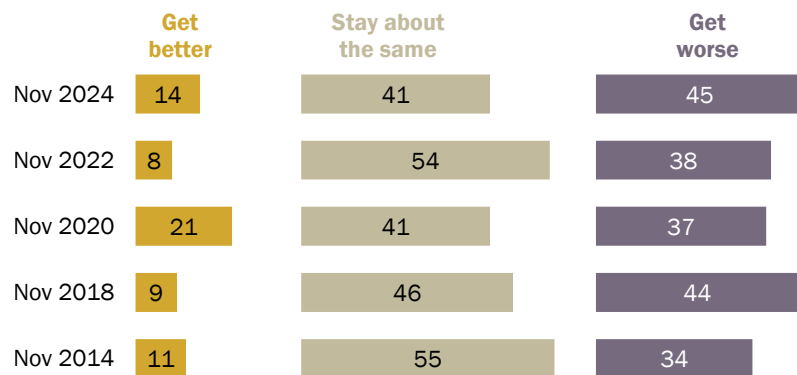
A greater share of Americans expect worsening party relations now than after the 2020 election (45% today vs. 37% then). Pessimism about relations between the two parties is now roughly on a level with where it was after the 2018 midterm elections, when 44% expected them to get worse.

Democrats (69%) are far more likely than Republicans (23%) to say they expect things to get worse between

Republicans and Democrats over the next year. About half of Republicans (53%) expect things to stay the same, compared with 27% of Democrats. And while about a quarter of Republicans (23%) say partisan relations will get better next year, just 5% of Democrats say this.

Many expect relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington to worsen next year

% who say relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will ____ in the coming year



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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3. Americans' feelings about the state of the nation, reactions to the 2024 election

As has been the case for nearly two decades, a majority of Americans are expressing dissatisfaction with the current state of the nation.

Today, 29% of Americans say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, while 70% of Americans say they are dissatisfied.

While overall public satisfaction has risen since before the election, this increase is entirely driven by Republicans and Republican-leaning independents:

- Just 10% of Republicans said they were satisfied with the state of the nation in early October, but 35% of Republicans say this today.

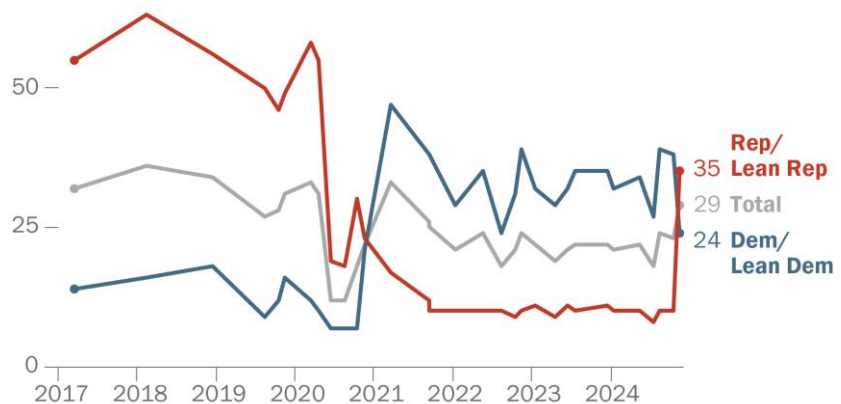
While ratings have spiked among Republicans, Donald Trump's win has had the opposite effect on Democrats:

- In October, 38% of Democrats and Democratic leaners expressed satisfaction with the way things are going in the country, compared with about a quarter (24%) who say this today.

Partisans' national satisfaction ratings typically shift with change in control of the White House. For example, Democrats' views improved markedly after the election and inauguration of President Joe Biden.

Modest uptick in public satisfaction with the state of the country, driven by Republicans

*% who say they are **satisfied** with the way things are going in the country today*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Feelings about the country: Fear, hope, anger, pride

For the most part, Americans' feelings about the state of the country are not dramatically different from their feelings after the 2020 election.

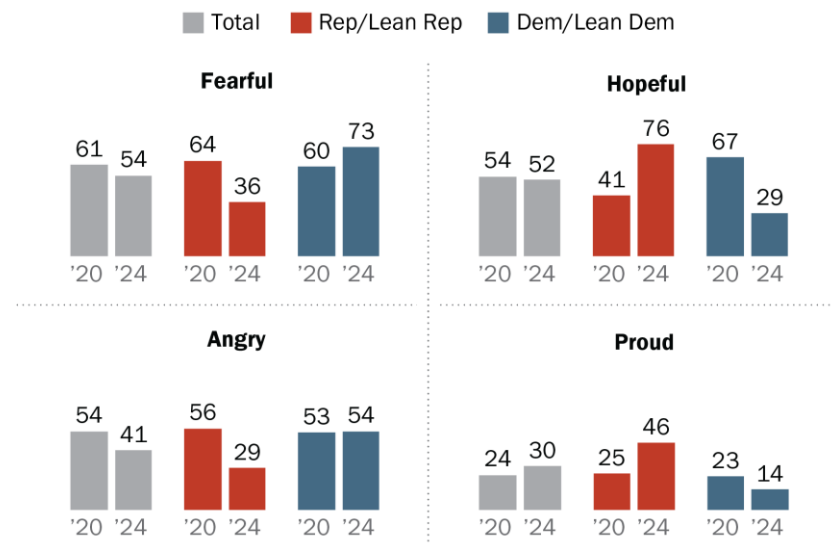
Yet partisans' views are very different: Republicans are now far more likely to be hopeful and proud, while the share of Democrats who feel hopeful has declined sharply.

After Biden won the 2020 presidential election, Democrats (67%) were considerably more likely than Republicans (41%) to say they felt hopeful about the state of the country.

Following Trump's win, partisans' feelings have reversed: Now, 76% of Republicans say they are hopeful, while 29% of Democrats say the same.

Republicans are now more hopeful about the country than after 2020 election; Democrats far less hopeful

% who say they feel ____ when thinking about the state of the country these days



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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The share of Republicans who say they feel proud of the country also has risen sharply, from 25% after the previous election to 46% today. Democrats' views have shown less change; 14% feel proud about the country, compared with 23% four years ago.

Republicans also are far less likely to feel fearful and angry about the country than they did after Biden's win. Roughly a third say they feel fearful, nearly 30 percentage points lower than four years ago. The decline in the share saying they feel angry has been about as large, from 56% then to 29% today.

Democrats are somewhat [more likely to say they feel fearful than in November 2020](#), when Trump was disputing the results of the 2020 election. Nearly three-quarters of Democrats (73%) feel

fearful, compared with six-in-ten in 2020. A narrow majority of Democrats (54%) feel angry – about the same share who felt this way after the election four years ago (53%).

How does the public feel about Trump’s win?

Americans are divided in their reactions to Donald Trump winning the presidency. Half of all adults say they are excited (22%) or relieved (28%) about his victory, while roughly the same share say they are disappointed (33%) or angry (15%).

Among Republicans

Republicans’ reactions to Trump’s win are roughly similar to how they felt after Trump’s first victory in 2016. Today, 46% say they feel relieved, roughly the same as the share who said this in 2016 (48%).

Republicans are somewhat more likely to say they are excited today than they were eight years ago (43% vs. 38%).

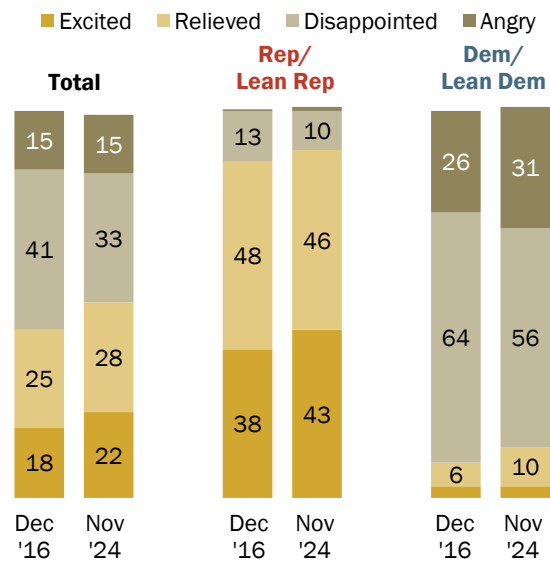
Among Democrats

As in 2016, Democrats have overwhelmingly negative reactions to Trump’s victory. However, they are somewhat more likely to say they are angry this year and less likely to feel disappointed.

Today, 31% of Democrats say they are angry about Trump’s win. In 2016, 26% felt angry. At the same time, fewer Democrats say they feel disappointed (56%) than after the election eight years ago (64%).

Republicans are overwhelmingly excited and relieved about Trump’s win, while Democrats are disappointed and angry

% who say they feel ____ about Donald Trump winning the presidential election



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Most Americans say they aren't surprised by Trump's victory

When asked if they are surprised Donald Trump won the presidential election, about a third of Americans (32%) say they are surprised by his win. About two-thirds (68%) say they are not surprised.

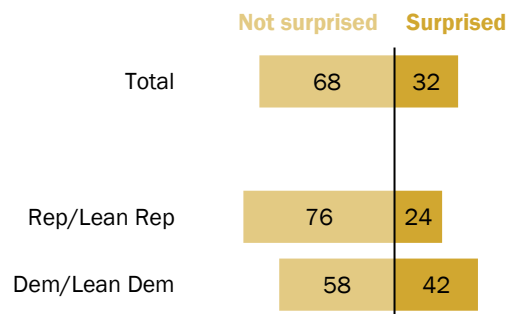
Republicans are less likely than Democrats to say that they are surprised that Trump won the election.

Only about a quarter of Republicans (24%) say they are surprised by the election results, compared with 42% of Democrats.

In 2016, sizable majorities of those who voted for both Trump and Hillary Clinton said they were surprised that Trump won.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say they were surprised by Trump's 2024 victory

% who say they are ____ that Donald Trump won the presidential election



Note: No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 12-17, 2024.

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Acknowledgments

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

Research team

Carroll Doherty, *Director, Political Research*
Jocelyn Kiley, *Senior Associate Director, Political Research*
Hannah Hartig, *Senior Researcher*
Baxter Oliphant, *Senior Researcher*
Gabe Borelli, *Research Associate*
Andrew Daniller, *Research Associate*
Andy Cerda, *Research Analyst*
Joseph Copeland, *Research Analyst*
Ted Van Green, *Research Analyst*
Shanay Gracia, *Research Assistant*

Communications and editorial

Nida Asheer, *Senior Communications Manager*
Talia Price, *Communications Associate*
David Kent, *Senior Copy Editor*

Graphic design and web publishing

Alissa Scheller, *Senior Information Graphics Designer*
Reem Nadeem, *Digital Producer*
Beshay Sakla, *Associate Digital Producer*

Methodology

Andrew Mercer, *Senior Research Methodologist*
Dorene Asare-Marfo, *Senior Panel Manager*
Dana Popky, *Associate Panel Manager*
Arnold Lau, *Research Methodologist*

Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

Data in this report comes from Wave 159 of the American Trends Panel (ATP), Pew Research Center’s nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. The survey was conducted from Nov. 12 to Nov. 17, 2024. A total of 9,609 panelists responded out of 10,604 who were sampled, for a survey-level response rate of 91%.

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 less than 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 9,609 respondents is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points.

SSRS conducted the survey for Pew Research Center via online (n=9,323) and live telephone (n=286) 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 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

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

² Email pewsurveys@pewresearch.org.

The overall target population for this survey was noninstitutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the United States. All active panel members were invited to participate in this wave.

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.

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 Nov. 12 to Nov. 17, 2024. Surveys were conducted via self-administered web survey or by live telephone interviewing.

For panelists who take surveys online:³ Postcard notifications were mailed to a subset on Nov. 12.⁴ 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 Nov. 12. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled online panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Nov. 13.

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.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

**Invitation and reminder dates for web respondents,
ATP Wave 159**

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	Nov. 12, 2024	Nov. 13, 2024
First reminder	Nov. 14, 2024	Nov. 14, 2024
Final reminder	Nov. 16, 2024	Nov. 16, 2024

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For panelists who take surveys over the phone with a live interviewer: Prenotification postcards were mailed on Nov. 8. Soft launch took place on Nov. 12 and involved dialing until a total of eight interviews had been completed. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled 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, three 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.

Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table. In addition to the ATP's standard weighting parameters, the weights used in this report are also calibrated to benchmarks for voter turnout and presidential vote preference among adult U.S. citizens. The weights were then trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from

variance in the weights. In a final step, the trimmed weights were recalibrated to align exactly with the benchmarks for voter turnout and the presidential popular vote. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

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	
Volunteerism	2021 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
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	
2024 presidential popular vote and turnout among voting-eligible population.	Projections based on Cook Political Report and University of Florida Election Lab as of 11:20 AM, November 18

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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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 159			
Group	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	9,609		1.5 percentage points
Half form	At least 4,801		2.1 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	4,439	48	2.1 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,206		2.9 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	4,971	48	2.1 percentage points
Half form	At least 2,475		2.9 percentage points
.			
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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 159

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	9,609
Logged in (web) / Contacted (CATI), but did not complete any items	2.11	173
Started survey; broke off before completion	2.12	43
Never logged on (web) / Never reached on phone (CATI)	2.20	776
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	3
Total panelists sampled for the survey		10,604
Completed interviews	I	9,609
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	216
Non-contact	NC	776
Other	O	3
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		10,604
AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		91%

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Cumulative response rate, ATP Wave 159

	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 159	35%
Response rate to Wave 159 survey	91%
Cumulative response rate	3%

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**2024 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 159 POLITICS SURVEY NOVEMBER 2024
FINAL TOPLINE
NOVEMBER 12-17, 2024
N=9,609**

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.

NOTE: In addition to the parameters used in weighting each wave of the American Trends Panel, the results of this survey were weighted to the 2024 presidential popular vote and turnout among voting-eligible population (as of Nov. 18, 2024). For additional information, refer to the [methodology](#).

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>
Nov 12-17, 2024	29	70	1
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

SATIS CONTINUED ...

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
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
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

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

[SHOW FEEL_COUNTRY_FEAR, FEEL_COUNTRY_HOPEFUL, FEEL_COUNTRY_ANGRY, FEEL_COUNTRY_PROUD ON SAME PAGE; RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF THE QUESTIONS; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN ORDER]

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=4,808]:

Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel... *[Please select one item from each pair]*

FEEL_COUNTRY_FEAR [DISPLAY RESPONSES IN ORDER]

	<u>Fearful</u>	<u>Not fearful</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2024	54	43	3
May 13-19, 2024	60	38	2
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	56	43	2
Jan 10-17, 2022	62	37	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	61	37	1
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	63	36	*
Jun 16-22, 2020	66	33	*

FEEL_COUNTRY_HOPEFUL

	<u>Hopeful</u>	<u>Not hopeful</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2024	52	46	2
May 13-19, 2024	45	54	1
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	51	48	1
Jan 10-17, 2022	46	53	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	54	45	1
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	44	55	*
Jun 16-22, 2020	46	53	*

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

FEEL_COUNTRY CONTINUED...**FEEL_COUNTRY_ANGRY**

	<u>Angry</u>	Not <u>angry</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2024	41	55	4
May 13-19, 2024	53	46	2
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	49	49	2
Jan 10-17, 2022	55	43	2
Nov 12-17, 2020	54	45	2
Jun 16-22, 2020	71	29	*

FEEL_COUNTRY_PROUD

	<u>Proud</u>	Not <u>proud</u>	No <u>answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2024	30	66	4
May 13-19, 2024	21	77	2
Apr 25-May 1, 2022	22	76	2
Jan 10-17, 2022	20	78	2
Nov 12-17, 2020	24	74	2
Jun 16-22, 2020	17	83	1

ASK ALL:

EMTPRESTRUMP2 How do you feel about Donald Trump winning the presidential election? **[ROTATE RESPONSES OPTIONS 1-4/4-1]**

Nov 12-17, <u>2024</u>		Nov 29-Dec 12 <u>2016</u>
22	Excited	18
28	Relieved	25
33	Disappointed	41
15	Angry	15
2	No answer*	2

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you feel if Donald Trump won the November 2024 election?

	<u>Excited</u>	<u>Relieved</u>	<u>Disappointed</u>	<u>Angry</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
Sep 30-Oct 6, 2024	14	34	27	23	2
Jul 1-7, 2024	13	31	29	24	2
2020					
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	12	29	33	25	1
July 27-Aug 2, 2020	13	27	27	31	2
Jan 6-19, 2020	15	24	35	23	3
Sep 3-15, 2019	14	24	34	26	2
2016					
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	12	26	37	23	2
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	10	25	37	24	4
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	14	16	37	29	4

ASK ALL:

ELXSURP

Overall, are you surprised that Donald Trump won the presidential election, or not surprised?

Nov 12-17,
2024

32	Surprised
68	Not surprised
*	No answer*

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON:*Overall, are you surprised that Donald Trump won the presidential election, or not surprised?***BASED ON VOTERS:**

Nov 10-14

2016

73	Surprised
27	Not surprised
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

[DISPLAY POSTELEC_TRMP AND POSTELEC_HARRIS ON SAME PAGE; RANDOMIZE ORDER OF QUESTIONS; INCLUDE THE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

ASK ALL:

POSTELEC_TRMP

How would you rate Donald Trump's conduct since the presidential election on November 5th?

Nov 12-17,
2024

24	Excellent
30	Good
21	Only fair
24	Poor
1	No answer*

2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON:*How would you rate Donald Trump's conduct since the presidential election on November 3rd?*

	Jan 8-12, <u>2021</u>	Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>
Excellent	8	11
Good	15	17
Only fair	16	18
Poor	61	53
No answer	1	1

ASK ALL:

POSTELEC_HARRIS

How would you rate Kamala Harris' conduct since the presidential election on November 5th?

Nov 12-17,

2024

22	Excellent
34	Good
24	Only fair
18	Poor
1	No answer*

2020 TREND FOR COMPARISON:*How would you rate Joe Biden's conduct since the presidential election on November 3rd?*

	Jan 8-12, <u>2021</u>	Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>
Excellent	34	33
Good	30	27
Only fair	20	21
Poor	15	18
No answer	1	1

ASK ALL:

DTIDEO

Which best describes your impression of Donald Trump's views? **[ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1]**

Nov 12-17, <u>2024</u>		Jul 30- Aug 12, <u>2018</u>	Nov 29- Dec 12, <u>2016</u>	Jun 7- Jul 5, <u>2016</u>
32	He has conservative views on <u>almost all</u> issues	26	17	16
32	He has conservative views on <u>most</u> issues	32	29	28
26	His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal	31	41	38
3	He has liberal views on <u>most</u> issues	3	5	5
4	He has liberal views on <u>almost all</u> issues	4	4	7
3	No answer*	4	5	6
64	NET conservative views	58	46	44
7	NET liberal views	7	9	12

ASK ALL:

DTCONF

Thinking about Donald Trump's ability to handle a number of things, how confident are you that Donald Trump can do each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

	Very <u>confident</u>	Somewhat <u>confident</u>	Not too <u>confident</u>	Not at all <u>confident</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
ECON Make good decisions about economic policy					
Nov 12-17, 2024	35	24	14	26	1
Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	34	21	15	28	1
Jul 1-7, 2024	30	24	15	29	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	32	21	17	29	*
Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	28	22	18	31	1

DTCONF CONTIUNED...

		<u>Very confident</u>	<u>Somewhat confident</u>	<u>Not too confident</u>	<u>Not at all confident</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
	June 16-22, 2020	29	21	16	33	1
	Jan 6-19, 2020	32	21	18	29	1
	Jul 22-Aug 4, 2019	29	21	15	35	*
IMMI	Make wise decisions about immigration policy					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	35	18	15	31	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	35	17	14	34	*
	Jul 1-7, 2024	30	20	13	35	1
	Jan 6-19, 2020	26	17	17	40	*
	July 22-Aug 4, 2019	25	16	15	43	*
ABCN	Make good decisions about abortion policy					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	22	23	18	36	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	19	24	17	39	1
	Jul 1-7, 2024	17	25	17	38	2
CRIM	Effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	30	24	16	29	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	28	23	17	31	1
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	20	17	39	*
	June 16-22, 2020	19	23	17	41	1
FRGN	Make good decisions about foreign policy					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	31	21	17	30	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	32	19	16	33	*
	Jul 1-7, 2024	26	22	15	35	2
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	19	17	39	1
	June 16-22, 2020	22	21	16	41	1
CLSR	Bring the country closer together					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	16	24	20	39	*
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	15	21	19	44	1
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	11	18	20	51	1
	June 16-22, 2020	11	19	19	50	1

ASK ALL:

TRUMPDESC How well does each of the following describe Donald Trump? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

		<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>No answer*</u>
HNST	Honest					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	16	26	18	40	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	14	22	17	46	1
	Jul 1-7, 2024	12	24	19	44	1
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	10	23	16	50	1
	June 16-22, 2020	13	21	16	49	1
	Feb 4-15, 2020	12	24	19	44	1

TRUMPDESC CONTINUED...

		Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	No <u>answer*</u>
ORD	Cares about the needs of ordinary people					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	25	20	17	37	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	24	18	16	42	1
	Jul 1-7, 2024	21	21	16	40	1
	June 16-22, 2020	21	17	13	47	1
TEMP	Even-tempered					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	10	26	25	38	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	9	22	23	46	1
	June 16-22, 2020	7	18	24	51	1
	Feb 4-15, 2020	6	21	28	44	1
MNSHRP	Mentally sharp					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	28	27	17	27	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	30	23	18	29	1
	Jul 1-7, 2024	29	29	21	20	1
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	24	24	19	32	1
MDL	A good role model					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	12	22	21	44	1
	Aug 26-Sep 2, 2024	13	21	20	45	1
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	7	20	19	53	1
	June 16-22, 2020	9	20	18	52	1
KPR	Keeps his promises					
	Nov 12-17, 2024	22	29	19	29	1

ASK ALL:

RCHOUTIMP How important is it that Donald Trump reach out to Kamala Harris' supporters to try to bring the country together? **[ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1]**

Nov 12-17,
2024

22	Extremely important
30	Very important
30	Somewhat important
10	Not too important
7	Not at all important
1	No answer*

ASK ALL:

RCHOUTDO How would you rate Donald Trump's efforts at reaching out to Kamala Harris' supporters?

Nov 12-17,
2024

6	Excellent
25	Good
28	Only fair
38	Poor
3	No answer*

ASK ALL:

NEWADMIN How confident, if at all, are you that the transition from the Biden administration to the Trump administration will go smoothly?

Nov 12-17,
2024

26	Very confident
44	Somewhat confident
20	Not too confident
9	Not at all confident
1	No answer*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How confident, if at all, are you that a transition from the Trump administration to the Biden administration would go smoothly?

Nov 12-17,
2020

Very confident	6
Somewhat confident	20
Not too confident	39
Not at all confident	33
No answer	2

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=4,801]:

PRESPLANS Do you approve or disapprove of the job President-elect Trump has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people?

Nov 12-17,
2024

51	Approve
47	Disapprove
2	No answer*

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Do you approve or disapprove of the job President-elect Biden has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people?

Jan 8-12,
2021

Approve	58
Disapprove	39
No answer	3

PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

Do you approve or disapprove of the job President-elect ___ has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people?

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Trump	Jan 4-9, 2017	39	55	6
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	41	55	4
Obama	Jan 7-11, 2009	70	18	12
	December, 2008	72	18	10
Bush	January, 2001	50	36	14
Clinton	January, 1993	62	24	14
Bush	Gallup: March, 1989	65	28	7

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=4,808]:

PLANSPRESFUT As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump's policies and plans for the future?

Nov 12-17,

2024

27 Strongly approve
25 Somewhat approve
16 Somewhat disapprove
30 Strongly disapprove
2 No answer*

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

THERMO

We'd like to get your feelings toward a number of people on a "feeling thermometer." A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the person at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward them. **[RANDOMIZE]**

		Rating of <u>0 to 24</u>	Rating of <u>25 to 49</u>	Rating of <u>50</u>	Rating of <u>51 to 75</u>	Rating of <u>76 to 100</u>	No Answer*	<i>Mean rating</i>
THERMTRUMP	Donald Trump							
	Nov 12-17, 2024	40	7	9	11	31	*	45
	Oct 10-16, 2022	50	7	11	10	20	2	35
	Jul 8-18, 2021	50	7	11	10	22	*	37
	Mar 1-7, 2021	51	6	9	9	23	*	36
	Nov 12-17, 2020	50	7	9	8	26	*	38
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	51	6	7	10	25	1	37
	Apr 7-12, 2020	45	7	7	10	30	*	42
	Oct 29-Nov 11, 2019	49	8	9	9	25	1	38
	Sep 3-15, 2019	49	7	8	10	26	1	38
	Feb 26-Mar 11, 2018	51	8	10	9	22	1	35
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	37	11	14	12	24	2	43
THERMBIDEN	Sep 27-Oct 10, 2016	48	9	9	11	18	4	35
	Apr 5-May 2, 2016	53	8	9	11	17	3	32
	Joe Biden							
	Nov 12-17, 2024	40	16	18	14	12	*	37
	Oct 10-16, 2022	43	10	13	16	16	2	38
	Jul 8-18, 2021	33	9	14	15	28	*	48
THERMHARRIS	Mar 1-7, 2021	32	9	13	15	31	*	50
	Nov 12-17, 2020	35	9	12	14	29	1	47
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	38	10	12	15	24	1	43
	Apr 7-12, 2020	37	14	16	15	17	*	40
	Kamala Harris							
	Nov 12-17, 2024	40	12	15	14	20	*	40
	Nov 12-17, 2020	40	7	13	11	29	*	44
	Sep 30-Oct 5, 2020	41	7	18	12	22	1	41

ASK ALL:

POL12 Do you think relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will get better in the coming year, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

Nov 12-17, <u>2024</u>		Nov 16-27, <u>2022</u>	Nov 12-17, <u>2020</u>	Nov 7-13, <u>2018</u>	Nov 17- Dec 15, <u>2014</u>
14	Get better	8	21	9	11
45	Get worse	38	37	44	34
41	Stay the same	54	41	46	55
*	No answer*	*	1	*	1

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM**ASK ALL:**

REPRSNTREP How well does the Republican Party represent the interests of people like you?

	NET WELL	<i>Very well</i>	<i>Somewhat well</i>	NET NOT WELL	<i>Not too well</i>	<i>Not at all well</i>	No answer*
Nov 12-17, 2024	50	16	34	49	24	25	1
Jul 10-16, 2023	39	6	33	58	27	31	2
Aug 1-14, 2022	44	10	34	53	25	28	3
Jul 8-18, 2021	41	9	33	56	27	29	3
Nov 12-17, 2020	47	16	31	51	25	26	2
Nov 29- Dec 12, 2016	46	10	36	53	27	26	1
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	39	8	31	60	29	31	2
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	40	7	33	57	29	28	3

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM**ASK ALL:**

REPRSNTDEM How well does the Democratic Party represent the interests of people like you?

	NET WELL	<i>Very well</i>	<i>Somewhat well</i>	NET NOT WELL	<i>Not too well</i>	<i>Not at all well</i>	No answer*
Nov 12-17, 2024	43	9	35	55	29	27	2
Jul 10-16, 2023	41	7	34	56	26	30	2
Aug 1-14, 2022	47	12	35	50	23	27	3
Jul 8-18, 2021	46	10	36	51	23	28	3
Nov 12-17, 2020	47	11	35	51	21	29	2
Nov 29- Dec 12, 2016	51	14	37	48	24	24	1
Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	49	13	36	50	24	26	2
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	52	14	38	46	24	22	3

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

[IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1), THEN SHOW GOPDIRCT FIRST FOLLOWED BY DEMDIRCT ON SEPARATE PAGES. IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=2), THEN SHOW DEMDIRCT FIRST FOLLOWED BY GOPDIRCT ON SEPARATE PAGES]

ASK IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN ONLY (XPARTYSUM=1) [N=4,439]:

GOPDIRCT Thinking about the future of the Republican Party, would you say that you are...

	<u>Very optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat pessimistic</u>	<u>Very pessimistic</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2024	38	48	10	3	*
Nov 16-27, 2022	10	55	27	7	1
Nov 12-17, 2020	23	51	20	5	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	25	54	17	4	1
Nov 7-13, 2018	27	56	13	3	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	23	51	19	5	2
Sep 14-Sep 28, 2017	12	47	29	10	2
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	28	51	16	4	2
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	12	49	29	9	1

ASK IF DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT ONLY (XPARTYSUM=2) [N=4,971]:

DEMDIRCT Thinking about the future of the Democratic Party, would you say that you are...

	<u>Very optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat optimistic</u>	<u>Somewhat pessimistic</u>	<u>Very pessimistic</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Nov 12-17, 2024	7	43	38	11	1
Nov 16-27, 2022	13	59	23	5	*
Nov 12-17, 2020	25	58	12	5	1
Jan 6-19, 2020	15	60	20	4	1
Nov 7-13, 2018	24	57	14	3	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	19	58	16	5	2
Sep 14-Sep 28, 2017	13	51	28	6	1
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	14	47	29	10	1
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	22	55	15	6	2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

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...⁶

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer*</u>	<u>Lean Rep</u>	<u>Lean Dem</u>
28	27	30	14	1	20	20

⁶ PARTY and PARTYLN asked in a prior survey.