

**2024 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 159 NOVEMBER 2024
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE
NOVEMBER 12 – 17, 2024**

Note: The questions presented below are part of a larger survey conducted on the American Trends Panel. For all questions, the 98 ("Don't know" in phone mode) and 99 ("Refusal" in phone mode and "No answer" in web mode) codes are combined in the data for analytical purposes.

PN = Programming note

CODEBOOK FOR ATP SAMPLE VARIABLES TO BE USED IN SURVEY PROGRAMMING LOGIC

X_FORM

- 1 Form 1
- 2 Form 2

Note: Flag to randomly assign panelists to one of two forms (Form 1, Form 2) and weight within form
Source: Randomly assigned for each survey.

X_CITIZEN

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 99 Refused

Note: Flag to identify U.S. citizens.
Source: Frame file variable F_CITIZEN.

X_PARTYSUMFINAL

- 1 Rep/Lean Rep
- 2 Dem/Lean Dem
- 9 DK/Refused/No lean

Note: Flag to identify republicans, republican leaners and non-leaners.
Source: Frame file variable F_PARTYSUM_FINAL. Same codes as F_PARTYSUM_FINAL.

[PN: START TIMER]

 -----**MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE BEGINS HERE**-----

QUE: SATIS
ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Satisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

TXT:

[PN: 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]

TXT:

[PN: DISPLAY IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):]

Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...

[PN: IF WEB:] *[Please select one item from each pair]*

QUE: FEEL_COUNTRY_FEAR
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2)

[PN: IF CATI:] **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI:] **(RE-READ QUESTION STEM IF NECESSARY: Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...(READ LIST))**

- 1 Fearful
- 2 Not fearful
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

QUE: FEEL_COUNTRY_HOPEFUL
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2)

[PN: IF CATI:] **(READ LIST)**

[PN: IF CATI:] **(RE-READ QUESTION STEM IF NECESSARY: Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...(READ LIST))**

- 1 Hopeful
- 2 Not hopeful
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

QUE: FEEL_COUNTRY_ANGRY
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2)

[**PN: IF CATI:**] **(READ LIST)**

[**PN: IF CATI:**] **(RE-READ QUESTION STEM IF NECESSARY:** Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...**(READ LIST))**

- 1 Angry
- 2 Not angry
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: FEEL_COUNTRY_PROUD
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2)

[**PN: IF CATI:**] **(READ LIST)**

[**PN: IF CATI:**] **(RE-READ QUESTION STEM IF NECESSARY:** Thinking about the state of the country these days, would you say you feel...**(READ LIST))**

- 1 Proud
- 2 Not proud
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: EMTPRESTRUMP2

ASK ALL:

[**PN: ROTATE RESPONSES OPTIONS 1-4/4-1; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

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

[**PN: IF CATI:**] **(READ LIST)**

- 1 Excited
- 2 Relieved
- 3 Disappointed
- 4 Angry
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: ELXSURP

ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Surprised
- 2 Not surprised
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

TXT:

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

QUE: POSTELEC_TRMP**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only fair
- 4 Poor
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

QUE: POSTELEC_HARRIS**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only fair
- 4 Poor
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

QUE: DTIDEO**ASK ALL:**

[PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE]

Which best describes your impression of Donald Trump's views?

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 He has conservative views on almost all issues
- 2 He has conservative views on most issues
- 3 His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal
- 4 He has liberal views on most issues
- 5 He has liberal views on almost all issues
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

BAT: DTCONF**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] 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?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] 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? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Are you **(READ LIST)**?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY:** How confident are you that Donald Trump can **(INSERT ITEM)**? Are you **(READ LIST)**?)

BATTERY ITEMS:

ECON Make good decisions about economic policy
 IMMI Make wise decisions about immigration policy
 ABCN Make good decisions about abortion policy
 CRIM Effectively handle law enforcement and criminal justice issues
 FRGN Make good decisions about foreign policy
 CLSR Bring the country closer together

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1 Very confident
 2 Somewhat confident
 3 Not too confident
 4 Not at all confident
 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

BAT: TRUMPDESC**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] How well does each of the following describe Donald Trump?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] How well does each of the following describe Donald Trump? First, **(INSERT ITEM)**. Does it describe him **(READ LIST)**?

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] What about **(INSERT ITEM)**? **(READ AS NECESSARY: Does (INSERT ITEM) describe Donald Trump (READ LIST)?)**

BATTERY ITEMS:

HNST	Honest
ORD	Cares about the needs of ordinary people
TEMP	Even-tempered
MNSHRP	Mentally sharp
MDL	A good role model
KPR	Keeps his promises

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Very well
- 2 Fairly well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not at all well
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: RCHOUTIMP**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5/5-1; INCLUDE ROTATION IN DATA FILE**]

How important is it that Donald Trump reach out to Kamala Harris' supporters to try to bring the country together?

[**PN: IF CATI:**] **(READ LIST)**

- 1 Extremely important
- 2 Very important
- 3 Somewhat important
- 4 Not too important
- 5 Not at all important
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: RCHOUTDO**ASK ALL:**

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

[**PN: IF CATI:**] (**READ LIST**)

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only fair
- 4 Poor
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: NEWADMIN**ASK ALL:**

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

[**PN: IF CATI:**] (**READ LIST**)

- 1 Very confident
- 2 Somewhat confident
- 3 Not too confident
- 4 Not at all confident
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: PRESPLANS**ASK IF FORM 1 (X_FORM=1):**

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?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: PLANSPRESFUT
ASK IF FORM 2 (X_FORM=2):

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

[**PN: IF CATI:**] Do you **(READ LIST)**

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove
- 98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

BAT: THERMO**ASK ALL:**

[**PN: RANDOMIZE ITEMS; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE**]

[**PN: IF INITIALLY SKIPS ANY ITEM IN THIS BATTERY, SHOW THE FOLLOWING SOFT**

PROMPT: *Please enter the "degree" or number between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings in the box. If you would like to skip, click Next.]*

[**PN: ALSO SHOW PROMPT IF ANSWER OVER 100 IS ENTERED. IF AFTER PROMPT THE ANSWER IS STILL OVER 100, RECORD ANSWER AS IS IN THE DATA AND ALLOW RESPONDENT TO CONTINUE**]

[**PN: DO NOT ALLOW NEGATIVE NUMBERS OR DECIMALS IN THE NUMERIC TEXT BOXES**]

[**PN: IF WEB:**] 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.

[**PN: IF WEB:**] *[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings]*

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR FIRST ITEM:**] 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. First, **(INSERT ITEM)** **(READ IF NECESSARY:** 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. You can use any number from 0 to 100.)

[**PN: IF CATI: READ FOR SUBSEQUENT ITEMS:**] Next, **(INSERT ITEM)** **(READ IF NECESSARY:** 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. You can use any number from 0 to 100.)

THERMTRUMP **ASK ALL:** How do you feel toward Donald Trump?

THERMBIDEN **ASK ALL:** How do you feel toward Joe Biden?

THERMHARRIS **ASK ALL:** How do you feel toward Kamala Harris?

Enter number here: [**PN: PROGRAM A NUMERIC TEXT BOX**]

998 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know

999 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

QUE: POL12**ASK ALL:**

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?

1 Get better

2 Get worse

3 Stay about the same

98 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Don't know

99 [**PN: IF CATI:**] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [**PN: IF WEB:**] Web blank

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: REPRSNTREP**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Very well
- 2 Somewhat well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not at all well
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

TXT:

[PN: RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM; INCLUDE RANDOMIZATION IN DATA FILE]

QUE: REPRSNTDEM**ASK ALL:**

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Very well
- 2 Somewhat well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not at all well
- 98 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 [PN: IF CATI:] (DO NOT READ) Refused / [PN: IF WEB:] Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUE: GOPDIRCT**ASK IF LEANED PARTY (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1,2):**

[PN: 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]

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Very optimistic
- 2 Somewhat optimistic
- 3 Somewhat pessimistic
- 4 Very pessimistic
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

QUE: DEMDIRCT**ASK IF LEANED PARTY (X_PARTYSUMFINAL=1,2):**

[PN: 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]

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

[PN: IF CATI:] (READ LIST)

- 1 Very optimistic
- 2 Somewhat optimistic
- 3 Somewhat pessimistic
- 4 Very pessimistic
- 98 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Don't know
- 99 **[PN: IF CATI:]** (DO NOT READ) Refused / **[PN: IF WEB:]** Web blank

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED