

FOR RELEASE DECEMBER 20, 2016

In Election's Wake, Partisans Assess the State of Their Parties

Wide differences over how parties address concerns of key groups

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Carroll Doherty, Director of Political Research

Jocelyn Kiley, Associate Director, Research

Bridget Johnson, Communications Associate

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

About Pew Research Center

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. It does not take policy positions. It conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, content analysis and other data-driven social science research. The Center studies U.S. politics and policy; journalism and media; internet, science and technology; religion and public life; Hispanic trends; global attitudes and trends; and U.S. social and demographic trends. All of the Center's reports are available at www.pewresearch.org. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder.

© Pew Research Center 2016

In Election's Wake, Partisans Assess the State of Their Parties

Wide differences over how parties address concerns of key groups

In the wake of the election, Republicans are feeling more optimistic about their party's future. By contrast, Democrats' optimism about the Democratic Party's future has declined. And Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say their party has done too little to address the concerns of a number of groups, including women, minorities and residents of rural areas.

Today, 79% of Republicans say they are very or somewhat optimistic about the future of the Republican Party. In early November, on the eve of the election, 61% of Republicans expressed optimism about their party's future.

Democrats' optimism about their party's future has declined by a comparable margin over the same period – though a majority (61%) continues to be optimistic. Before the election, 77% of Democrats were optimistic about the party's future, which is almost identical to the share of Republicans who are upbeat about their party's now.

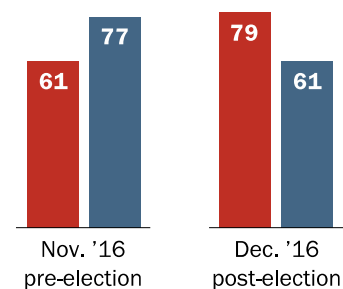
The latest national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12 among 4,183 adults on Pew Research Center's nationally representative American Trends Panel also finds that Republicans and Democrats have very different views about their party's outreach to various groups in society, including women, minorities, people who live in rural areas and those with different levels of educational attainment.

A majority of Republicans and Republican leaners say their party does about the right amount (57%) to address the concerns and priorities of women; just 33% say it does too little, while 6% say it does too much.

Republicans, Democrats trade places in optimism about their party's future

% who say they are very/somewhat optimistic about future of their party

● Rep/Lean Rep ● Dem/Lean Dem



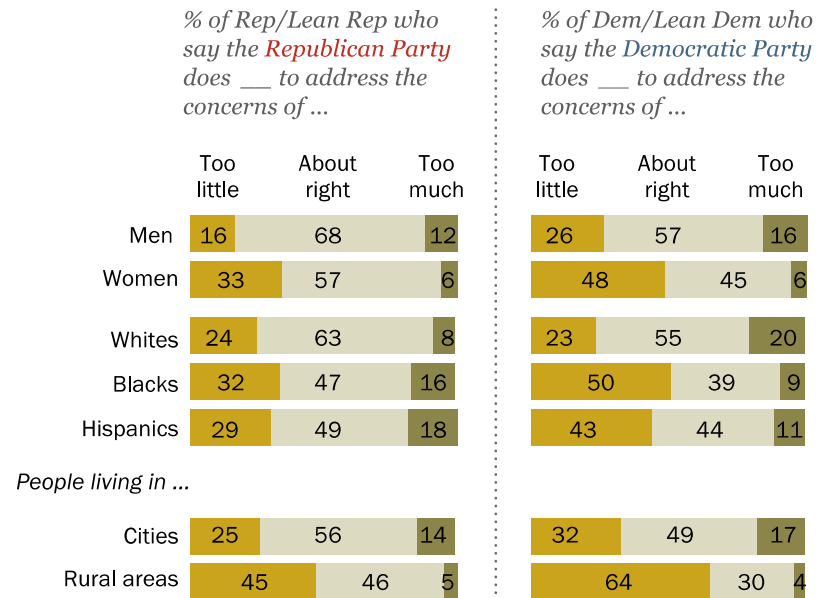
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Democrats and Democratic leaners, by contrast, are about as likely to say their party does too little to address women's concerns (48%) as about the right amount (45%).

This pattern also is seen in views of the parties' efforts in addressing concerns of several other groups: Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say their party does too little to address the concerns of blacks (50% of Democrats vs. 32% of Republicans), Hispanics (43% vs. 29%) and men (26% vs. 16%). And while 64% of Democrats say their party does too little to address the concerns of people in rural areas, a smaller share of Republicans (45%) say this about the GOP.

More Democrats than Republicans say their party does 'too little' for women, minorities, rural residents



Note: Don't know/No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In fact, of the 16 groups asked about in the survey, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say their party does too little to address the needs of 11 of these groups; there is no group for which Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say their party does too little.

However, Republicans and Democrats do generally agree that their parties do too little for middle-income people (54% of Republicans say this, as do 58% of Democrats) and low-income people (52% of Republicans, 62% of Democrats). And comparable shares in both parties say their parties do *too much* for high-income people (45% of Republicans, 43% of Democrats).

A little over a month after the hard-fought presidential election, a substantial majority of Democrats (90%) still say they feel disappointed (64%) or angry (26%) about Trump's win.

Yet when asked earlier in the campaign how they *would feel* if Trump won, more Democrats expected they would be angry. In early November, 39% said they would be angry if Trump won.

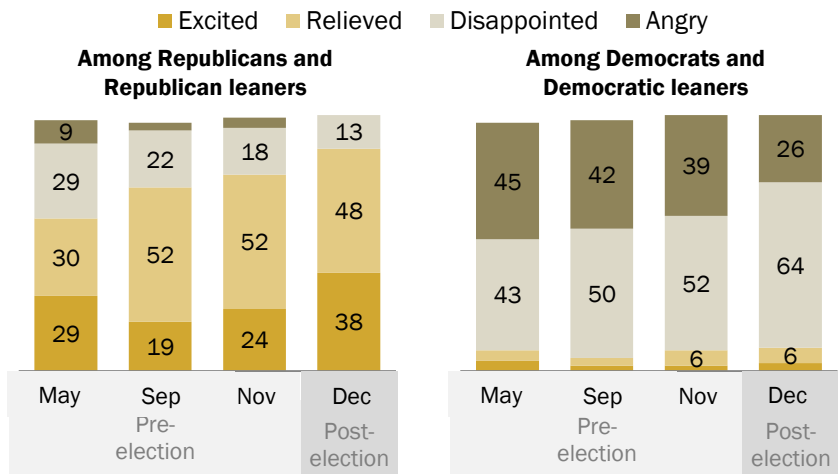
Republicans' reactions to Trump's victory also are somewhat different from the reactions they expected to have prior to the election.

Today, 38% of Republicans say they are excited and 48% are relieved that Trump won, while 13% say they are disappointed. In pre-election surveys, fewer Republicans anticipated they would feel excited about a Trump victory, while greater shares expected they would feel disappointed.

With Trump set to take the oath of office in a month, about three-quarters of the public (76%) thinks that the new president *should* work closely with the opposing party in Congress, a view shared by 62% of Republicans and 88% of Democrats.

In both parties, reactions to Trump's victory differ from how people *expected* to feel before the election

% who feel ____ about Donald Trump winning the presidential election



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown. Pre-election question asked "how would you feel..."
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

But far smaller shares of the public expect that Trump and Democrats *will* work together: Half of Americans say it is at least somewhat likely

Trump will work with Democrats in Washington to address important issues facing the country, while roughly as many (47%) expect Democrats in Washington will work with Trump.

Democrats, in particular, are skeptical that Trump will cooperate with their party: Just 31% of Democrats (compared with 73% of Republicans) say Trump is likely to work with Democrats in Washington.

[As other recent Pew Research Center surveys have found](#), Trump’s image has improved since his election victory, though it remains negative on balance. Asked to rate Trump on a 0-100 “thermometer,” 36% give Trump a very or somewhat “warm” rating (51-100), while 14% give him a neutral rating (50) and nearly half (48%) rate him “coldly” (0-49). In two prior surveys, in October and April, majorities had rated Trump coldly.

Trump’s post-election thermometer ratings are not significantly different from Hillary Clinton’s: 36% rate Clinton warmly, 14% give her a neutral rating and 48% a cold rating.

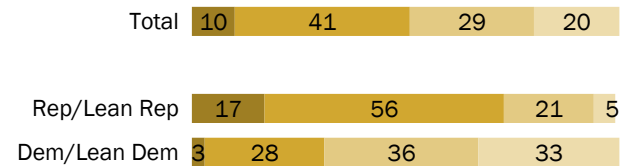
The survey finds that Republicans and Democrats generally agree that Trump has changed the Republican Party – though they differ sharply over whether this change is positive or negative. Fully 72% of the public, including majorities of Republicans and Democrats say Trump’s campaign and election have led to major (44%) or minor (27%) changes in what the GOP stands for.

Partisans expect their side – not the other side – to cooperate

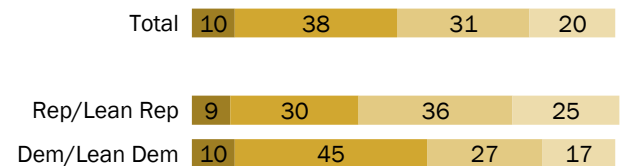
How likely is it that ___ on important issues facing the country? (%)

■ Very likely ■ Somewhat likely
■ Somewhat unlikely ■ Very unlikely

Trump will work with Democrats in Washington



Democrats in Washington will work with Trump



Notes: Don’t know/No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Republicans who say Trump has changed the party's principles, 83% say these changes have been good for the party. Nearly three-quarters of Democrats (72%) who say Trump has changed the party say this has been bad for the GOP.

As was the case during the campaign, perceptions of Trump's ideological views are divided, though only modestly along partisan lines. Overall, 46% characterize Trump's views as all or mostly conservative, while 41% think of his views as a mix of conservative and liberal (9% say his views are all or mostly liberal).

But among Republicans, beliefs about Trump's views tend to mirror their own: 57% of conservative Republicans and leaners say Trump's views are all or mostly conservative, while moderate Republicans are more likely to think of him as having a mix of conservative and liberal views (34% say his views are conservative, 52% say they are a mix).

Perceptions of Trump's ideology

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

	Conservative on ...		Mix of conservative and liberal on issues	Liberal on all/most issues
	Almost all issues	Most issues		
Total	17	29	41	9
Rep/Lean Rep	12	36	44	6
Dem/Lean Dem	21	24	38	11

Notes: Don't know/No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Other important findings

Thermometer ratings of the candidates and their supporters. Republicans give Trump supporters more positive thermometer ratings (an average rating of 77) than either Trump himself (71) or Republicans (68). Similarly, Democrats give Clinton supporters a higher average rating (72) than they give to Democrats (65) or Clinton (64).

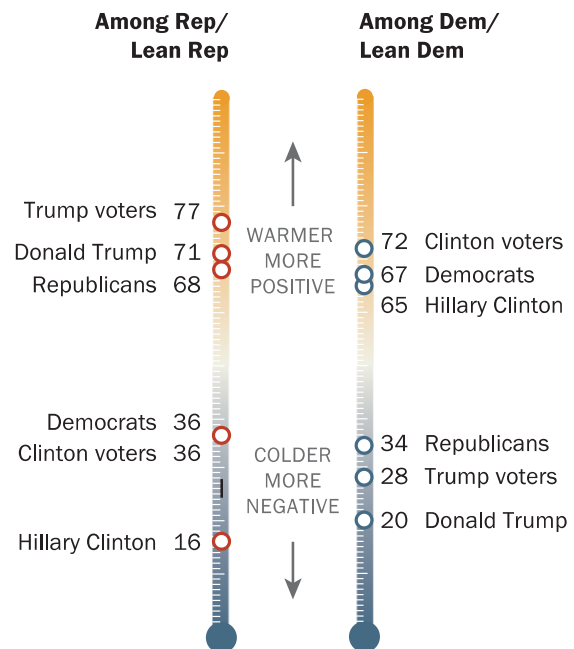
Republicans view Mike Pence ‘warmly,’ have mixed views of Paul Ryan. About six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (61%) rate the vice president-elect “warmly,” while just 8% give him “cold” thermometer ratings; 14% give him neutral ratings. Republicans’ ratings of Paul Ryan are less positive: 38% rate him warmly, 18% give Ryan a cold rating, while 22% give him a neutral rating.

Very few regret how they voted. The vast majority of voters say that, if given a “do-over,” they would not change the way they voted. Fully 99% of Trump supporters say, if given the opportunity to vote again, they would stay with Trump; 96% of Clinton supporters say the same.

Most non-voters also have no regrets. Among citizens who say they did not cast a ballot in the presidential election, 55% say they do *not* wish they had voted. Some of the top reasons given for not voting are that they did not like the candidates (26% selected this as a reason they did not vote), they felt their vote would not matter (25%), or they were not registered or eligible to vote (22%).

Partisans’ ratings of Trump, Clinton and their voters

Mean thermometer ratings



Note: Ratings are based on a “feeling thermometer” from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest).

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

1. Partisans' Views of Their Parties, Impact of Trump's Election on the GOP

In the wake of Donald Trump's victory, Republicans are feeling better about their party than they did during the campaign.

Republicans and Republican-leaning independents increasingly say their party does well in representing the interests "of people like them." Republicans' optimism about the GOP's future also has risen since the election.

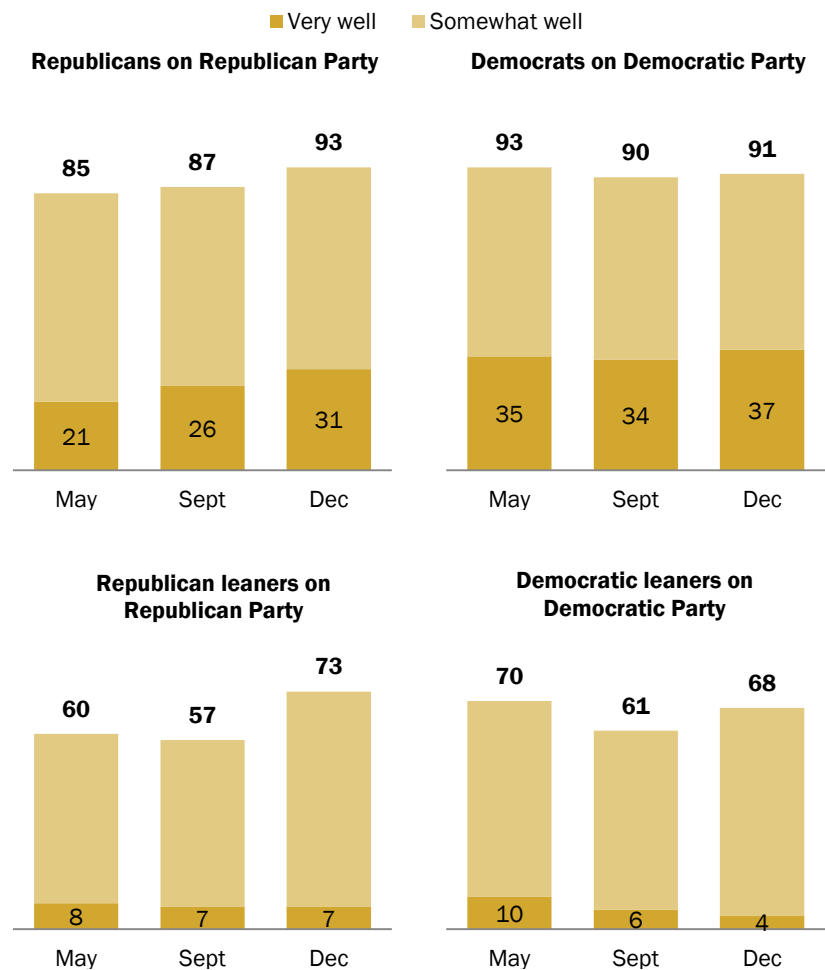
Democrats also generally continue to say their party does well in representing their interests, but they are less optimistic about the Democratic Party's future than they were during the campaign.

Today, fully 93% of Republicans say the party represents the interests of people like them at least somewhat well. A somewhat smaller majority of

Republicans said this in May (85%) and in September (87%). The share saying the GOP represents their interests "very" well has risen 10 percentage points since May (from 21% to 31%).

After election, Republican-leaning independents more likely to say GOP represents their interests

% who say their party represents the interests of people like them ...



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Democrats, like Republicans, overwhelmingly say the party does at least somewhat well in representing people like them (91% say this). These views are little changed from earlier this year.

Shifting views of the parties' futures

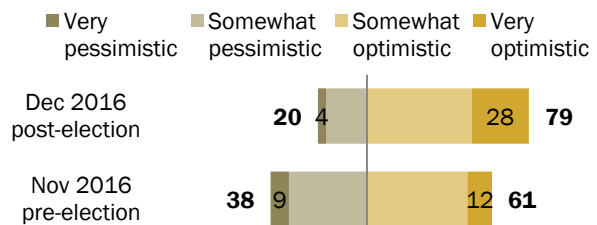
In November, prior to the election, more Democrats than Republicans expressed optimism about the future of their party. But these views have flipped in the wake of the GOP's victory on Nov. 8.

Today, 79% of Republicans and Republican leaners are optimistic about the future of the Republican Party, while just 20% are pessimistic. In November, a smaller majority of Republicans (61%) said they were optimistic about the party's future. About twice as many Republicans today say they are "very" optimistic as said this before the election (28% vs. 12%).

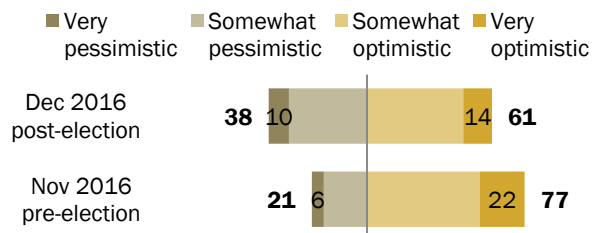
Among Democrats, by contrast, views have moved in the opposite direction. Before the election, about three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners (77%) said they were at least somewhat optimistic about the future of the Democratic Party, compared with just 21% who said they were somewhat or very pessimistic. Following Trump's election, 61% now say they are optimistic, while 38% express pessimism over the future of the Democratic Party.

Republicans more optimistic about their party's future after election victory

Thinking about the future of the *Republican Party*,
% of Republicans and Rep leaners who say they are ...



Thinking about the future of the *Democratic Party*,
% of Democrats and Dem leaners who say they are ...



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among both Republicans and Democrats, older people express more optimism about their party's future than do younger people.

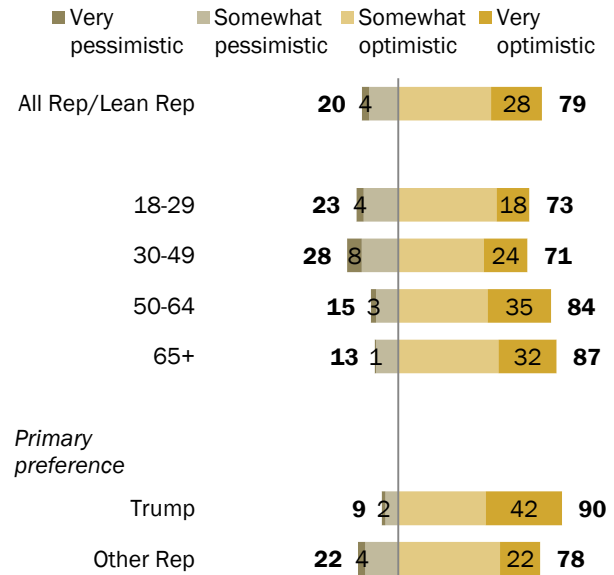
Fully 85% of Republicans and Republican leaners 50 and older say they are optimistic about the GOP's future, including 34% who are very optimistic. Among Republicans under 50, 71% are optimistic, with 22% saying they are very optimistic.

Republicans who supported Trump in the GOP primaries also are somewhat more likely than those who supported another candidate to say they are at least somewhat optimistic about the party's future, though majorities of both say this (90% vs. 78%).

Those who supported Trump are far likelier to say they are very optimistic than those who favored another candidate: 42% of Trump primary supporters say they are very optimistic, compared with about a quarter (22%) of supporters of another candidate.

Optimism about GOP's future higher among older than younger Republicans

Thinking about the future of the *Republican Party*, % of Republicans and Rep leaners who say they are ...



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Democrats, there are similar patterns in views of the party’s future. In particular, Democrats who backed Clinton in the primaries are much more optimistic about the party’s future than are those who backed other Democrats for the nomination.

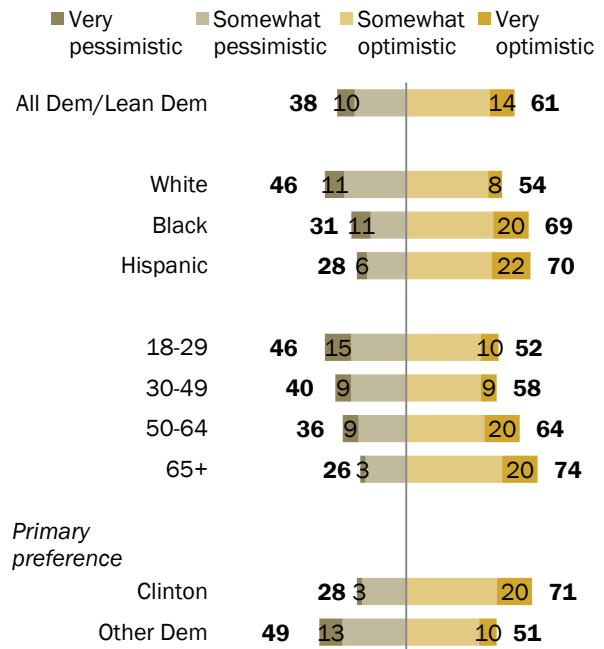
A 71% majority of Democrats who supported Hillary Clinton in the primaries express optimism about the future of the party, while 28% say they are somewhat or very pessimistic. Those who supported another candidate in the Democratic primaries are divided on the future of the party: While 51% say they are at least somewhat optimistic, 49% are pessimistic about the party’s future.

As with Republicans, there are age differences among Democrats regarding the party’s future. Younger Democrats express mixed views about the future of the Democratic Party: Only about half of those under 30 (52%) are optimistic, while 46% say they are pessimistic. By comparison, about three-quarters of Democrats ages 65 and older (74%) say they are optimistic.

Black and Hispanic Democrats also are far likelier than white Democrats to say they are at least somewhat optimistic: Nearly seven-in-ten blacks (69%) and Hispanics (70%) say they are optimistic. By contrast, far fewer white Democrats (54%) say this, including just 8% who say they are very optimistic.

Democrats differ over party’s future depending who they backed in primaries

Thinking about the future of the Democratic Party, % of Democrats and Dem leaners who say they are ...



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Views of parties' efforts to address concerns of groups in society

Asked whether their own party does too much, too little or the right amount to address the concerns of several groups in society, Republicans and Democrats have very different assessments of their party's efforts.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say their party does "too little" to address the concerns of many groups, including blacks, women, Hispanics and men.

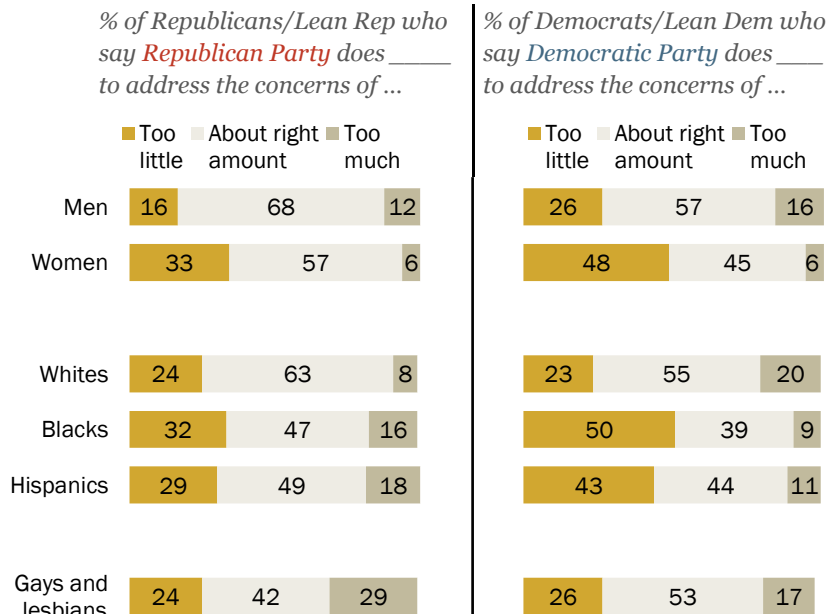
Half of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the Democratic Party does too little for blacks; 39% say it does about the right amount, while 9% say it does too much.

By contrast, only about a third of Republicans and Republican leaners (32%) say their party does too little for blacks. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say their party does the right amount (47% vs. 39%) or too much (16% vs. 9%) for blacks.

Nearly half of Democrats (48%) say their party does too little to address the concerns of women; only 33% of Republicans say the same. More Democrats than Republicans also say their party does too little for Hispanics (43% vs. 29%) and men (26% vs. 16%).

About as many Republicans (24%) as Democrats (23%) say their parties do too little for whites; majorities in both parties say they do about the right amount (63% of Republicans, 55% of Democrats). However, more than twice as many Democrats (20%) as Republicans (8%) say their party does too much for whites.

More Democrats than Republicans say their party does 'too little' for women and men, blacks and Hispanics



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

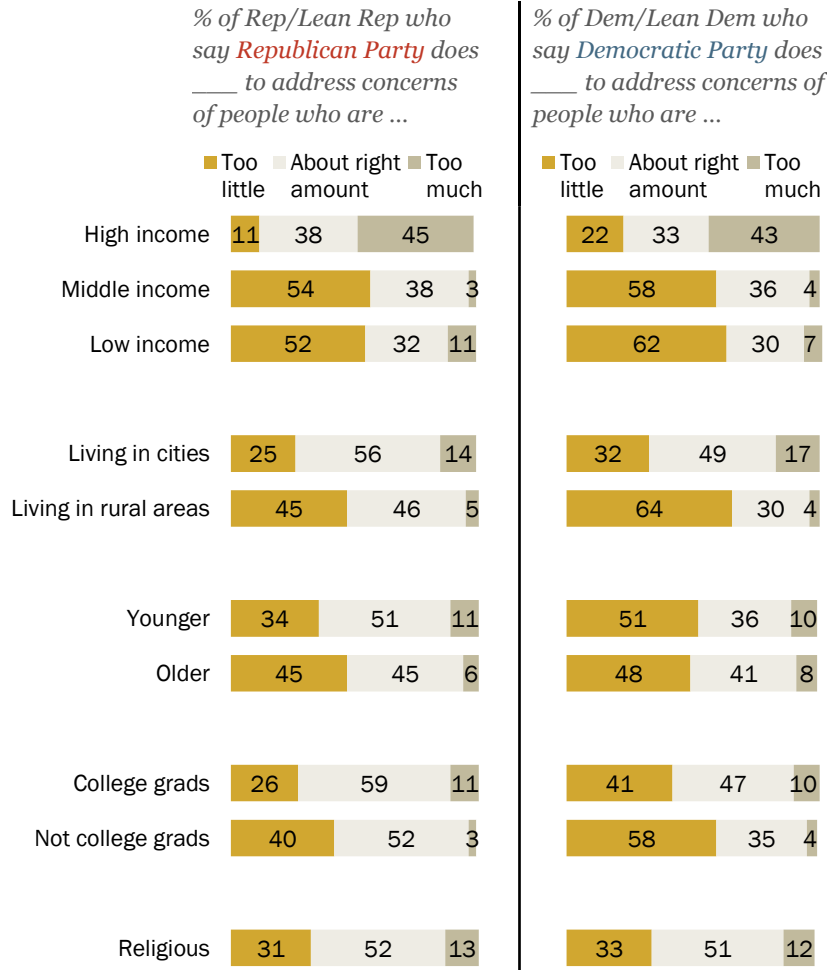
Comparable shares of Republicans (24%) and Democrats (26%) also say their party does too little to address concerns of gays and lesbians. But more Republicans (29%) than Democrats (17%) say their party does too *much* for gays and lesbians.

Republicans and Democrats both think their party does too little for middle-income and lower-income people, though Democrats are slightly more likely to think the Democratic Party does too little for lower-income people (62%) than are Republicans when it comes to the GOP (52%).

Partisans also are equally likely to say their parties have done too much for higher-income people: 45% of Republicans think this about the Republican Party, as do 43% of Democrats about the Democratic Party.

However, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to fault their party's efforts in addressing the concerns of people living in rural areas. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats (64%) say their party does too little to address the concerns of people living in rural areas; fewer Republicans (45%) say the same about the GOP.

Nearly two-thirds of Democrats say their party does too little for people living in rural areas



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

And while Republicans and Democrats express similar views of their own party's efforts for older people, about half of Democrats (51%) – compared with just 34% of Republicans – say their party does too little for younger people.

Nearly six-in-ten Democrats (58%) say their party does too little to address the concerns of people who have not graduated from college, while 41% say the party has done too little for college graduates. Fewer Republicans say their party has done too little for both groups: 40% say the party has done too little for people who have not completed college, while 26% say the same about the party's efforts to address concerns of college graduates.

Republicans and Democrats have similar views of the way their party has dealt with the concerns of people who are religious. About half of Republicans (52%) and Democrats (51%) say their party has done about the right amount to address the concerns of religious people.

Trump’s election seen as harbinger of change for GOP

Overall, 44% of the public thinks the campaign and election of Donald Trump have led to major changes in what the Republican Party stands for, and another 27% think these have led to minor changes in the party. Just about a quarter of the public (26%) thinks his campaign and election have not led to changes in what the party stands for.

Both Republicans and Democrats share the opinion that Trump’s campaign and victory have led to changes in the GOP. Among Republicans and Republican leaners, about eight-in-ten think Trump has led to major (46%) or minor (33%) changes. Similarly, a comparable share of Democrats think his election has led to either major (45%) or minor (22%) changes in what the Republican Party stands for.

Among the majority who think his campaign and election have led to major or minor changes, 54% think these changes have been good for the Republican Party, while fewer (44%) think they have been bad for the GOP.

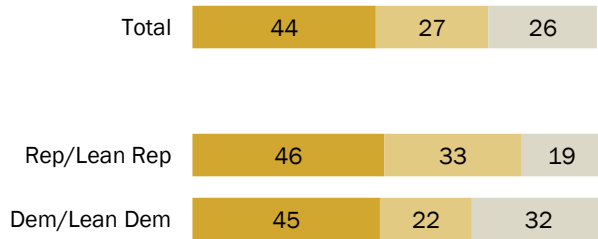
While partisans agree the election of Trump has led to changes in the GOP, Republicans and Democrats are deeply divided in their assessments of this change. A wide majority of Republicans and Republican leaners who say there have been changes say the impact has been positive: fully 83% think the changes have been a good thing, while just 16% think the changes have been bad for the party.

By contrast, among Democrats who think there have been changes in the Republican Party, 72% say they have been bad for the GOP, while 25% say they have been good.

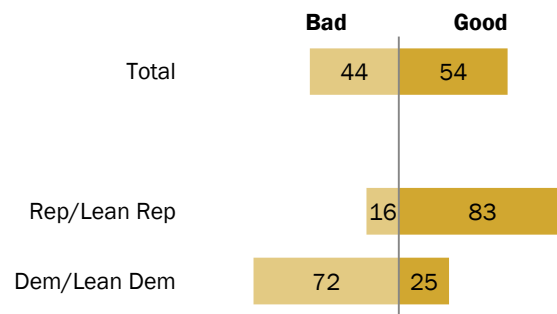
Most Republicans say Trump’s election has changed GOP in a positive way

% who say the campaign and election of Donald Trump has led to ____ in what the Republican Party stands for

■ Major changes ■ Minor changes ■ No changes



Among those who say major/minor changes, % who think changes have been ____ for the Republican Party



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

2. Trump, Congress and prospects for bipartisanship

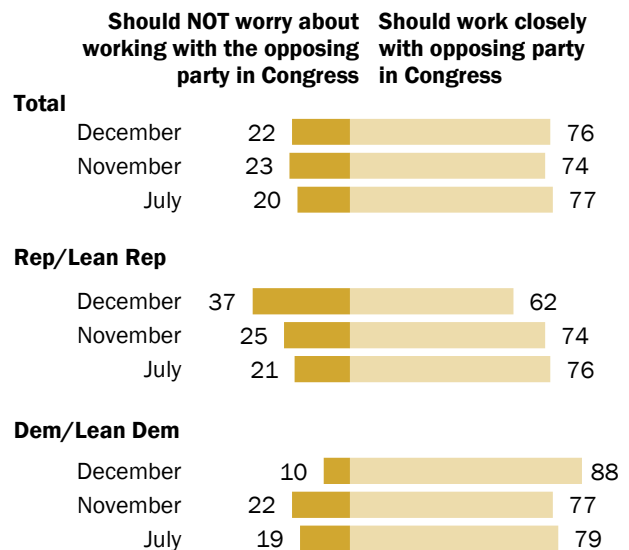
A large majority of the public wants the new president to work closely with members of the opposing party in Congress (76%), while just 22% say they want the new president to advance their own programs and not worry about working with the opposing party in Congress. Overall views on this question are about the same as they were in November and July, when the question was asked about the “next” president. But views among partisans have shifted somewhat in the wake of the presidential election. *(For more on question wording, see the note at the end of this section.)*

The share of Republicans who say the new president should not worry about working with the other party has increased by 12 percentage points since this question was asked in a survey in the days leading up to the election. Today 37% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say this, compared with 25% who said this just before the election. Nonetheless, most Republicans (62%) still favor cooperation with the opposing party.

Democrats and Democratic leaners are now even more likely to say the new president should work closely with the opposing party in Congress than they were prior to the election. In the current survey, 88% say this, up from 77% in early November.

Most want new president to work with members of opposing party in Congress

% saying the new president ...



Notes: Don't know/No answer responses not shown. In July and November, question asked about 'next president.'
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

While the public wants the new president to work with members of the opposing party in Congress, they are uncertain that this is likely to happen. Overall, 50% say it is either very (10%) or somewhat (41%) likely that Donald Trump will work with Democrats in Washington on important issues, while about as many (49%) say they think this is very (20%) or somewhat (29%) unlikely.

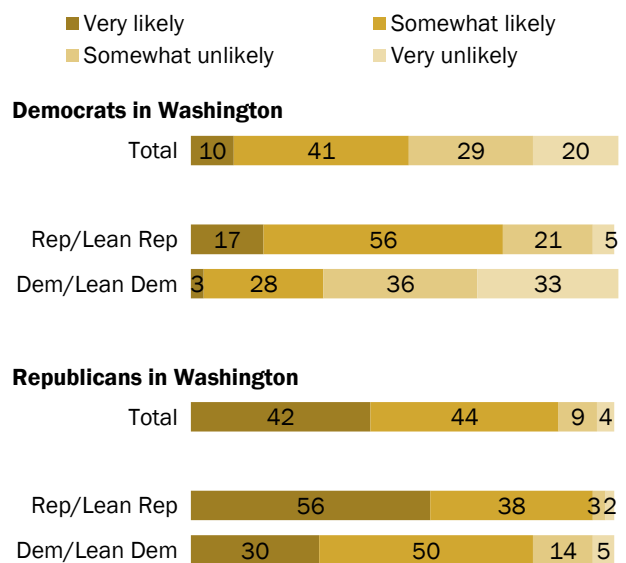
Most Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (73%) say Trump is at least somewhat likely to work with Democrats – though only 17% say this is very likely. By comparison, most Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are skeptical Trump will work with Democrats in Washington: 69% say this is either very (33%) or somewhat (36%) unlikely. Democratic skepticism has decreased since just before the election, when 79% said they thought Trump would be unlikely to work with Democrats, if elected.

The public is far more confident that Trump will be able to work with Republicans in Washington: 86% say this is very or fairly likely. Overall, 94% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say it is very or somewhat likely that Trump will work with Republicans; a somewhat smaller majority of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (80%) agree.

Before the election, Democrats were less likely to think Trump would work with Republicans if he were elected. At that time, only about half (52%) said it was very or somewhat likely Trump would work with members of his own party.

Mixed views on likelihood of Trump working with Democrats in Washington

How likely is it that Donald Trump will work with ___ on important issues facing the country? (%)



Notes: Don't know/No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

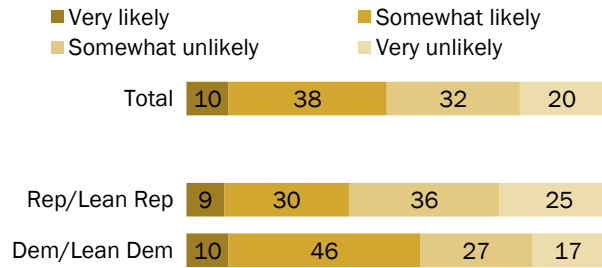
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

The public also has doubts that Democrats in Washington will work with Trump on important issues. About half (47%) say this is very or somewhat likely to happen, compared with 52% who say this is very or fairly unlikely.

Most Republicans (61%) think it is unlikely that Democrats in Washington will work with Trump; fewer (39%) say this is likely. By contrast, 56% of Democrats consider it likely that members of their party in Washington will work with Trump on important issues, while 44% say this is unlikely.

Public split over whether Democrats in Washington will work with Trump

How likely is it that Democrats in Washington will work with Trump on important issues facing the country? (%)



Notes: Don't know/No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Republicans, differing views of bipartisan cooperation depending how question is asked

A random half of respondents to the current survey were asked whether the “next president” should work with the “opposing party in Congress,” a question that had been asked in surveys throughout the campaign.

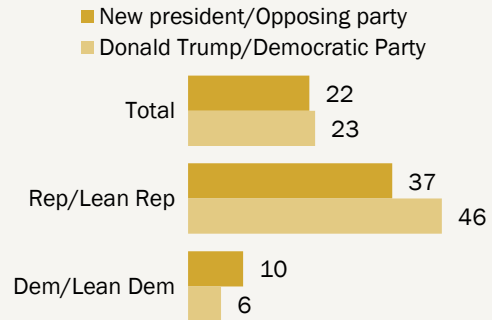
The other half of respondents received a version of the same question that explicitly mentioned “Donald Trump” working with the “Democratic Party in Congress.”

The overall results of the two questions are similar, with no significant differences in the shares who want to see “the next president” or “Trump” work closely with members of “the opposing party” or “the Democratic Party” and the shares who want the next president/Trump to advance their own programs and not worry about the opposing party/Democrats.

However, when given the wording with “Donald Trump” and the “Democratic Party in Congress,” 46% of Republicans say Trump should not worry about working with Democrats, a larger margin than the 37% who say this when the wording asks about the “new president” working with the “opposing party in Congress.” There are no significant differences in views among Democrats.

Impact of question wording on views about bipartisanship

% saying ___ should advance own programs and not worry about working with ___ in Congress



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

3. Views of Trump, other political figures and the parties

After an [extraordinarily negative campaign](#), with low personal marks for both Trump and Clinton throughout, Americans' views of the two major candidates have improved slightly since the election.

Shortly before securing the nomination, about six-in-ten Americans registered "cold" feelings toward Donald Trump on a 0-100 degree "feeling thermometer" – where 0 is the coldest, most negative rating and 100 represents the warmest, most positive rating. At that time more than half (53%) gave him a very cold rating (a rating of less than 25 degrees), while an additional 8% gave him a "somewhat cold" rating (25 to 49 degrees). Just 28% gave him a warm rating (above 50 degrees).

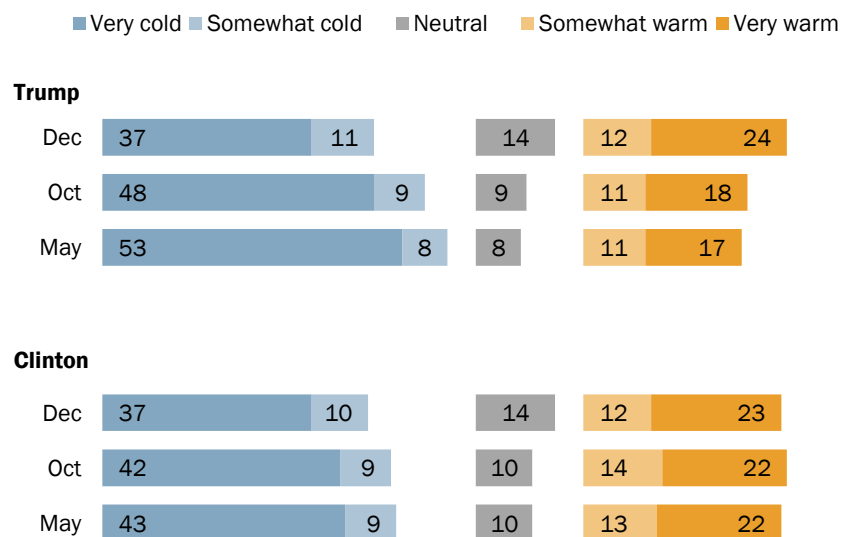
Views of Trump were little changed as of early

October. But following his victory, Americans' ratings of Trump have thawed somewhat, though more continue to rate him coolly than warmly. Today, about half (48%) give Trump a cold rating, while 36% rate him warmly.

Throughout the campaign, Clinton was viewed somewhat more warmly than Trump, and today slightly fewer give her cold ratings than did so before the election. As a result, Trump's current ratings are nearly identical to Clinton's.

Trump rated more 'warmly' than before the election, though about half still rate him 'coldly'

% who rate each on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...



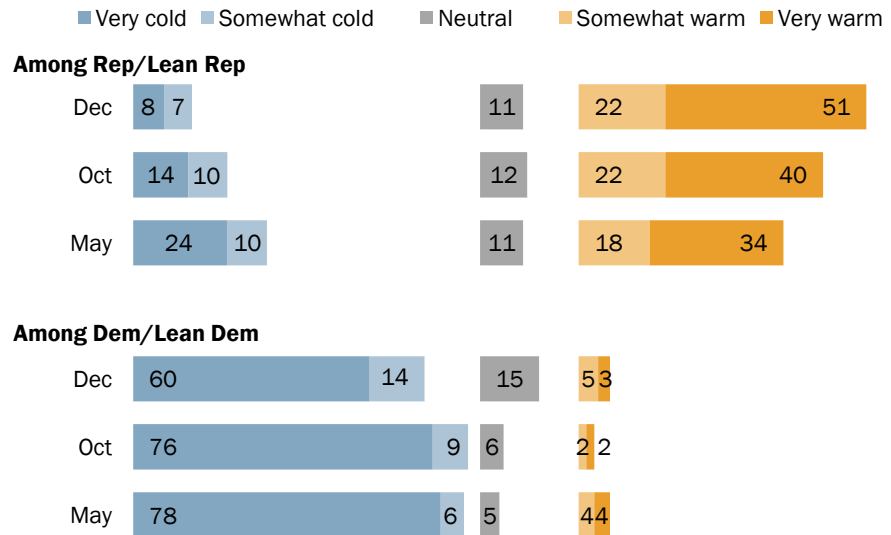
Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Republicans and Republican leaners, views of Trump improved from the primaries, through the general election campaign and again following his win. Today, nearly three-quarters of Republicans (73%), rate him warmly, including half (51%) who give him a very warm rating (76-100). The share of Republicans rating him coolly is now just 15%; in May, about twice as many Republicans (34%) gave Trump a cold rating.

Republicans' ratings of Trump grow warmer; Democrats remain cold, but less frigid

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



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In particular, Trump's rating among Republicans who supported another GOP candidate during the primaries has warmed considerably: Just 30% rated him warmly in May, and 56% did so in October, while 69% do so today. Among Trump's primary backers nearly all (96%) rate him warmly today, little different than the share who did so throughout the year.

Three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners (75%) now rate Trump coldly, including fully 60% who rate him very coldly. Still, fewer now give Trump a cold rating than did so during the campaign.

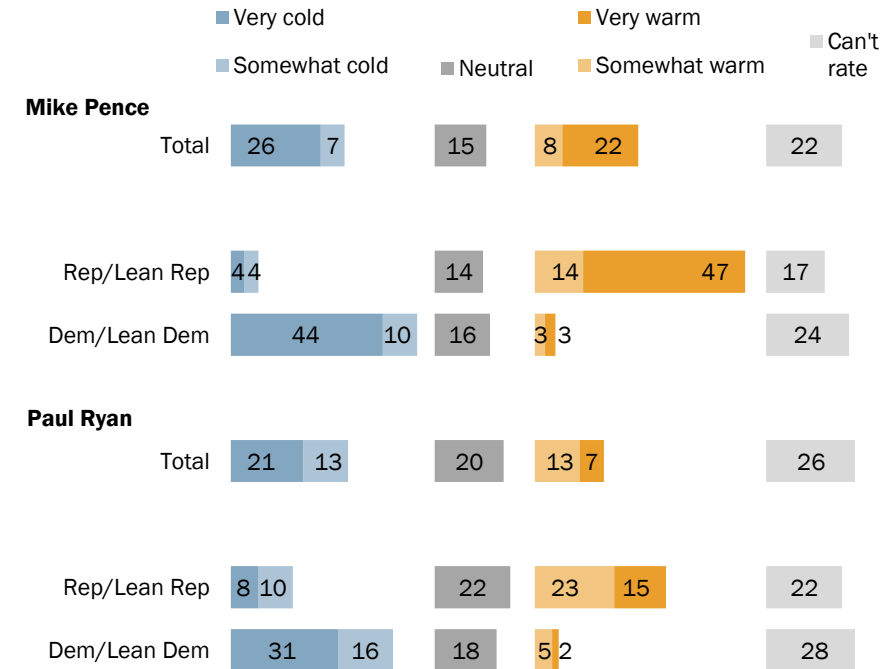
Mike Pence viewed warmly by Republicans

Americans have mixed views of the vice president-elect. As Mike Pence prepares to enter office, 30% of Americans rate him warmly, while a roughly comparable share (33%) feels “cold” toward him; 15% rate Pence neutrally and an additional 22% say they can’t give him a rating.

Republicans, in particular, view Pence warmly: 61% give him a warm rating (including 47% who rate Pence very warmly). Democrats’ ratings of Pence are generally cold: 54% view him coldly, while 16% give him a neutral rating and just 6% rate him warmly (24% do not offer a rating).

Republicans rate Mike Pence very positively, express more mixed views of Paul Ryan

% who rate _____ on a ‘feeling thermometer’ from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Option available for those who cannot give a rating to select “can’t rate.” No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

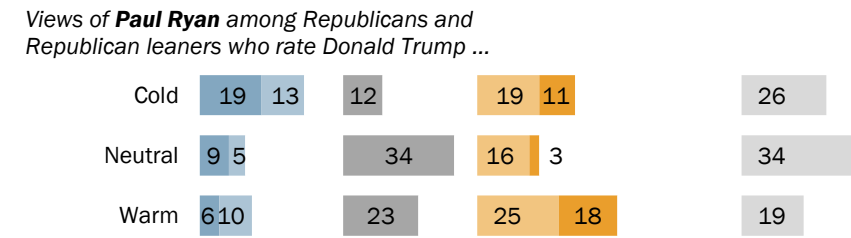
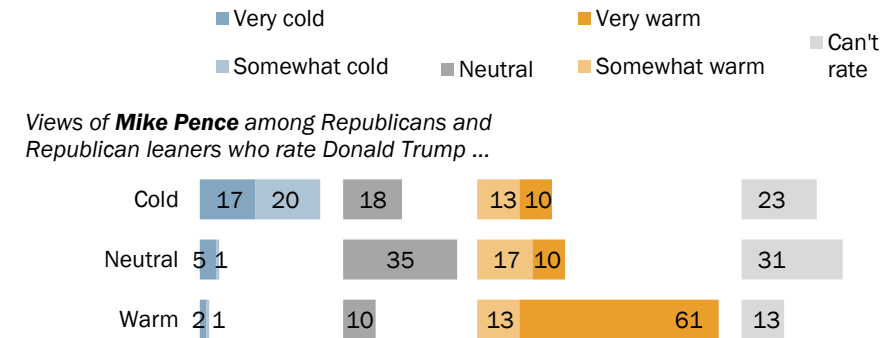
Speaker of the House Paul Ryan’s ratings are, on balance, less warm than Pence’s. About a third of the public (34%) feels coldly toward him, while just 20% feel warmly. Though the two GOP figures are both viewed coldly by most Democrats who rate them, Republicans feel far more warmly toward Pence than Ryan; just 38% of Republicans give Ryan a warm rating.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Republicans' ratings of Pence are closely related to feelings about Trump. The small share (15%) of Republicans who have cold feelings toward Trump also are more likely than other Republicans to have cold feelings toward Pence.

But Republicans' views of Ryan are much less strongly related to their feelings about Trump. Republicans who give Trump a cold rating are about equally likely to give Ryan a cold (32%) as a warm (30%) rating.

Republicans' ratings of Pence are more closely linked to feelings about Trump than are ratings of Ryan

% of Republicans and Republican leaners who rate each on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Option available for those who cannot give a rating to select "can't rate." No answer responses not shown.
 Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Public continues to have mixed views of Trump’s ideological positions

As was the case during the campaign, Americans are fairly divided in their assessments of Trump’s ideological views: While 46% characterize his views as conservative on all (17%) or most (29%) issues, 41% say Trump’s views are a mix of liberal and conservative positions. Just 9% say he has all or mostly liberal views on issues.

There are only modest partisan differences in these perceptions, with Democrats and Democratic leaners somewhat more likely to say Trump’s views are almost all conservative (22% vs. 11% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents).

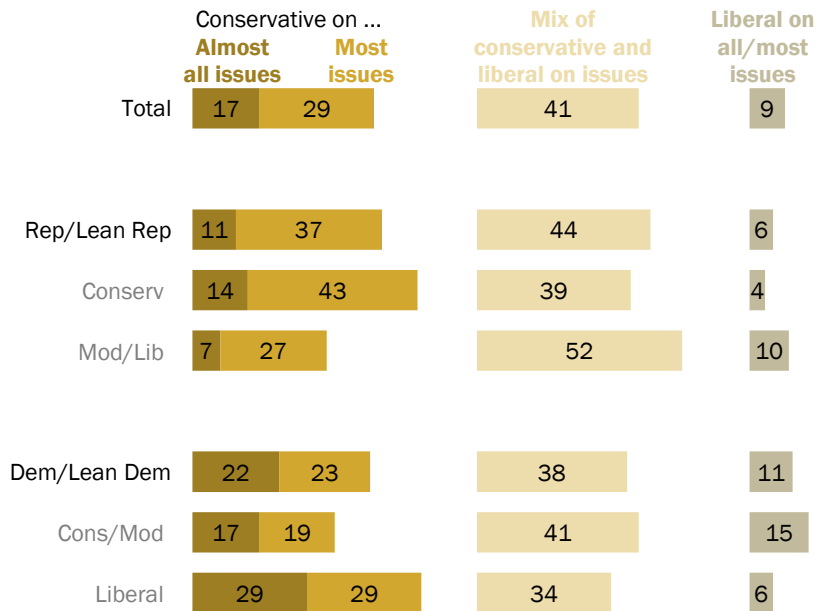
But among Republicans, conservatives (57%) are far more likely than moderates and liberals (34%) to characterize Trump’s views as conservative, while moderate and liberal Republicans are more likely to call Trump’s views a mix of liberal and conservative positions (52% say this).

Among Democrats, the opposite pattern is evident: 58% of liberal Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say Trump’s views on issues are all (29%) or mostly (29%) conservative. Among moderate and conservative Democrats, a far smaller share (36%) say this.

The tendency to view Trump’s ideology in relation to one’s own is particularly apparent when contrasting how the overwhelming majority (77%) of conservative Republicans who have warm feelings toward Trump differ in their ideological descriptions of him from the smaller set of conservative Republicans (23%) who have neutral or cold views of Trump. About two-thirds (66%)

Wide ideological differences in perceptions of Trump’s ideology

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



Note: Don't know/No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

of conservative Republicans with warm views of Trump say that he has conservative views on most or almost all issues. But among the minority of conservative Republicans who do not hold warm views of Donald Trump, just 26% say that he holds almost all or mostly conservative issue positions.

Views of partisans, candidates' supporters

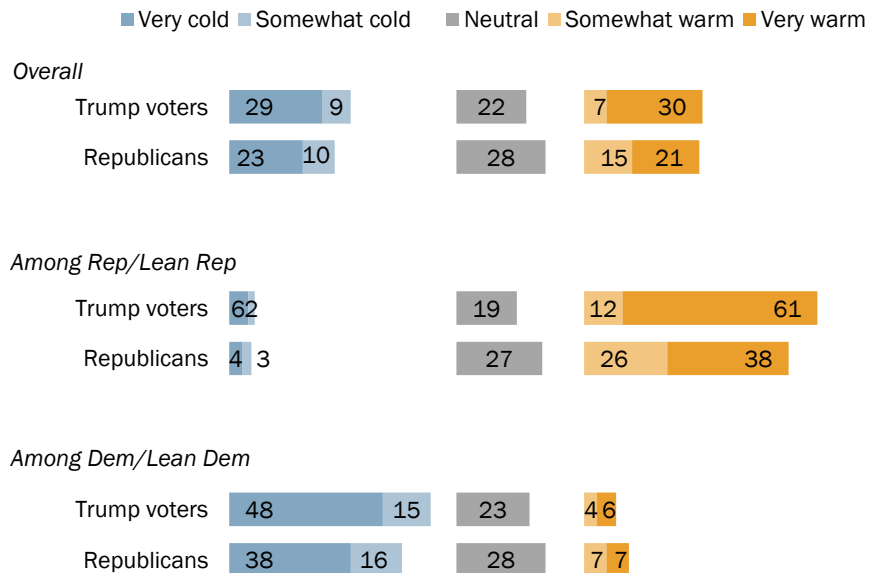
Public views of “people who voted for Donald Trump” and of “Republicans” are largely comparable, but greater shares of the public rate Trump voters on the extreme ends of the feeling thermometer – both very

warm and very cold – than do the same for Republicans. Slightly larger shares of the public give Trump voters very cold ratings (less than 25 on the 100 point scale) than they do Republicans (29% and 23% respectively). At the same time, Trump voters are more likely to receive very warm ratings: 30% give Trump voters a rating above 75, while just 21% give Republicans a similar rating.

In particular, Republicans and Republican leaners give Trump supporters warmer ratings than their fellow Republicans. About six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (61%) give Trump voters very warm ratings, but when asked to rate their fellow Republicans, just 38% give similarly high ratings.

More polarized views of ‘Trump voters’ than ‘Republicans’

% who rate _____ on a ‘feeling thermometer’ from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In contrast, Democrats and Democratic leaners express colder feelings toward Trump voters than they do Republicans in general. Nearly half (48%) give Trump voters very cold ratings, while 38% give Republicans a very cold rating.

The public is slightly warmer in their assessments of Clinton voters compared to Democrats in general. Nearly one third (32%) give Clinton voters a very warm rating, but only about a quarter (24%) give Democrats a similarly high rating.

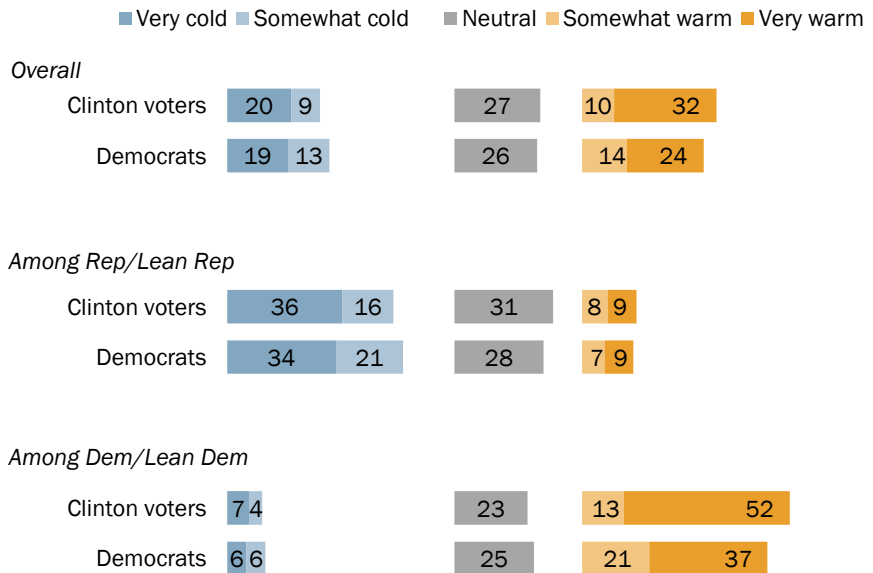
Republicans give Clinton voters and Democrats roughly similar ratings. There are no significant differences between Republicans' ratings of the two groups.

Though Democrats overwhelmingly give both Democrats and Clinton voters warm ratings, they are substantially more likely to rate Clinton voters very warmly than to give Democrats a top rating. About half of Democrats and

Democratic-leaning independents (52%) give Clinton voters very warm ratings, while 37% of Democrats and Democratic leaners gave Democrats a similarly high rating.

Democrats rate 'Clinton voters' more positively than 'Democrats'

% who rate _____ on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

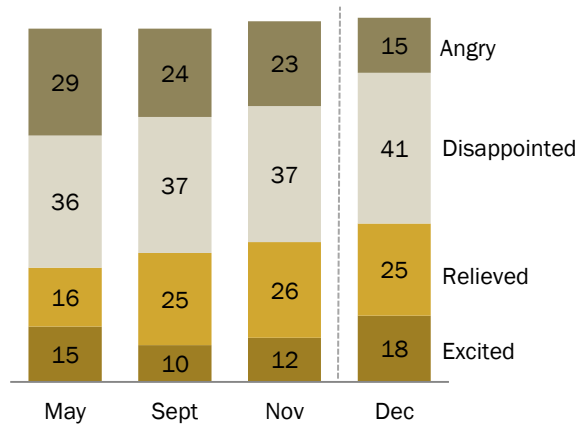
4. Retrospective views of the campaign

Today, 43% of Americans express a positive emotion about Donald Trump winning the election: 18% say they feel excited, while 25% say they are relieved. By comparison, in the days before the election, only 38% expected to feel one of these positive emotions, including just 12% who said they would be excited.

Still, a narrow majority of Americans (55%) have a negative reaction to Trump's victory. Most of those unhappy with Trump's win express disappointment (41% of the public), while 15% of Americans say they are angry about Trump's election. On the eve of the election, a somewhat larger share of the public (23%) anticipated they would be angry if Trump won.

After the election, less anger, more excitement about Trump winning

*How do you feel about Donald Trump winning the presidential election?** (%)



Notes: Don't know/No answer responses not shown. *Pre-election questions in Nov., Sept. and May asked "how would you feel..."
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

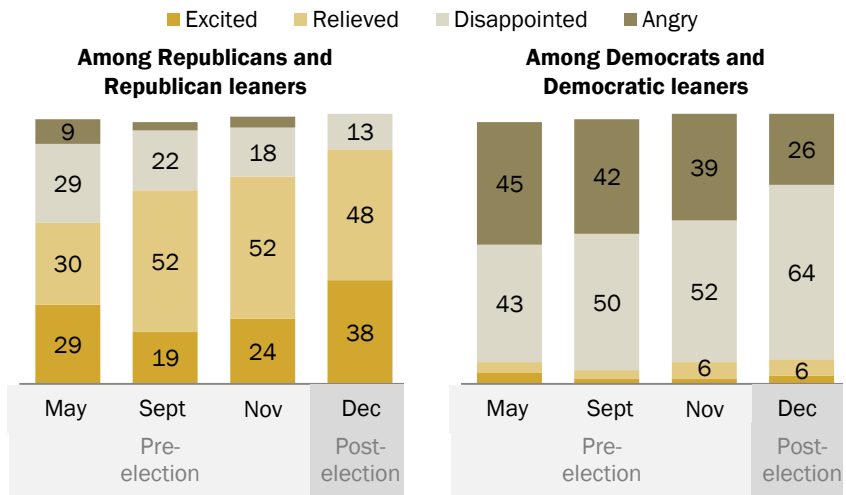
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Fully 86% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents now express either excitement (38%) or relief (48%) about Trump’s win, while just 13% say they are disappointed. During the course of the campaign, smaller majorities of Republicans said they would feel one of these positive emotions if Trump won, while closer to a quarter (22% in November, 25% in August) of Republicans said they would feel disappointed or angry. In particular, GOP excitement over Trump’s win is now much greater than expected (38% say they are excited, up from 24% on the eve of the election).

Though Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents remain overwhelmingly unhappy about Trump’s win, fewer express anger about it than did so when asked how they would feel if he won before the election. In September and November, about four-in-ten (42% and 39%, respectively) Democrats said they would be angry if Trump won. Today, about a quarter of Democrats (26%) say they are angry about his victory, while a greater share now say they are disappointed.

Republican excitement over Trump’s win greater than anticipated, Democratic anger lower than expected

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



Note: Don't know/No answer not shown. Pre-election question asked "how would you feel..."
 Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Republicans, excitement about Trump’s win is more pronounced among older people and those who backed Trump during the primaries.

About half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents over 65 (51%) say they feel excited about Trump’s election, while just 23% of Republicans under 30 say the same.

Young Republicans are about as likely to say they are disappointed or angry (24%) about Trump’s win as they are to express excitement. The more common sentiment among this group is relief: 53% of young Republicans and GOP leaners say this.

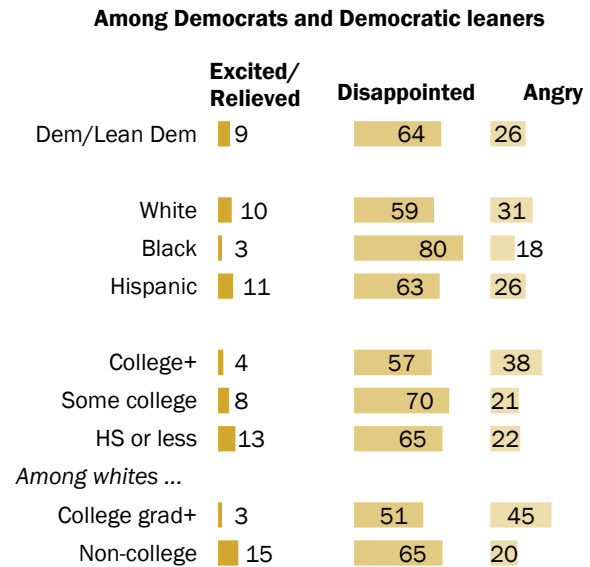
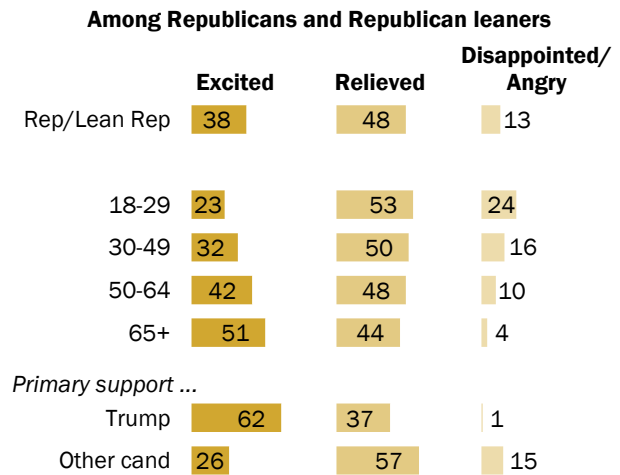
And while 62% of Republicans who supported Trump in the Republican primary in a May survey are excited about his general election win, Republicans who supported other GOP candidates are less enthusiastic: 57% of Republicans who backed Trump’s primary rivals say they are relieved he won the general election, while just 26% say they are excited.

Most Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents feel disappointed about Trump’s win, but a greater share of college graduates express anger about his victory (38%, compared with 21% of those with less education). This gap is particularly pronounced among white Democrats: 45% of those with a college degree and just 20% of those without a college degree say they are angry Trump won.

Black Democrats are more likely (80%) than whites (59%) to express disappointment – and

A wide age gap among Republicans in enthusiasm about Trump’s win

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



Notes: Hispanics in the American Trend Panel are primarily English speaking and native born. Primary preferences from May survey; see methodology for more detail.

Don't know/No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

less likely to express anger – about Trump’s victory.

Nearly all voters would cast the same ballot today as on Election Day

Nearly all voters say that if they could vote again for president they would choose the same candidate: 97% of all voters say this, including 99% of Trump voters and 96% of Clinton voters.

Slightly fewer Johnson voters (87%) say they would choose the same candidate if they could vote again for president, while just 8% say they would have voted for a different candidate.

Most voters who planned to vote for a third-party candidate before the election say they stuck with their choice in the post-election survey: 64% of registered voters who said in November that they planned to vote for either Johnson or Stein said in December that they voted for those candidates. Those who did not vote for their pre-election third party preference were equally likely to say they voted for Clinton as they were to say they voted for Trump.

If they had to do it over, nearly all voters would vote for the same candidate

If you could vote again for president, would you choose ...

	The SAME candidate	A DIFFERENT candidate	Refused
	%	%	%
All voters*	97	3	1=100
Trump voters	99	1	0=100
Clinton voters	96	4	1=100
Johnson voters	87	8	4=100

Note: *Based on registered voters who voted for Trump, Clinton, Johnson, or Stein.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In November, these third-party voters were about evenly split between those who said they would probably vote for the Democrat if it wasn’t Hillary Clinton (34%), would probably vote for the Republican if it wasn’t Donald Trump (30%) or would vote for Johnson or Stein no matter who the other candidates were (35%).

Nonvoters' election experience

Much of the focus of the 2016 presidential election was on the people who turned out to vote, but a sizeable minority of Americans decided not to vote or were unable to do so. And among those citizens who say they did not vote on November 8, 44% say they wish that they had, while 55% say they do not.¹

Among those who say they did not vote in the 2016 presidential election, no single reason stands out for why they did not cast a ballot. Offered a list of nine possible reasons, about one-in-four (26%) say that they “didn’t like any of the candidates,” while about as many (25%) say that they did not vote because they “did not think my vote would matter.”

Other reasons for not voting relate to timing: 18% say something came up that kept them from voting, while 17% say that they ran out of time.

About three-in-ten of those who say they did not vote also indicate technical or physical obstacles to voting: 22% say that they are not registered or not eligible to vote and 8% say that they physically could not get to the polls.

One-in-ten (10%) say that they tried to vote but were unable. About one-in-six (15%) nonvoters say that they were “pretty sure who would win” the election. And more generally,

Many nonvoters don’t regret not voting in the election

Do you wish that you had voted in the election? (%)

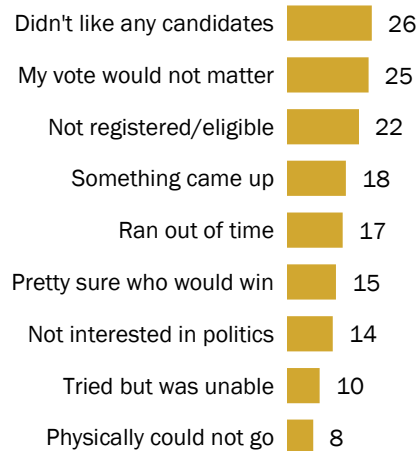


Note: Based on U.S. citizens who say they did not vote.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 28-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Top reasons for not voting: Not liking any candidates, vote would not matter

% who select each of the following reasons for not voting in the presidential election (Check all that apply)



Note: Based on U.S. citizens who say they did not vote.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

¹ Note that the rate to which survey respondents misreport – namely by “over-reporting” – their participation in elections is well documented in [political science](#) and [survey](#) research. Since this analysis of “nonvoters” includes only citizens who reported that they “did not vote” or “planned to vote but were not able,” it reflects a subset of all nonvoters, rather than the non-voting population as a whole (which would include those who, in surveys, say they voted when they did not).

14% report that they are “not that interested in politics” as a reason for not participating in the election.

There are few partisan or demographic differences among the reasons people give for not voting, but there are modest differences by age.

Notably, mentions that “I did not think my vote would matter” are higher among nonvoters under age 30 than among those 50 and older (33% vs. 13%) and young nonvoters are more likely than those 50 and up to say that they were “pretty sure who would win” (24% vs 6%).

Those who report not voting are younger, more likely to be nonwhite

Those who say they did not vote are more likely to be younger, less educated and nonwhite than registered voters overall. About four-in-ten citizen nonvoters (41%) are under 30 years of age, compared with only 16% of all registered voters. And Hispanics make up a greater share of nonvoters than registered voters (20% vs. 11%); conversely, while 70% of all registered voters are white, just 52% of nonvoters are.

Just 12% of nonvoters are college graduates. Among registered voters overall, about a third (34%) are college graduates.

Nonvoters: Younger, less educated

Profile of each group; figures read down. % who are ...

	All registered voters	All nonvoters
	%	%
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>		
White	70	52
Black	11	13
Hispanic	11	20
<i>Age</i>		
18-29	16	41
30-49	32	33
50-64	29	19
65+	23	8
<i>Education</i>		
Postgrad	13	4
College degree	21	8
Some college	34	35
HS grad or less	32	53
(N)	(3,764)	(407)

Notes: Based on U.S. citizens. No answer responses not shown.

Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic;

Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Nonvoters less likely to have had a conversation about the election

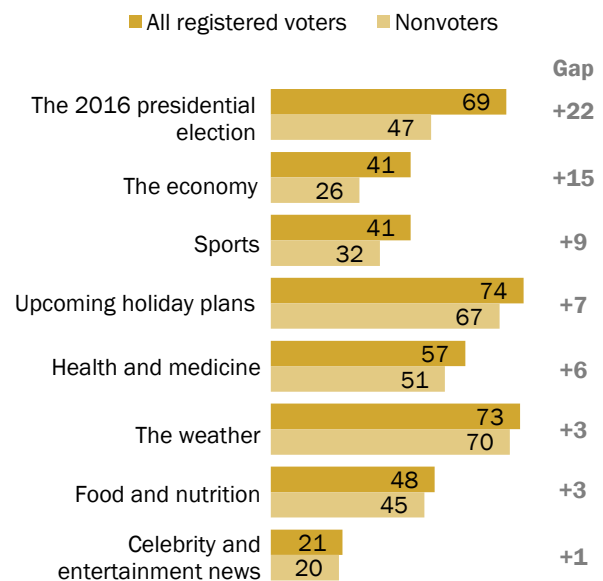
Nonvoters are less likely than all registered voters to say that they had conversations about the 2016 election. Only about half (47%) of nonvoters say they have talked with others about the 2016 presidential election over the previous week, while fully 69% of all registered voters have done this in the past week.

And fewer nonvoters (26%) than registered voters (41%) say that they had conversations about the economy in the last seven days.

On many other topics of conversation there is little difference between what registered voters and nonvoters communicate about. All registered voters and nonvoters are about as likely to say they had conversations about upcoming holiday plans (74% vs. 67%), health and medicine (57% vs. 51%), the weather (73% vs. 70%), food and nutrition (48% vs. 45%) or celebrity and entertainment news (21% vs. 20%).

Registered voters much more likely than nonvoters to talk about the election

% saying they had a conversation about ____ in the past seven days (Check all that apply)



Note: Based on U.S. citizens.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Acknowledgements

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, *Associate Director, Political Research*

Alec Tyson, *Senior Researcher*

Bradley Jones, *Research Associate*

Baxter Oliphant, *Research Associate*

Rob Suls, *Research Associate*

Hannah Fingerhut, *Research Assistant*

Shiva Maniam, *Research Assistant*

Samantha Smith, *Research Assistant*

Communications and editorial

Bridget Johnson, *Communications Associate*

Graphic design and web publishing

Peter Bell, *Information Graphics Designer*

Methodology

Survey conducted November 29–December 12, 2016

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

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted November 29–December 12, 2016 among 4,183 respondents. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,183 respondents is plus or minus 2.7% percentage points.

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

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel and remain an active panelist varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on a number of dimensions. Gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region parameters come from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 American Community Survey. The county-level population density parameter (deciles) comes from the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census. The telephone service benchmark comes from the July–December 2015 National Health Interview Survey and is projected to 2016. The volunteerism benchmark comes from the 2013

² When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of 25%, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, 83% of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.

³ Respondents to the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey who indicated that they are internet users but refused to provide an email address were initially permitted to participate in the American Trends Panel by mail, but were no longer permitted to join the panel after February 6, 2014. Internet users from the 2015 Survey on Government who refused to provide an email address were not permitted to join the panel.

Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. The party affiliation benchmark is the average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. The Internet access benchmark comes from the 2015 Pew Survey on Government. Respondents who did not previously have internet access are treated as not having internet access for weighting purposes. The frequency of internet use benchmark is an estimate of daily internet use projected to 2016 from the 2013 Current Population Survey Computer and Internet Use Supplement. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking.

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

<i>Survey conducted November 29–December 12, 2016</i>		
Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	4,183	2.7 percentage points
Republican/Lean Republican	1,880	4.1 percentage points
Democrat/Lean Democrat	2,212	3.7 percentage points

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

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

The November 2016 wave had a response rate of 79% (4,183 responses among 5,280 individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys (10.0%) and attrition from panel members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the wave is 2.6 %.⁴

© Pew Research Center, 2016

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

**2016 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 23 NOVEMBER
FINAL TOPLINE
November 29 – December 12, 2016
TOTAL N=4,183¹**

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

TALK

Thinking about conversations you have had in person, on the phone, or by email, text message or social media, which of these topics, if any, have you talked about in the PAST 7 DAYS? [Check all that apply] **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ITEM j ALWAYS LAST]**

		<u>Selected</u>	<u>Not selected /No answer</u>
a.	The economy ²		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	38	62
	May 10-Jun 6, 2016	46	54
NO ITEM b			
c.	Food and nutrition		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	46	54
	May 10-Jun 6, 2016	47	53
d.	The 2016 presidential election ³		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	65	35
	May 10-Jun 6, 2016	66	34
e.	Health and medicine		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	55	45
	May 10-Jun 6, 2016	53	47
f.	Sports		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	39	61
	May 10-Jun 6, 2016	36	64
g.	Upcoming holiday plans		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	71	29
h.	Celebrity and entertainment news		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	20	80
i.	The weather		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	71	29
j.	None of these [EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]		
	Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	5	95
	May 10-Jun 6, 2016	7	93

¹ The Wave 23 survey was administered exclusively in web mode. The survey included N=186 previous mail mode panelists that were converted to web and were provided an internet-enabled tablet if necessary.

² In May 2016, this item was presented as, "The economy and job situation."

³ In May 2016, this item was presented as, "The 2016 presidential election campaign."

ASK ALL:
THERMO

We'd like to get your feelings toward a number of groups 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 group at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the group.

How do you feel toward... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** *[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings]*

	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	Mean rating
--	-----------------------------	------------------------------	------------------------	------------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------	----------------

Items a.-d. held for future release.**ASK FORM 1 [N=2,118]:**

e. Republicans							
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	23	10	28	15	21	3	50
Mar 2-28, 2016	25	16	29	13	16	2	45
f. Democrats							
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	19	13	26	14	24	3	52
Mar 2-28, 2016	22	12	26	16	23	2	51

Items g.-h. held for future release.**ASK FORM 2 [N=2,065]:**

i. People who voted for Donald Trump							
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	29	9	22	7	30	2	50
j. People who voted for Hillary Clinton							
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	20	9	27	10	32	2	56

Items k.-l. held for future release.**ASK ALL:**

VOTED

Which of the following statements best describes you:

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,799]:

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>	
5	I did not vote in the 2016 presidential election
4	I planned to vote but wasn't able to
90	I definitely voted in the 2016 presidential election
1	No Answer

ASK IF VOTED (VOTED=3):

VOTEGENPOST In the 2016 presidential election, who did you vote for... [RANDOMIZE
**OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FIRST FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED OPTIONS 3 AND
 4, WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS WHO VOTED [N=3,605]:

Nov 29-
 Dec 12
2016
 41 Donald Trump, the Republican
 48 Hillary Clinton, the Democrat
 5 Gary Johnson, the Libertarian Party candidate
 2 Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate
 3 Voted for none/Other
 1 No Answer

ASK IF VOTED FOR A CANDIDATE (VOTEGENPOST=1-4) [N=3,543]:

VOTEDECTIME As far as you can remember, when did you make up your mind definitely to vote
 for [IF VOTEGENPOST=1: "Donald Trump;" IF VOTEGENPOST=2 "Hillary
 Clinton;" IF VOTEGENPOST=3: "Gary Johnson;" IF VOTEGENPOST=4: "Jill
 Stein,"]?

Nov 29-
 Dec 12
2016
 9 Last few days before the election
 4 The last week before the election
 9 In October
 11 In September
 67 Before September
 * No Answer

ASK IF VOTED FOR A CANDIDATE (VOTEGENPOST=1-4) [N=3,543]:

REGRETVOTE A If you could vote again for president, would you... [RANDOMIZE]

ASK IF CHOOSE A DIFFERENT CANDIDATE (REGRETVOTE A=2) [N=86]:

REGRETVOTE B If you could choose again, who would you vote for... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2
FIRST FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED OPTIONS 3 AND 4]

Nov 29-
 Dec 12
2016
 97 Choose the SAME candidate
 3 Choose a DIFFERENT candidate
 1 Donald Trump
 * Hillary Clinton
 1 Gary Johnson
 * Jill Stein
 1 No answer
 1 No Answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK IF DID NOT VOTE (VOTED=1-2) [N=471]:**

WISH_VOTED Do you wish that you had voted in the election?

BASED ON CITIZENS WHO SAID THEY DID NOT VOTE [N=407]:

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>	
44	Yes
55	No
*	No Answer

ASK IF DID NOT VOTE (VOTED=1-2) [N=471]:NOVOTERSN Which, if any, of the following were reasons why you did not vote in the 2016 presidential election? *[Check all that apply]* **[RANDOMIZE]****BASED ON CITIZENS WHO SAID THEY DID NOT VOTE [N=407]:**

		<u>Selected</u>	<u>Not selected</u> <u>/No answer</u>
a.	I didn't like any of the candidates Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	26	74
b.	I was pretty sure I knew who would win Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	15	85
c.	I'm not that interested in politics Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	14	86
d.	I physically could not get to the polls Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	8	92
e.	Something came up that kept me from voting Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	18	82
f.	I'm not registered or not eligible to vote Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	22	78

NOVOTERSN CONTINUED...

		<u>Selected</u>	<u>Not selected /No answer</u>
g.	I ran out of time Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	17	83
h.	I tried to vote but was unable to Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	10	90
i.	I did not think my vote would matter Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	25	75
j.	None of these [EXCLUSIVE PUNCH] Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	8	92

ASK IF PRETTY SURE WHO WOULD WIN (NOVOTERSN_B=1) [N=47]:NOVOTESURE Who did you think would win the election? **[RANDOMIZE]****BASED ON CITIZIENS WHO DIDN'T VOTE AND WERE PRETTY SURE WHO WOULD WIN [N=47]:****Insufficient sample size.****ASK IF TRIED TO VOTE BUT WAS UNABLE (NOVOTERSN_H=1):**NOVOTETRIED Which of the following reasons, if any, prevented you from voting? *[Check all that apply]* **[RANDOMIZE]****BASED ON CITIZENS WHO TRIED TO VOTE BUT WERE UNABLE TO [N=33]:****Insufficient sample size.**

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK FORM 1 [N=2,118]:**

NEXTCOMP Which comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right? **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u> ⁴	Jun 7- Jul 5 <u>2016</u>
76	The new president should work closely with members of the opposing party in Congress	74	77
22	The new president should advance their own programs and not worry about working with the opposing party in Congress	23	20
2	No Answer	2	3

ASK FORM 2 [N=2,065]:

NEXTCOMP2 Which comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right? **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>	
75	Donald Trump should work closely with members of the Democratic Party in Congress
23	Donald Trump should advance his own programs and not worry about working with the Democratic Party in Congress
2	No Answer

⁴ In October and June 2016, this item was worded, "The next president...".

ASK ALL:
THERMO2

Now, 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 the person.

How do you feel toward... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** *[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings]*

	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 <u>answer</u>	Mean <u>rating</u>
a. Hillary Clinton							
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	37	10	14	12	23	2	43
Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	42	9	10	14	22	3	41
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	43	9	10	13	22	3	40
b. Donald Trump							
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	37	11	14	12	24	2	43
Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	48	9	9	11	18	4	35
Apr 5-May 2, 2016	53	8	8	11	17	3	32

ASK ALL:

THERMNORATE 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 the person.

How do you feel toward... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** *[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings OR if you cannot give a rating, click the box that says "Can't rate"]*

	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>	Can't <u>rate</u>	No <u>answer</u>	Mean <u>rating</u>
a. Mike Pence								
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	26	7	15	8	22	22	1	47
b. Paul Ryan								
Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	21	13	20	13	7	26	*	42

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

REPRSNTREP How well does the REPUBLICAN PARTY represent the interests of people like you?

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
46	NET well	39	40
10	Very well	8	7
36	Somewhat well	31	33
53	NET NOT well	60	57
27	Not too well	29	29
26	Not at all well	31	28
1	No Answer	2	3

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

REPRSNTDEM How well does the DEMOCRATIC PARTY represent the interests of people like you?

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
51	NET well	49	52
14	Very well	13	14
37	Somewhat well	36	38
48	NET NOT well	50	46
24	Not too well	24	24
24	Not at all well	26	22
1	No Answer	2	3

ASK ALL:

EMTPRESTRUMP2 How do you feel about Donald Trump winning the presidential election?

[ROTATE ORDER 1-4 FOR HALF, 4-1 FOR OTHER HALF USING SAME ROTATION RECEIVED IN WAVE 22 IF F_RESPONDED_W22=1. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN W22, USE WAVE 20 IF F_RESPONDED_W20=1. IF (F_RESPONDED_W22=2-99 AND F_RESPONDED_W20=2-99) THEN ASSIGN ROTATION HERE. RECORD IF RESPONDENT WAS SHOWN 1-4 OR 4-1]

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016⁵</u>	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
18	Excited	12	10	15
25	Relieved	26	25	16
41	Disappointed	37	37	36
15	Angry	23	24	29
2	No Answer	2	4	4

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

ASK ALL:
DTIDEO

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

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>
17	He has conservative views on ALMOST ALL issues	16
29	He has conservative views on MOST issues	28
41	His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal	38
5	He has liberal views on MOST issues	5
4	He has liberal views on ALMOST ALL issues	7
5	No Answer	6
46	NET conservative views	44
9	NET liberal views	12

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

GRPDISAGREE Which comes closer to your view about when two groups disagree over the best solution to a problem facing society... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Nov 29-
Dec 12
2016

45	Any solution to the disagreement usually leaves at least one group dissatisfied
52	Given enough effort, it is almost always possible to find a solution that satisfies both
3	No Answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

RANDOMIZE COMPDTR AND COMPDTD IN SAME ORDER IF COMPLETED IN W22 (F_RESPONDED_W22=1), ELSE USE W23 ORDER.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY USING W22 FORM IF RESPONDED_W22=1, ELSE USING W23 FORM ASSIGNMENT [N=2,085]:

COMPDTR How likely do you think it is that Donald Trump will work with REPUBLICANS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

Nov 29-
Dec 12
2016

42	Very likely
44	Somewhat likely
9	Somewhat unlikely
4	Very unlikely
1	No Answer

Oct 25-
Nov 8
2016

28
41
18
12
1

RANDOMIZE COMPDTR AND COMPDTD IN SAME ORDER IF COMPLETED IN W22 (F_RESPONDED_W22=1), ELSE USE W23 ORDER.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY USING W22 FORM IF RESPONDED_W22=1, ELSE USING W23 FORM ASSIGNMENT [N=2,085]:

COMPDTD How likely do you think it is that Donald Trump will work with DEMOCRATS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

Nov 29-
Dec 12
2016

10	Very likely
41	Somewhat likely
29	Somewhat unlikely
20	Very unlikely
1	No Answer

Oct 25-
Nov 8
2016

11
32
25
31
1

ASK FORM 2 ONLY USING W22 FORM IF RESPONDED_W22=1, ELSE USING W23 FORM ASSIGNMENT [N=1,591]:

COMPDEMDT How likely do you think it is that Democrats in Washington will work with Donald Trump on important issues facing the country?

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>	
10	Very likely
38	Somewhat likely
31	Somewhat unlikely
20	Very unlikely
2	No Answer

ASK ALL REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=1,880]:

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

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>
28	Very optimistic	12
51	Somewhat optimistic	49
16	Somewhat pessimistic	29
4	Very pessimistic	9
2	No Answer	1

ASK ALL DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) [N=2,212]:

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

Nov 29- Dec 12 <u>2016</u>		Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>
14	Very optimistic	22
47	Somewhat optimistic	55
29	Somewhat pessimistic	15
10	Very pessimistic	6
1	No Answer	2

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1) [N=1,880]:
 RPTYGRPS Does the Republican Party do too much, too little or about the right amount to address
 the concerns and priorities of... **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Does too much</u>	<u>Does too little</u>	<u>Does about the right amount</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. White people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	8	24	63	4
b. Black people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	16	32	47	5
c. Hispanic people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	18	29	49	4
ASK FORM 1 [N=959]:				
d. Men Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	12	16	68	4
e. Women Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	6	33	57	5
f. Higher-income people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	45	11	38	6

RPTYGRPS CONTINUED...

	<u>Does too much</u>	<u>Does too little</u>	<u>Does about the right amount</u>	<u>No answer</u>
g. Middle-income people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	3	54	38	5
h. Lower-income people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	11	52	32	5
i. People who live in cities Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	14	25	56	5
j. People who live in rural areas Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	5	45	46	5
ASK FORM 2 [N=921]:				
k. Younger people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	11	34	51	3
l. Older people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	6	45	45	4
m. College graduates Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	11	26	59	5
n. People who have not gone to college Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	3	40	52	5
o. Gays and lesbians Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	29	24	42	5
p. Religious people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	13	31	52	4

ASK ALL DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2) [N=2,212]:

DPTYGRPS Does the Democratic Party do too much, too little or about the right amount to address the concerns and priorities of... **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Does too much</u>	<u>Does too little</u>	<u>Does about the right amount</u>	<u>No answer</u>
a. White people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	20	23	55	2
b. Black people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	9	50	39	2
c. Hispanic people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	11	43	44	2

DPTYGRPS CONTINUED...

	<u>Does too much</u>	<u>Does too little</u>	<u>Does about the right amount</u>	<u>No answer</u>
ASK FORM 1 [N=1,109]:				
d. Men Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	16	26	57	2
e. Women Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	6	48	45	2
f. Higher-income people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	43	22	33	2
g. Middle-income people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	4	58	36	1
h. Lower-income people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	7	62	30	1
i. People who live in cities Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	17	32	49	2
j. People who live in rural areas Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	4	64	30	2
ASK FORM 2 [N=1,103]:				
k. Younger people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	10	51	36	4
l. Older people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	8	48	41	3
m. College graduates Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	10	41	47	3
n. People who have not gone to college Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	4	58	35	3
o. Gays and lesbians Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	17	26	53	4
p. Religious people Nov 29-Dec 12, 2016	12	33	51	4

ASK ALL:

DTGOPCH Thinking about the Republican Party, do you think the campaign and election of Donald Trump has led to...

Nov 29-

Dec 12

2016

44	Major changes in what the Republican Party stands for
27	Minor changes in what the Republican Party stands for
26	No changes in what the Republican Party stands for
2	No Answer

ASK IF TRUMP LED TO CHANGES (DTGOPCH=1,2) [N=3,138]:

DTGOPCH2 And do you think these changes have been...

Nov 29-

Dec 12

2016

54	Good for the Republican Party
44	Bad for the Republican Party
2	No Answer

**2016 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 22 OCTOBER
FINAL TOPLINE
October 25 – November 8, 2016
TOTAL N=4,265⁶**

**ASK ALL:
CAMPNII⁷**

How closely have you been following news about candidates for the 2016 presidential election...

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>	June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>
41	Very closely	35	35
37	Fairly closely	40	43
16	Not too closely	18	18
6	Not at all closely	7	4
*	No answer	0	0

[FOR THOUGHTA AND THOUGHTB USE SAME FORM ASSIGNMENT FROM W21 (ONLY IF F_RESPONDED_W21=1). IF DID NOT RESPOND TO W21 (F_RESPONDED_W21=2-99), ASK ONLY TO FORM 1 IN W22]:

ASK ALL FORM 1 [N=2,134]:

THOUGHTA⁸ How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election?

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	July 12- Aug 8 <u>2016</u>	June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>	May 10- June 6 <u>2016⁹</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>	Mar 2- Mar 28 <u>2016</u>	Mar 10- Apr 6 <u>2015</u>
62	A lot	56	54	54	59	55	52	57	26
26	Some	29	30	28	29	27	31	28	40
9	Not much	9	11	10	8	9	11	8	23
3	None at all	5	5	8	4	8	5	5	11
*	No Answer	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0

⁶ The Wave 22 survey was administered exclusively in web mode. The survey included N=181 previous mail mode panelists that were converted to web and were provided an internet-enabled tablet if necessary.

⁷ CAMPNII has been asked in previous Pew Research Center phone surveys. Because of mode differences (phone vs. online/mail), this question should not be treated as directly comparable to those instances when the question has been asked on the phone.

⁸ THOUGHTA has been asked in previous Pew Research Center phone surveys. Because of mode differences (phone vs. online/mail), this question should not be treated as directly comparable to those instances when they have been asked on the phone.

⁹ In surveys conducted in early 2016, question asked about "candidates running for president." In 2015, asked about "candidates who may be running for president."

[FOR THOUGHTA AND THOUGHTB USE SAME FORM ASSIGNMENT FROM W21 (ONLY IF F_RESPONDED_W21=1). IF DID NOT RESPOND TO W21 (F_RESPONDED_W21=2-99), ASK ONLY TO FORM 2 IN W22]:

ASK ALL FORM 2 [N=2,131]:

THOUGHTB¹⁰ How much thought have you given to the coming November election?

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>	Nov 24- Dec 21 <u>2015</u>
61	Quite a lot	59	43
27	Some	25	34
7	Not much	11	14
4	None at all	4	8
*	No answer	1	0

**ASK ALL:
MATTERS**

Thinking about how you feel about the 2016 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; CAPTURE RANDOMIZATION; WE MAY WANT SAME RANDOMIZATION IN THE FUTURE]

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>	Mar 2- Mar 28 <u>2016</u>	Nov 24- Dec 21 <u>2015</u>
62	1 - Really matters who wins	64	61	62	57	65	58
19	2	18	19	20	22	18	22
8	3	8	9	9	10	8	10
10	4 - Doesn't really matter who wins	10	10	9	9	8	8
*	No Answer	1	1	0	1	1	1

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

¹⁰ THOUGHTB has been asked in previous Pew Research Center phone surveys. Because of mode differences (phone vs. online/mail), this question should not be treated as directly comparable to those instances when they have been asked on the phone.

ASK IF JOHNSON/STEIN IN VOTEGENA (VOTEGENA=3,4) OR VOTEGENB (VOTEGENB=3,4) [N=427]:

WHYTHRD Which best describes how you feel about the election this year... [RANDOMIZE]
OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]

Oct 25-
Nov 8
2016

34	I would probably vote for the Democratic presidential candidate if it wasn't Hillary Clinton
30	I would probably vote for the Republican presidential candidate if it wasn't Donald Trump
35	I would probably vote for [Gary Johnson/Jill Stein] no matter who the other candidates were
1	No Answer

ASK ALL:
CAMPFEEL

How have you been feeling about the 2016 presidential campaign recently?

[Check all that apply] [RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Selected</u>	<u>Not selected</u> <u>/No answer</u>
1.	Interested		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	31	69
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	30	70
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	28	72
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	29	71
	June 7-July 5, 2016	31	69
2.	Excited		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	11	89
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	12	88
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	9	91
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	10	90
	June 7-July 5, 2016	9	91
3.	Optimistic		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	13	87
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	14	86
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	14	86
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	13	87
	June 7-July 5, 2016	17	83
4.	Indifferent		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	9	91
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	10	90
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	11	89
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	11	89
	June 7-July 5, 2016	10	90
5.	Frustrated		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	57	43
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	56	44
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	54	46
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	47	53
	June 7-July 5, 2016	48	52

CAMPFEEL CONTINUED...

		<u>Selected</u>	<u>Not selected /No answer</u>
6.	Disgusted		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	60	40
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	56	44
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	54	46
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	50	50
	June 7-July 5, 2016	45	55
7.	Scared		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	42	58
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	44	56
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	41	59
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	40	60
	June 7-July 5, 2016	38	62
8.	None of these [EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]		
	Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	4	96
	Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016	3	97
	Aug 16-Sept 12, 2016	4	96
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	5	95
	June 7-July 5, 2016	4	96

ASK ALL:
WHOWIN

Regardless of who you support, who do you think will win the 2016 presidential election... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>	Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	July 12- Aug 8 <u>2016</u>	June 7- July 5 <u>2016</u>
29	Donald Trump	32	29	40	36
67	Hillary Clinton	64	67	56	59
4	No Answer	3	4	4	4

ASK IF RESPONDED TO WHOWIN (WHOWIN = 1,2) [N=4,172]:

WINMARGIN And do you think **[PIPE RESPONSE FROM WHOWIN]** will win... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>
63	In a close election	71
36	By a lot	29
1	No Answer	1

WHOWIN/WINMARGIN CONTINUED:**NET WHOWIN/WINMARGIN:**

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Sept 27- Oct 10 <u>2016</u>
7	Trump by a lot	9
22	Trump in a close election	23
38	Clinton in a close election	45
28	Clinton by a lot	19
4	No Answer	4

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

POLRULES Which comes closer to your view... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>	
28	In politics, it's sometimes necessary to bend the rules in order to get things done
70	In politics, it's important to respect the rules, even if it sometimes makes it harder to get things done
2	No Answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP & EMTPRESCLINTON IN SAME ORDER AS RESPONDENT RECEIVED IN WAVE 20. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN WAVE 20 THEN ASSIGN RANDOMIZATION HERE.]

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the presidential election that will take place in November...

ASK ALL:

EMTPRESTRUMP How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election in November 2016?

[ROTATE ORDER 1-4 FOR HALF, 4-1 FOR OTHER HALF USING SAME ROTATION RECEIVED IN WAVE 20. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN WAVE 20 THEN ASSIGN ROTATION HERE. RECORD IF RESPONDENT WAS SHOWN 1-4 OR 4-1]

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
12	Excited	10	15
26	Relieved	25	16
37	Disappointed	37	36
23	Angry	24	29
2	No Answer	4	4

ASK ALL:

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

[DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTPRESTRUMP AND RECORD ORDER]

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>		Aug 16- Sept 12 <u>2016</u>	Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
11	Excited	13	15
36	Relieved	36	25
31	Disappointed	29	34
20	Angry	19	22
2	No Answer	4	4

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**RANDOMIZE GLBLECON AND TORTURE****ASK ALL:**

GLBLECON Thinking about the global economy, which comes closer to your view? When other major countries do well economically... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Oct 25- Nov 8 <u>2016</u>	
70	It makes it EASIER for the U.S. to do well
26	It makes it HARDER for the U.S. to do well
4	No Answer

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED