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Biden Begins Presidency With Positive Ratings; Trump Departs With Lowest-Ever Job Mark

68% of public does not want Trump to remain a major political figure in the future

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Carroll Doherty, Director of Political Research

Jocelyn Kiley, Associate Director, Research

Nida Asheer, Communications Manager

Calvin Jordan, Communications Associate

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to examine the public's reactions to the aftermath of the 2020 presidential election, including a look into Americans' views of Joe Biden as the president-elect and thoughts about the insurrection that took place at the Capitol earlier this month. For this analysis, we surveyed 5,360 U.S. adults in January 2021. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the [ATP's methodology](#).

Here are the [questions used for the report](#), along with responses, and [its methodology](#).

Biden Begins Presidency With Positive Ratings; Trump Departs With Lowest-Ever Job Mark

68% of public does not want Trump to remain a major political figure in the future

As Joe Biden prepares to take office just days after a deadly riot inside the U.S. Capitol, 64% of voters express a positive opinion of his conduct since he won the November election. Majorities also approve of Biden's Cabinet selections and how he has explained his plans and policies for the future.

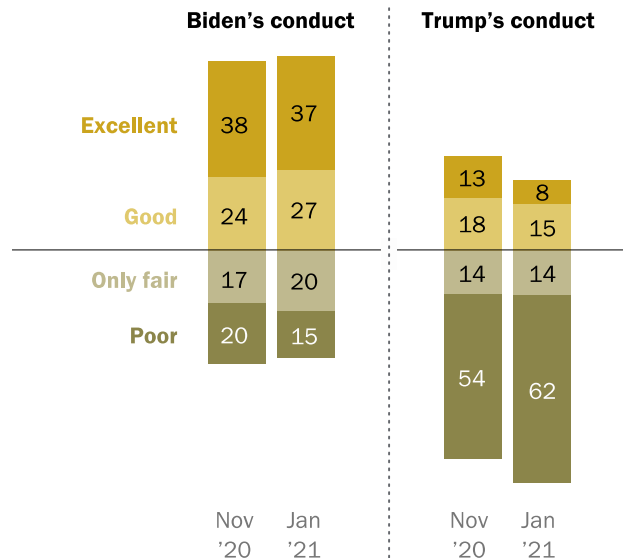
Donald Trump is leaving the White House with the lowest job approval of his presidency (29%) and increasingly negative ratings for his post-election conduct. The share of voters who rate Trump's conduct since the election as only fair or poor has risen from 68% in November to 76%, with virtually all of the increase coming in his "poor" ratings (62% now, 54% then).

Trump voters, in particular, have grown more critical of their candidate's post-election conduct. The share of his supporters who describe his conduct as poor has doubled over the past two months, from 10% to 20%.

The new survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Jan. 8-12 among 5,360 U.S. adults, including 4,040 who say they voted in the presidential election, finds that a sizable majority of Americans do not want Trump to remain a major political figure after he leaves office. About two-thirds (68%) say Trump should not continue to be a major national political figure for many years to come; just 29% say he should remain a major figure in U.S. politics.

Biden post-election conduct viewed positively; growing criticism of Trump

How would you rate ____ since the presidential election on Nov. 3? (%)



Notes: Based on those who say they voted in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

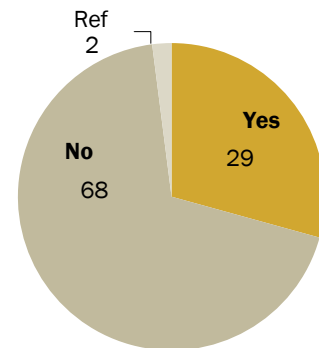
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For many, the shocking events of Jan. 6 – when some Trump supporters heeded the president’s call to march to the Capitol to protest Congress’ acceptance of Biden’s victory and then went on a violent rampage throughout the building – have seriously marred Trump’s final days as president.

Three-quarters of the public say the president bears at least some responsibility for the violence and destruction committed by some of his supporters, with 52% saying he bears a lot of responsibility for their actions. Just about a quarter (24%) say Trump has no responsibility for what took place.

Majority of public does not want Trump to remain a major political figure

Would you like to see Trump continue to be a major political figure for years to come? (%)



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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The House [voted Jan. 13 to impeach Trump for a second time](#), charging the president with “inciting violence against the government of the United States.” A narrow majority of Americans (54%) say it would be better for the country for Trump to be removed from office, with Vice President Mike Pence finishing the last few days of his term, while 45% say Trump should remain in office until his term ends Jan. 20.

As has been the case throughout Trump’s four years as president, Republicans and Democrats remain deeply divided – in this case, over Trump’s culpability in the unprecedented assault on the Capitol and whether he should be removed from office in the final days of his presidency.

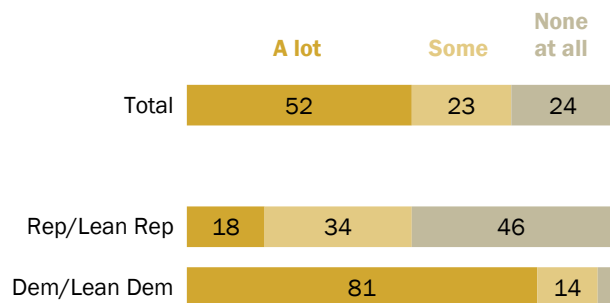
Only about half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (52%) say Trump bears any responsibility for the violence and destruction in the Capitol and 79% do not think he should be removed from office before Jan. 20. Virtually all Democrats and Democratic leaners (95%) say Trump bears at least some responsibility for the riot– and 83% favor his removal as president.

These deep divisions extend to opinions about the election result itself. Biden will be inaugurated Jan. 20 with a large segment of Trump voters viewing Trump as the winner of the election, despite scores of failed court challenges to the election brought by Trump’s lawyers and Congress’ confirmation of Biden’s Electoral College victory in the early morning hours of Jan. 7.

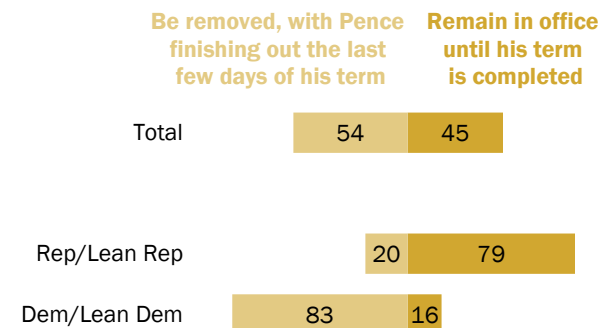
Among voters overall, 65% say Biden definitely or probably “received the most votes cast by eligible voters in enough states to win the election”; 54% say he definitely won the most votes. But 34% incorrectly say Trump definitely or probably was the rightful election winner.

Most Americans say Trump bears at least some responsibility for violence at the U.S. Capitol

% who say Trump bears ___ responsibility for the violence and destruction by some of his supporters at the U.S. Capitol



% who say it would be better for the country for Trump to...



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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The survey provides new insights into how Republicans and Republican leaners – a broader group than just Trump voters – view the president as he prepares to exit the White House. Democrats continue to be uniformly critical of Trump.

Republicans have mixed views of Trump’s post-election conduct and his responsibility for the violent events of Jan. 6; fewer than half (46%) say he bears *no* responsibility for the Capitol riot.

However, a 64% majority agrees with his contention – disproved in numerous court decisions and rejected by Congress itself – that he is the rightful winner of the election.

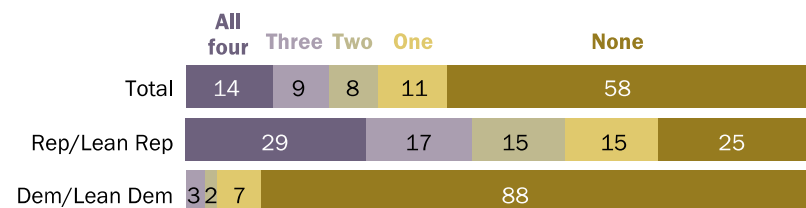
When the responses to four measures on Trump and his future are combined, GOP internal divisions emerge: 29% hold all four positions – that is, they endorse Trump’s post-election conduct, hold him blameless for the riot, believe he is the election’s rightful winner and want him to have a major role in politics going forward. However, nearly as many Republicans – 25% – hold *none* of these views. And nearly half of Republicans (46%) hold some combination of these positions, agreeing with some but not others.

After Capitol riot, Republicans have reservations about Trump, but most say incorrectly that he won the election

% who say ...

	Total	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem
Trump’s conduct since the election has been excellent/good	22	44	5
Trump bears no responsibility for the violence and destruction at the Capitol	24	46	4
Trump definitely/probably won the 2020 election	33	64	6
Trump should continue to be a major political figure for many years to come	29	57	7

% who hold ____ of these positions



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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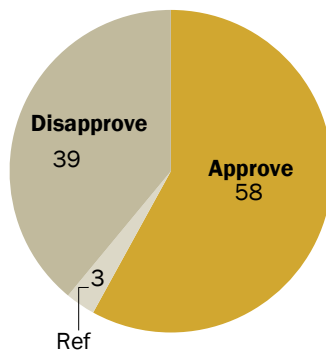
Biden enters office on a positive note

Biden will take office Jan. 20 with relatively strong performance ratings: The new survey, conducted on Pew Research Center's nationally representative online American Trends Panel, finds that 58% of Americans approve of the job Biden has done in explaining his plans and policies. In a January 2017 telephone survey, a smaller share (39%) approved of how Trump had explained his plans for the presidency; in an early 2009 phone survey, Barack Obama had a 70% approval rating on the same measure.

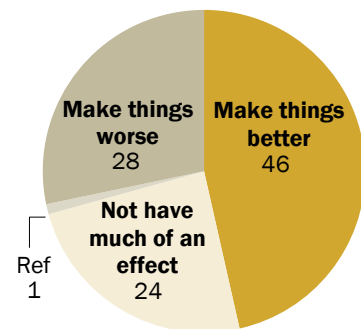
A nearly identical majority of Americans – 57% – approve of Biden's Cabinet choices and other high-level appointments. Almost half (46%) expect Biden to improve the way the federal government in Washington, D.C., works, while 28% say he will make things worse; 24% say he will not have much of an effect.

Nearly six-in-ten Americans approve of how Biden has explained his policies and plans

% who ___ of the job Biden has done explaining his policies and plans to the American people



% who say, when it comes to the way the federal government works in Washington, Joe Biden will ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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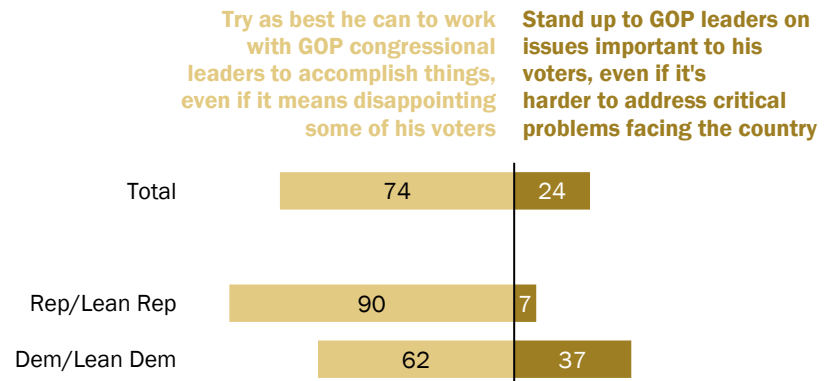
With the Democratic Party winning the White House and narrow control of the Senate, while retaining a House majority, Democrats broadly endorse efforts by Biden to forge bipartisan compromises with Republicans. Republicans, by contrast, are far more reluctant to see their party's congressional leaders work with Biden.

About six-in-ten Democrats (62%) say Biden should try to work with Republican leaders "even if it means disappointing some of his voters." Far fewer (37%) want Biden to "stand up" to Republicans even if it's harder to address critical issues.

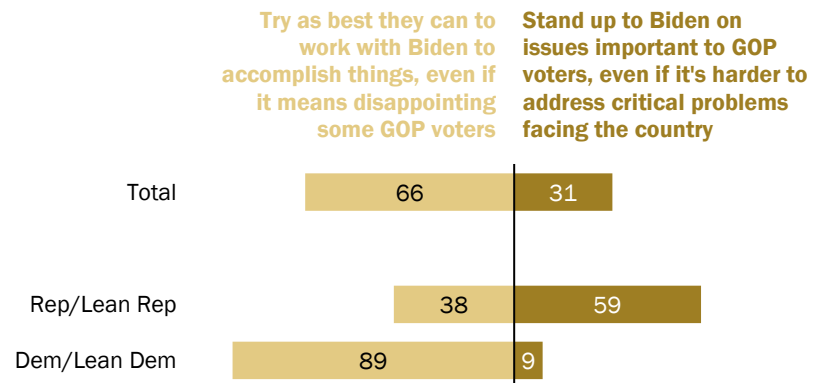
Among Democrats, conservatives and moderates (69%) are more likely than liberals (55%) to favor Biden working with Republicans.

As Biden era begins, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to favor trying to forge compromises

% who say **Joe Biden** should ...



% who say **Republican congressional leaders** should ...



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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A majority of Republicans (59%) want their party's leaders to "stand up" to Biden; 38% say they should try to work with Biden even if means disappointing some GOP voters. A sizable majority of conservative Republicans (69%) favor GOP leaders standing up to Biden, compared with 44% of GOP moderates and liberals.

Other major findings from the survey

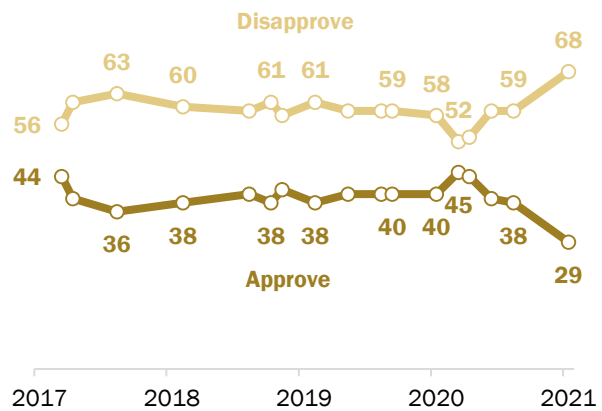
Opposition to Trump, increased mail and early voting widely viewed as major reasons for election result. Two-thirds of voters (67%) say a major reason for the election result was that “many voters were excited to vote against Trump”; majorities also cite the increased availability of mail and early voting (59%) and the Trump administration’s failure to do a good job in handling the coronavirus outbreak (55%). Only 32% cite widespread illegal voting and fraud; 70% of Trump voters cite this as a major reason for the election result, compared with just 2% of Biden voters.

Most think election cheating occurs often or sometimes. About eight-in-ten Americans say political candidates and campaigns often (36%) or sometimes (43%) do illegal things to ensure they have the best chance of winning. Of those who say such activities occur (even very rarely), 46% say they are done about equally by both parties; 27% say such actions are committed more often by Democrats and 26% more often by Republicans.

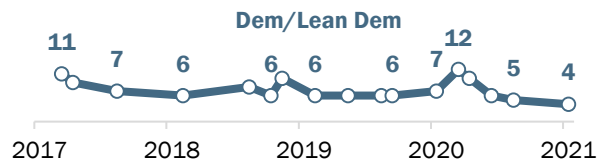
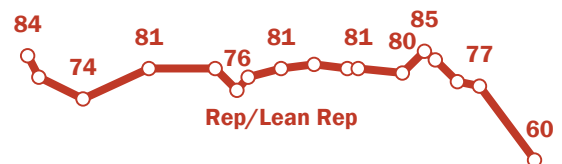
Trump job approval has fallen sharply since August. Throughout most of his presidency, Trump’s job rating remained more stable than those of his predecessors; it never surpassed 45% or dipped below 36%. But his job approval now stands at just 29%, down 9 percentage points since August and the lowest of his presidency. Much of the decline has come among Republicans and GOP leaners: Currently, 60% approve of his job performance; 77% approved in August.

Trump’s job approval drops sharply, almost entirely among Republicans

% who ___ of the way Trump is handling his job as president



% who approve of the way Trump is handling his job as president



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

Americans split in their views of Kamala Harris. Harris will make history on Jan. 20 by becoming the nation's first woman vice president and first Black American and first Asian American to assume this role. Half of Americans say the vice president-elect is qualified to serve as president, while nearly as many say she is not. A majority of the public (55%) expects her to have about the right amount of influence in the Biden administration; 36% say she will have too much influence, while 7% say she will have too little influence.

1. Views of the incoming Biden administration

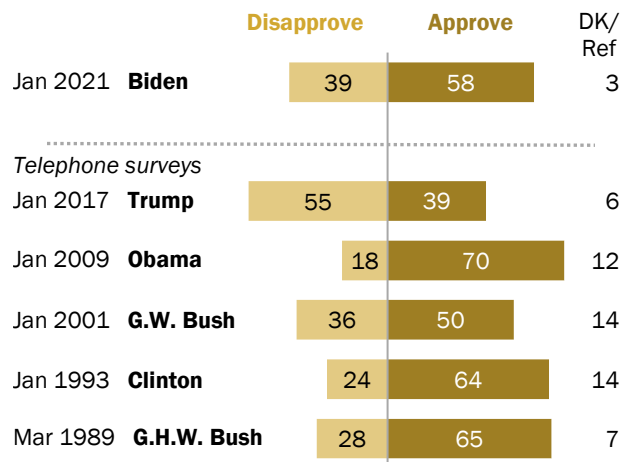
Ahead of Joe Biden's inauguration as the nation's 46th president, 58% of U.S. adults say they approve of the job he has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people. About four-in-ten (39%) say they disapprove of the job he has done.

The public has, on balance, approved of the job incoming presidents were doing explaining their plans and policies for the future in [previous Pew Research Center surveys](#) (past surveys were conducted by phone). In January 2009, 70% of the public said they approved of the job Barack Obama was doing, while 64% approved of Bill Clinton in 1993 and a similar share (65%) said this a few months into George H.W. Bush's administration. Shortly before George W. Bush took office in 2001, half of Americans evaluated him positively.

An exception was Donald Trump in 2017, when 39% of Americans approved of how he was explaining his plans ahead of his inauguration and 55% disapproved.

Majority of public approves of Biden's job explaining his plans for the future

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



Note: Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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There are wide divisions across race, ethnicity and educational background in approval of the job Biden has done explaining his policies and plans for the future.

While majorities of Black (86%) and Hispanic (72%) adults approve of the job Biden has done explaining his plans, White adults are about equally divided (49% approve and 48% disapprove).

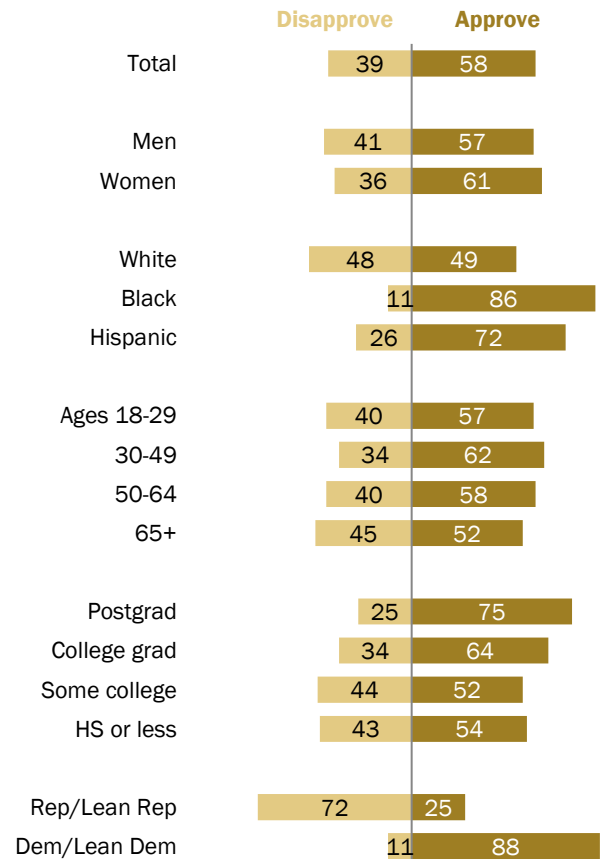
Americans with college degrees are more likely than those without to approve of the way Biden has explained his policies to the public. Majorities of those with a postgraduate (75%) or college degree (64%) say they approve of Biden's job so far, but about half of those with a high school diploma or less education (54%) say the same.

There is a large partisan division in approval of how Biden has explained his policies and plans for the future. Roughly nine-in-ten Democrats (88%) say they approve, compared with a quarter of Republicans (25%). Most Republicans (72%) express disapproval.

Though there are generally [partisan divisions in approval of the incoming president's performance during the transition](#), the current partisan gap is among the widest in surveys dating back to 1989. The current 63 percentage point gap in approval of Biden's performance is similar to the 59-point gap before Trump took office. But in 2009, before Obama's swearing-in, there was a 45-point gap between Democrats and Republicans, similar to the 48-point gap for George W. Bush. The gap was even narrower when Bill Clinton (35 points) was days away from taking office.

Black and Hispanic adults give Biden high marks ahead of his inauguration

% who ___ of the job Biden has done explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people



Notes: White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. No answer responses not shown.

Survey: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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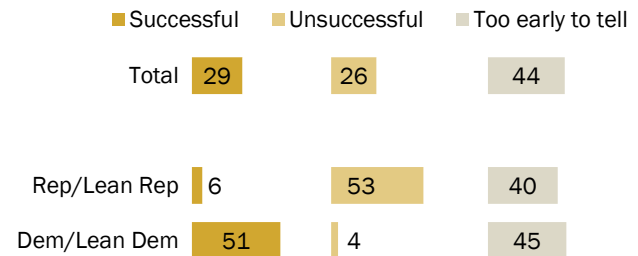
Will Biden be a successful or unsuccessful president?

As Biden prepares to take the oath of office next week, 44% of Americans say it is too early to tell whether he will be successful or unsuccessful as president; 29% believe that Biden will have a successful presidency, while a slightly smaller share (26%) say that he will be unsuccessful.

As has been the case with past presidents, expectations for Biden's presidency are divided by partisan affiliation. About half of Democrats (51%) say Biden will be successful, while just 4% say he will be unsuccessful. Republicans are more pessimistic: 53% say Biden will be unsuccessful, and only 6% say he will be successful. Similar shares of both Democrats (45%) and Republicans (40%) say it is too early to tell whether Biden will be a successful president.

Public mixed on whether Biden will be successful in office

% who say Biden will be a ___ president in the long run



Note: No response not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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About half say Biden will improve how the federal government works

All in all, about half of the public (46%) says Biden will make the way the federal government works better. Smaller shares say he will make things worse (28%) or not have much of an effect (24%).

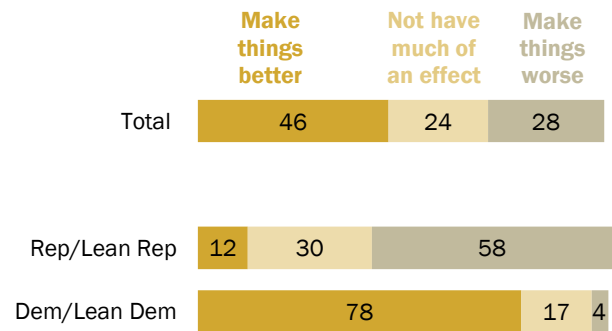
Similar to most attitudes about the presidential transition, Democrats and Republicans express divergent views about how Biden will impact the federal government.

Democrats and Democratic leaners are overwhelmingly positive about the effect Biden will have in Washington. About eight-in-ten (78%) say he will make things better, 4% say he will make things worse and 17% say that he will not have much of an effect on the way the federal government works.

By contrast, Republicans' views are more negative. About six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (58%) say Biden will make things worse in the federal government. Three-in-ten Republicans (30%) say Biden will not have much effect, and 12% say he will make things better.

Most Democrats say Biden will improve the way the federal government works

What effect will Biden have on the way the federal government works? (%)



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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How Americans place Biden’s ideological positions

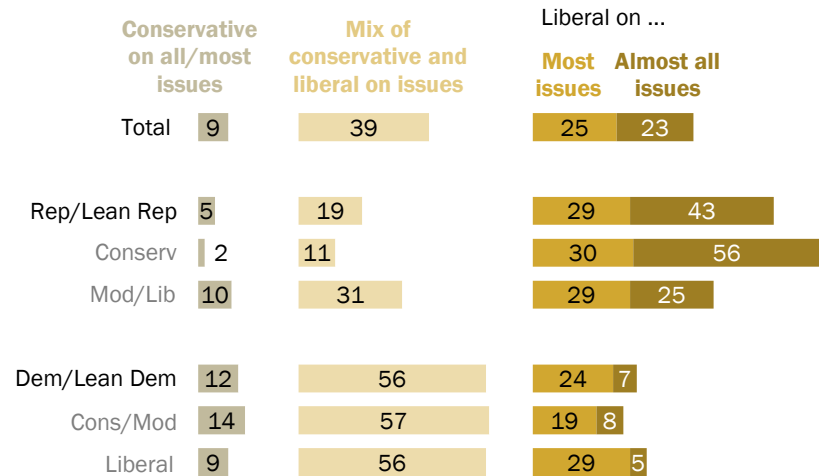
The public has mixed views about Biden’s ideology. About half of Americans says Biden is liberal on almost all (23%) or most (25%) issues. Another 39% say Biden has a mix of liberal and conservative views, while about one-in-ten Americans (9%) say Biden is conservative on most or all issues.

Republicans (73%) are more than twice as likely as Democrats (31%) to view Biden as liberal on all or most issues. Democrats, by contrast, are about three times as likely as Republicans to say Biden holds a mix of conservative and liberal views (56% to 19%).

A majority of conservative Republicans (56%) say Biden has liberal views on *almost all* issues; by comparison, among moderate and liberal Republicans 25% say this.

Biden’s positions seen as largely liberal by the GOP, Democrats see him as more ideologically mixed

% who say Joe Biden’s views are ...



Note: No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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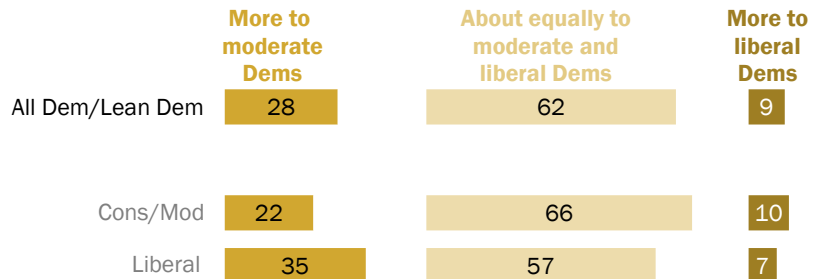
Most Democrats say Biden will listen about equally to moderates and liberals in the party

Looking ahead to Biden's presidency, most Democrats (62%) think Biden will listen about equally to moderates and liberals within the party. About three-in-ten Democrats (28%) say Biden will listen more to moderates, while just 9% say he will listen more to liberal Democrats during his presidency.

Overall, there are some modest ideological differences among Democrats about who will get more attention from the president-elect. Liberal Democrats (35%) are more likely than conservative and moderate Democrats (22%) to think Biden will listen more to moderates in the party.

Majorities of both liberal and moderate Democrats expect Biden will listen equally to both groups

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, % who think Joe Biden will listen ...



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Eight-in-ten Democrats say they'll watch Biden's inauguration, a quarter of Republicans will

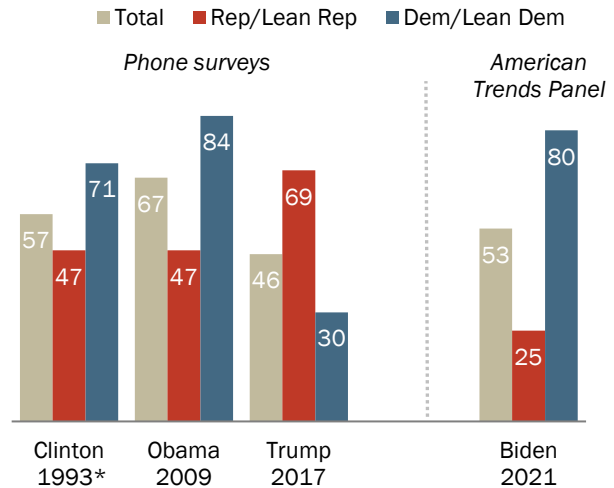
About half of Americans (53%) say they plan to watch Joe Biden be sworn into office on Jan. 20, while 46% say they do not plan to watch the inauguration.

Americans' interest in watching the inauguration is divided along party lines: Eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners say they plan to watch the inauguration, while a quarter of Republicans and Republican leaners say they plan to watch.

While those who identify as or lean toward the of the president-elect's party have long been more likely than those who support the opposing party to say they plan to watch the inauguration, the partisan gap in plans this year is considerably wider than in past years (when this question was asked on Pew Research Center telephone surveys).

Wide partisan divide in interest in watching Biden's inauguration

% who say they plan to watch the inauguration of ...



*1993 data is from U.S. News and World Report and is based on partisans only (leaners not included).

Notes: Question not asked for George W. Bush inauguration in 2001. 2021 data based on American Trends Panel data.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Views of Kamala Harris

On the cusp of Kamala Harris' [historic swearing-in](#), which will make her the first woman, first Black American and first Asian American vice president, just over half of Americans (55%) expect her to have “about the right amount” of influence within the Biden administration. And Americans are divided over whether they think Harris, who will be first in the line of succession, is qualified for the presidency (50% say she is qualified, 47% say she is not).

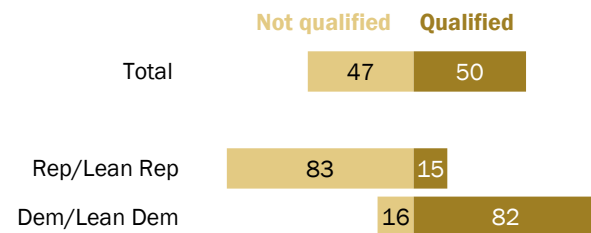
About eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (82%) say Harris is qualified for the presidency. By contrast, just 15% of Republicans and Republican leaners say Harris is qualified; 83% say she is not qualified.

Slightly more than half of Americans (55%) say that Harris will have about the right amount of influence within the upcoming Biden administration, while 36% say she will have too much influence. Just 7% of Americans say she will have too little influence.

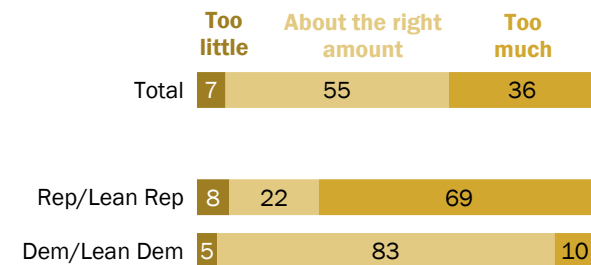
Most Democrats (83%) say Harris will have about the right amount of influence, but only about two-in-ten Republicans (22%) say the same. About seven-in-ten Republicans (69%) say she will have too much influence.

Democrats and Republicans differ in views of Harris

% who think Kamala Harris is ___ to be president



% who say Kamala Harris will have ___ influence within the Biden administration



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Majority approves of Biden's cabinet choices

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (57%) approve of President-elect Joe Biden's choices for his Cabinet and other high-level appointments, while 37% disapprove of these choices.

Democrats overwhelmingly approve of Biden's staffing choices: About nine-in-ten approve (89%), while just 8% disapprove.

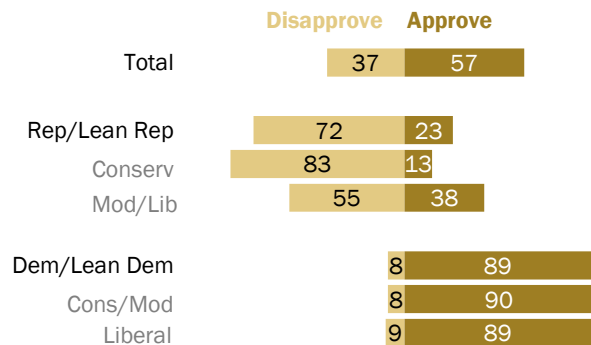
About seven-in-ten Republicans (72%) disapprove of Biden's Cabinet choices and other high-level appointments. However, there is a substantial gap between the share of conservative Republicans (83%) and the share of moderate and liberal Republicans (55%) who disapprove.

Views about the presence of many Obama administration veterans among Biden's top advisers follow a similar pattern. A majority of Americans (58%) say it is a good thing many Biden advisers worked in the Obama administration; 39% say this is a bad thing.

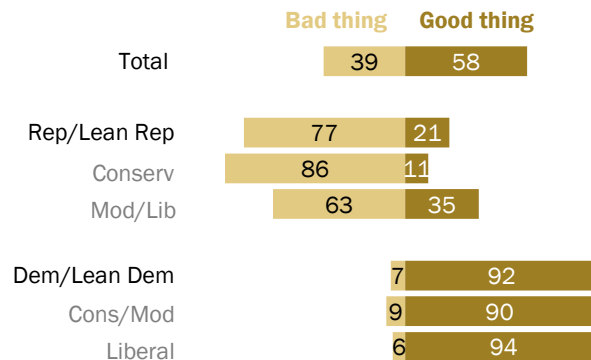
Nearly all Democrats say that many of Biden's advisers having experience in the Obama administration is a good thing (92%), yet fewer than a quarter of Republicans say this (21%). Conservative Republicans, in particular, see this as a bad thing (86% say this). A smaller majority of moderate and liberal Republicans also say that this is a bad thing (63%).

Nearly six-in-ten Americans approve of Biden's picks for his administration

% who say they ___ of Joe Biden's cabinet choices and other high-level appointments



% who think it is a ___ that many of Joe Biden's top advisers worked in the Obama administration



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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More Americans expect ethics and honesty in the federal government will rise, rather than fall, with Biden as president

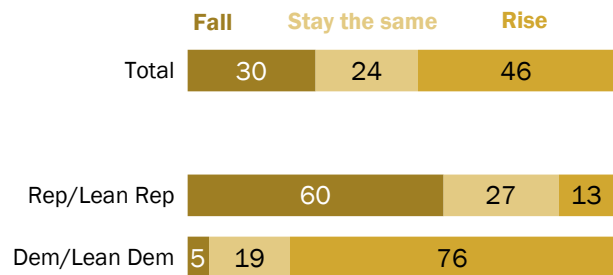
More Americans expect the overall level of ethics and honesty in the federal government to rise with Biden as president (46%) than expect it to fall (30%). About a quarter (24%) expect little change.

About three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners (76%) say that the level of ethics and honesty will rise, while 19% say it will stay the same and 5% say it will fall.

In contrast, six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners say they expect the level of ethics and honesty to fall after Biden takes office. About a quarter of Republicans (27%) say it will remain the same as under the Trump administration, while 13% say it will rise.

More Americans expect government ethics to rise than fall under Biden

% who say the overall level of ethics and honesty in the federal government will ____ with Biden as president



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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2. Views of Biden and Trump during the transition

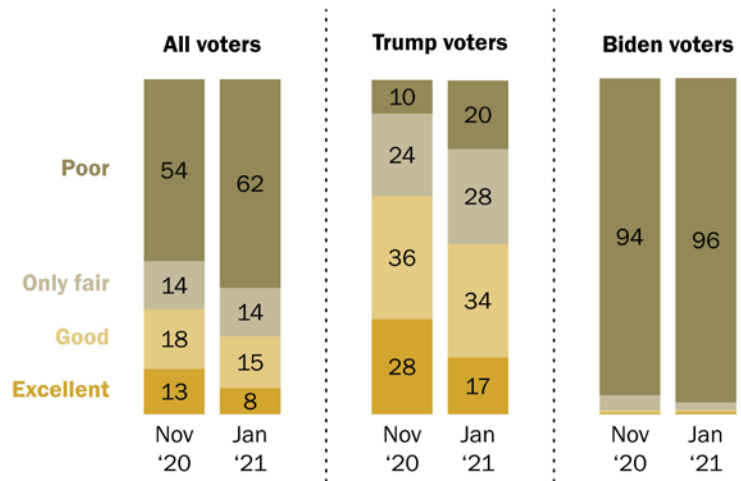
In the wake of the violence and riots at the Capitol on Jan. 6, a growing majority of voters (76%) say Donald Trump’s conduct since the Nov. 3 election is “only fair” or “poor.” In **mid-November**, 68% rated Trump’s post-election conduct negatively.

Currently, 62% rate Trump’s conduct since the election as poor, up from 54% two months ago. Most of this change has been driven by his own voters, who were generally inclined to give him positive ratings immediately following the election, but are now about evenly divided; 51% of Trump voters say his conduct has been excellent or good, while 49% say it has been only fair or poor.

The share of Trump voters who rate the president’s post-election conduct as poor has doubled – from 10% to 20% – since November.

A growing minority of Trump’s own voters rate his post-election conduct as ‘poor’

*% of voters who rate **Trump’s conduct** since the Nov. 3 presidential election as ...*



Notes: Based on those who reported voting in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Among Trump voters, views of his conduct since the election reveals [splits within the Republican coalition](#) – particularly along educational and ideological lines.

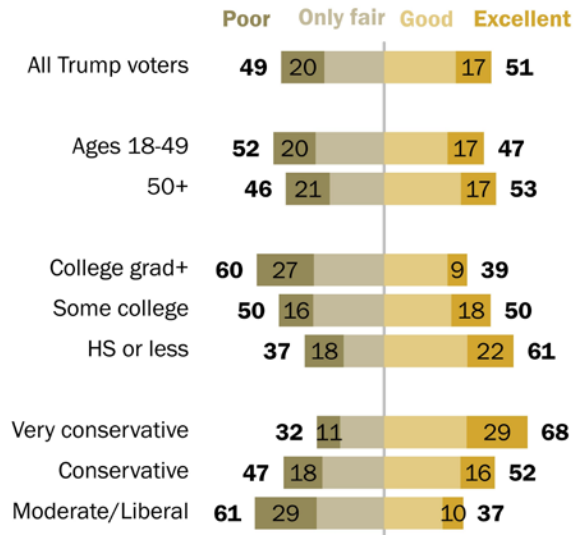
Trump voters with a four-year college degree or more education generally hold a negative view of Trump’s post-election conduct; 60% rate it only fair or poor. Just after the election, fewer than half (40%) expressed a negative view of his conduct.

Those with some college experience are evenly divided, while a majority of Trump voters with no more than a high school diploma rate Trump’s post-election conduct positively (61% excellent or good).

Trump voters who call themselves “very conservative” – who constitute 18% of all Trump supporters – offer far more positive evaluations of Trump’s post-election behavior compared with those who describe their views as conservative (52% of Trump voters) or moderate or liberal (29% of Trump voters).

Trump voters are divided in views of his conduct since the presidential election

% of Trump voters who rate Trump’s conduct since the Nov. 3 presidential election as ...



Notes: Based on those who reported voting for Trump in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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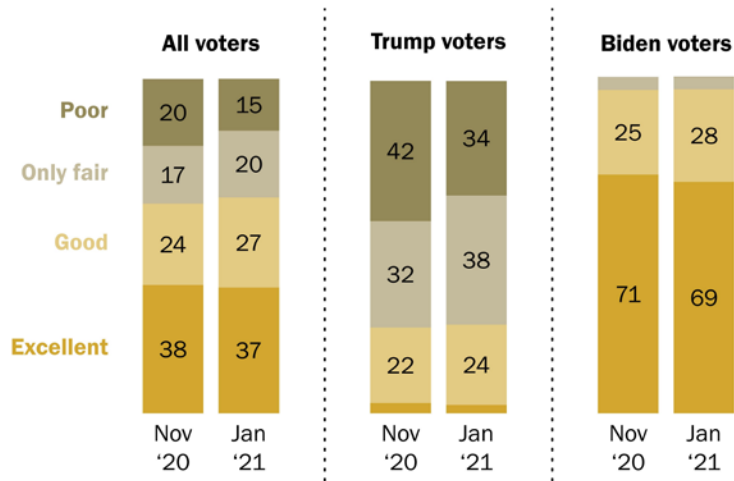
Views of Biden’s post-election conduct remain positive

A majority of voters (64%) continue to view Joe Biden’s conduct since the election as excellent (37%) or good (27%). There has been little change in these opinions since November (62% excellent or good).

While Biden voters continue to express overwhelmingly positive views of the president-elect’s conduct, Trump voters view Biden’s conduct less negatively than they did shortly after the election. Currently, 34% of Trump voters rate Biden’s post-election conduct as poor, compared with 42% in November.

As in November, a majority of voters rate Biden’s post-election conduct as good or excellent

% of voters who rate Biden’s conduct since the Nov. 3 election as ...



Notes: Based on those who reported voting in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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As Trump’s term ends, about two-thirds disapprove of his job performance

About two-thirds of U.S. adults (68%) say they disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president, including a majority (56%) who say they strongly disapprove. About three-in-ten (29%) approve of Trump’s job performance, with 21% saying they strongly approve.

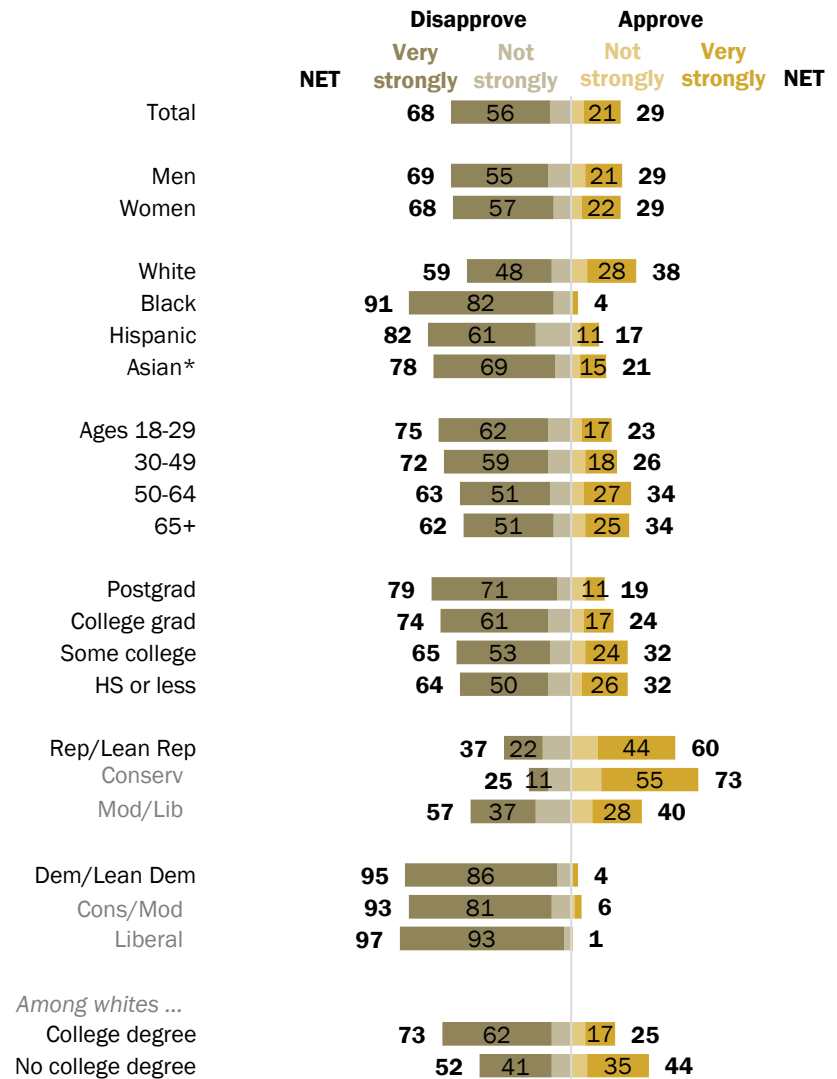
Trump’s current job approval is the lowest of his presidency and 9 percentage points lower than in August (38%).

Trump’s job rating has declined across most major demographic groups since the summer. For example, fewer than four-in-ten white adults (38%) now approve of Trump’s job performance, while 59% disapprove. White adults were divided on Trump’s performance in August (47% approved, 50% disapproved).

Trump’s job approval among Hispanic adults declined from 28% in August to 17% in January, while approval among Black adults decreased from 9% to just 4%.

Majority of Americans ‘strongly’ disapprove of Trump’s performance as president

% who ____ of the way Trump is handling his job as president



*Asian adults were interviewed in English only.
 Notes: White, Black, and Asian adults include those who report being one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. No answer responses not shown.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted January 8-12, 2021.

Much of the decline in Trump's job approval has come among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents; currently 60% approve of the way Trump is handling his job as president, down from 77% in August.

Approval of Trump's performance is now substantially lower among moderate and liberal Republicans than it was last year. Today, just 40% of moderate and liberal Republicans approve of Trump's performance, while 57% disapprove. Last August, 63% of moderate and liberal Republicans approved of Trump's job performance. Among conservative Republicans – [who make up a clear majority of the GOP](#) – 73% continue to approve of how Trump is handling his job, though this share is also down from the 85% of conservative Republicans who said this in August.

Attitudes among Democrats, the vast majority of whom already disapproved of the president's performance, are essentially unchanged since August.

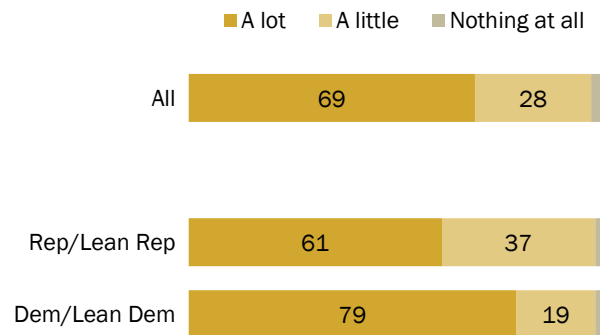
3. Views on the rioting at the U.S. Capitol

Nearly seven-in-ten adults (69%) say they have heard “a lot” about the rioting at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6, when, following a protest earlier in the day, supporters of Donald Trump broke into the Capitol building while the Senate and House were in the process of certifying Electoral College votes. An additional 28% say they have heard “a little” about this event.

While overwhelming shares in both parties report having heard at least a little about the riot, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say they have heard a lot about it. Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners (79%) say they have heard a lot, compared with about six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (61%).

Broad public awareness of Capitol riot; fewer Republicans than Democrats say they’ve heard ‘a lot’ about it

% who say they read or heard ____ about the rioting at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6



Notes: See topline for full question wording. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Most Americans say Trump bears at least some responsibility for the violence and destruction committed by some of his supporters at the Capitol. About half (52%) say Trump bears a lot of responsibility, while an additional 23% say he bears some responsibility. About one-quarter (24%) say he bears no responsibility for the riot.

Republicans are split over whether Trump is responsible for these actions by some of his supporters: 52% say that Trump bears a lot (18%) or some (34%) responsibility; 46% say he bears no responsibility at all.

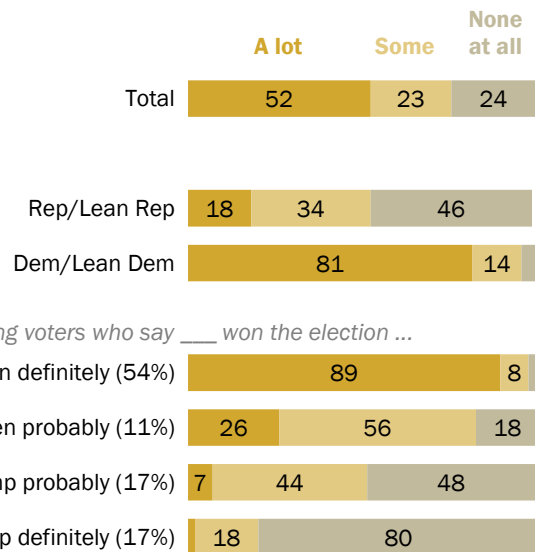
Among Democrats, an overwhelming majority (95%) say Trump bears at least some responsibility for the violence and destruction, including about eight-in-ten (81%) who say he bears a lot of responsibility.

Opinions on whether Trump bears responsibility for the rioting at the Capitol are closely related to voters' views on who won the election. Among the majority of voters who say Joe Biden definitely won the 2020 presidential election, 89% say that Donald Trump bears a lot of responsibility for the violence and destruction. And a majority of voters who say Biden probably won the election say Trump either has a lot (26%) or some (56%) responsibility for these events.

However, the minority of voters who incorrectly say Trump probably or definitely won the election are much more likely to say that Trump bears no responsibility for the violence and destruction at the Capitol. Nearly half of those who say Trump probably won (48%) say that he bears no responsibility for the rioting, while 44% say he bears at least some responsibility. Among voters who say Trump definitely won, eight-in-ten say he bears no responsibility for the violence and destruction.

Most voters who incorrectly say Trump 'definitely' won the election say he bears no responsibility for Capitol riot

% who say Donald Trump bears ___ responsibility for the violence and destruction committed by some of his supporters at the U.S. Capitol



Notes: Voters are those who reported voting in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Trump's future as a major U.S. political figure

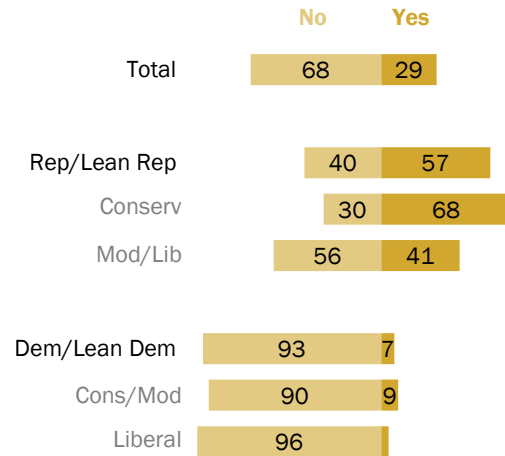
By more than two-to-one (68% to 29%), Americans say that after Biden's inauguration, they would not like to see Trump continue as a major national political figure for years to come.

A 57% majority of all Republicans and Republican-leaning independents want Trump to remain a major figure, while 40% do not. But there is a wide divide between conservative Republicans and moderate and liberal Republicans when it comes to Trump's future role. About two-thirds of conservative Republicans (68%) say they would like to see Trump continue as a major figure, but fewer than half (41%) of moderate and liberal Republicans say this.

More than nine-in-ten Democrats (93%) say they would not like to see Trump continue to be a major national political figure.

Ideological divide in GOP over Trump's future role in politics

Would you like to see Trump continue to be a major national political figure for many years to come? (%)



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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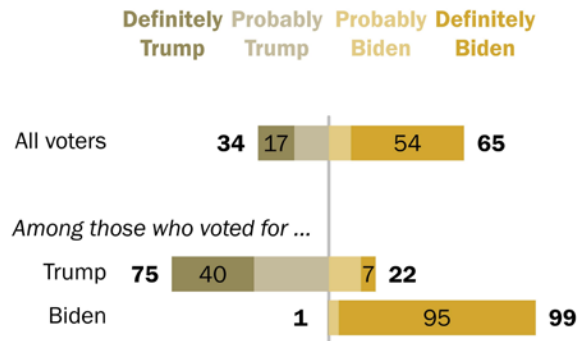
4. Voters' reflections on the 2020 election

Despite [scores of failed legal challenges](#), numerous recounts and Congress' confirmation of Joe Biden's Electoral College victory, a large majority of those who voted for Donald Trump incorrectly say their candidate received the most votes cast by eligible voters in enough states to win the election.

Among Trump voters, 40% say he "definitely" won and another 36% say he "probably" won the election. Only 7% of Trump voters concede that Biden definitely won the 2020 election, while another 15% say he probably won. Biden voters nearly unanimously believe their candidate won.

Three-quarters of Trump voters incorrectly believe he won the election

Who do you think won the 2020 election – that is, who received the most votes cast by eligible voters in enough states to win the election? (%)



Notes: Based on those who reported voting in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Among Trump voters, there are clear parallels in the patterns of opinion about Trump’s post-election conduct and views of who won the election.

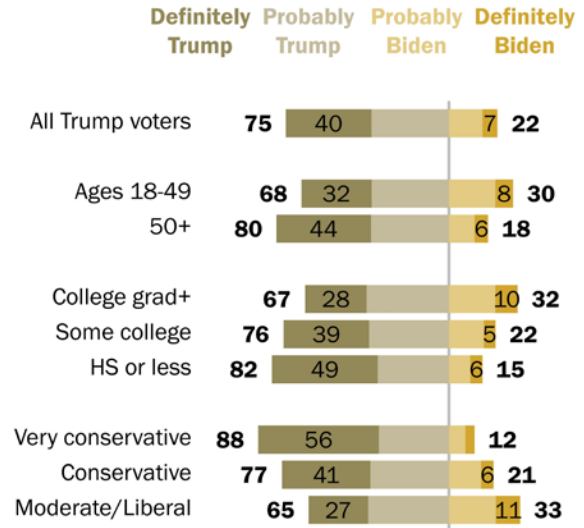
Older, less educated, and more conservative Trump supporters are among the most likely to incorrectly assert that Trump won the election.

However, there is no subgroup of Trump voters in which a majority – or even a substantial minority – says that Biden received the most votes cast by eligible voters in enough states to win the election.

For example, while 88% of very conservative Trump voters incorrectly say he definitely or probably won, including 56% who say he definitely won, so too do 77% of conservative Trump supporters and 65% of moderate and liberal Trump voters.

No more than about a third of Trump voters in any subgroup correctly view Biden as the election winner

Who do you think won the 2020 election – that is, who received the most votes cast by eligible voters in enough states to win the election? (%)



Notes: Based on those who reported voting for Trump in the 2020 election. No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

Major reasons for election result: Voters were excited to oppose Trump; increased early and mail voting; Trump’s mishandling of coronavirus

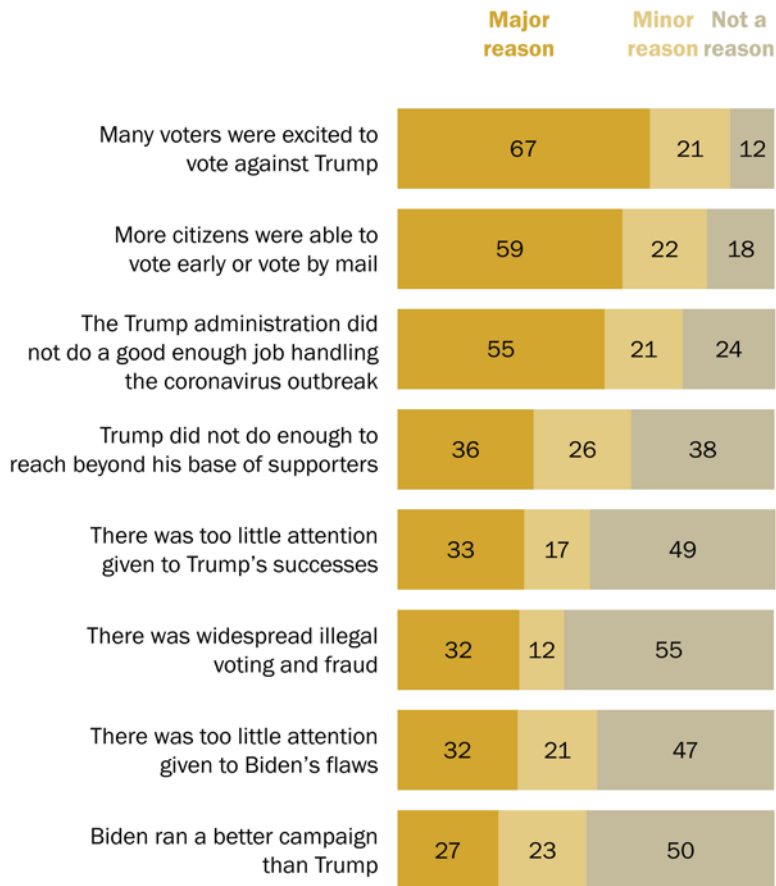
When asked about reasons for the results of the 2020 election, two-thirds of voters (67%) say a major reason was that “many voters were excited to vote against Trump.” Majorities also point to the increased prevalence of early and mail voting (59%) and the Trump administration’s failure to do a good job in handling the coronavirus outbreak (55%).

Fewer voters point to the other reasons included in the survey — including that Trump did too little to reach beyond his political base of support (36% cite this as a major reason) or that Biden ran a better campaign than Trump (27%).

And similar shares cite there being too little attention to Trump’s successes (33%) and too little attention to Biden’s flaws (32%) as major reasons. About as many (32%) point to “widespread illegal voting and fraud” as a major reason for the election result.

Two-thirds of voters cite as a major reason for election result that many were ‘excited to vote against Trump’

% of voters who say each was a ___ for the result of the 2020 presidential election ...



Notes: Based on those who reported voting in the 2020 election.

No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Trump voters and Biden voters offer very different reasons for the election outcome, with one notable exception. About six-in-ten voters who backed Trump (61%) and Biden (60%) cite the ability of more citizens to vote by mail, or vote early, as a major reason for the result.

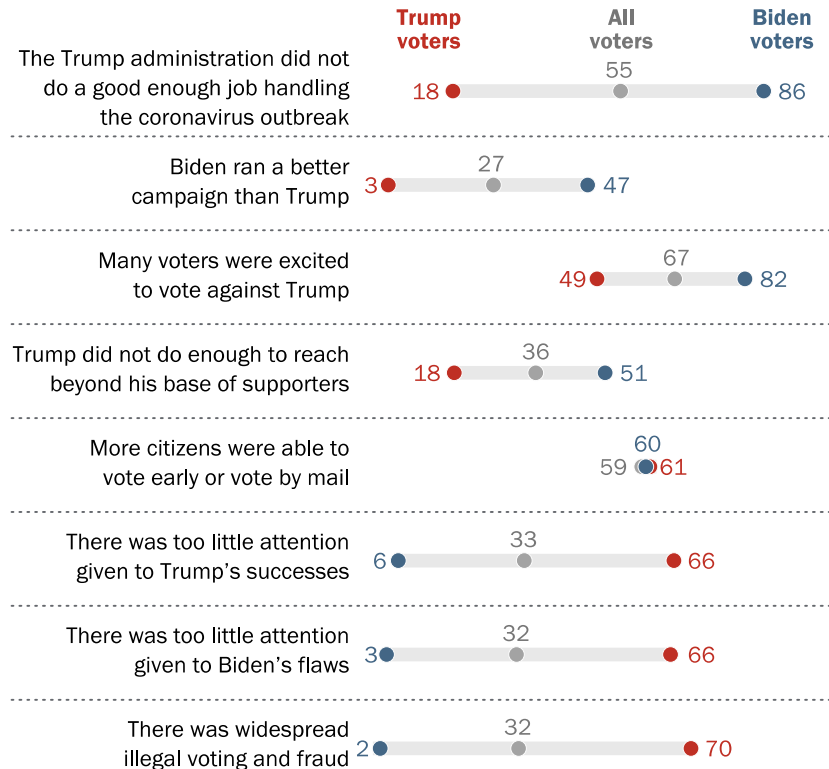
Otherwise, large shares of Trump voters – and almost no Biden voters – cite widespread illegal voting and too little attention to Trump’s successes and Biden’s flaws as major reasons for the result.

By contrast, 86% of Biden voters – compared with just 18% of Trump voters – say a major reason for the outcome was that the Trump administration did not do a good enough job on the coronavirus. Biden voters also are more likely than Trump supporters to cite Biden running a better campaign and Trump failing to expand his political base as major reasons.

A sizable share of Biden voters (82%) cite as major reason that many voters were excited to vote against Trump. However, about half of Trump voters (49%) also cite this as a major reason for the outcome.

Biden and Trump voters cite very different reasons for election result, except increased early and mail voting

% of voters who say each was a major reason for the result of the 2020 presidential election



Notes: Based on those who reported voting in the 2020 election.

No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Most Americans say politicians often or sometimes do illegal things to try to win

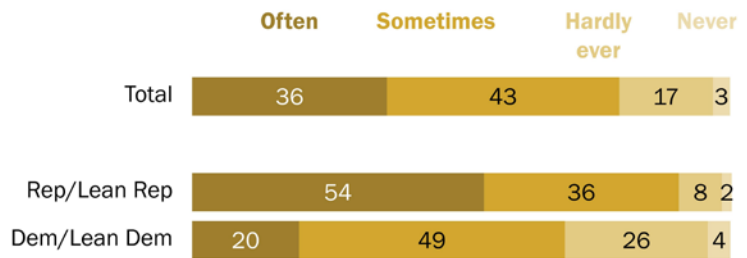
Thinking about politics more generally, 36% of Americans say political candidates and campaigns often do things that are illegal in order to make sure they have the best possible chance of winning, while another 43% say this happens sometimes. Only 3% of Americans say that this *never* happens.

Republicans and Republican leaners are substantially more likely than Democrats and Democratic leaners to say that election cheating often happens. About half of Republicans (54%) say this, compared with 20% of Democrats.

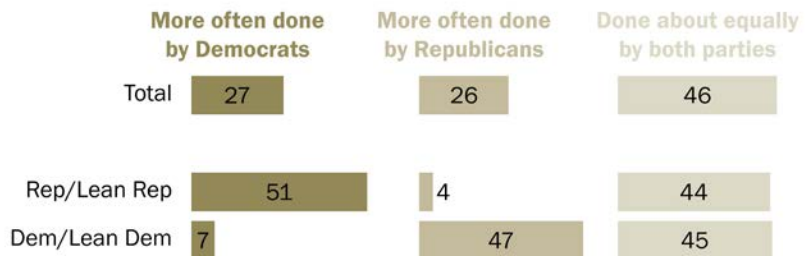
When those who say candidates and campaigns ever do things that are illegal in order to win are asked which party more frequently engages in election cheating, they are about equally likely to point to the Democratic Party (27%) and the Republican Party (26%), although a plurality (46%) say that both major parties are engage in illegal behavior with about the same frequency.

Large shares in both parties think there is cheating in elections, but Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to say it ‘often’ occurs

How often, if at all, do you think political candidates or campaigns do things that are illegal in order to make sure they have the best possible chance to win? (%)



Among those who say candidates and campaigns ever do things that are illegal in order to win, % who say it is ...



Notes: Second question is based on those who say candidates and campaigns do things that are illegal in order to win “hardly ever,” “sometimes” or “often.” No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Partisans are more likely to point to the other party as cheating more frequently, but relatively large minorities of both Republicans (44%) and Democrats (45%) say that *both* sides engage in illegal activity about equally.

Among those who say candidates and campaigns ever do things that are illegal in order to increase their chance of winning, views of who engages in illegal election activity vary across racial and ethnic groups as well as by educational attainment.

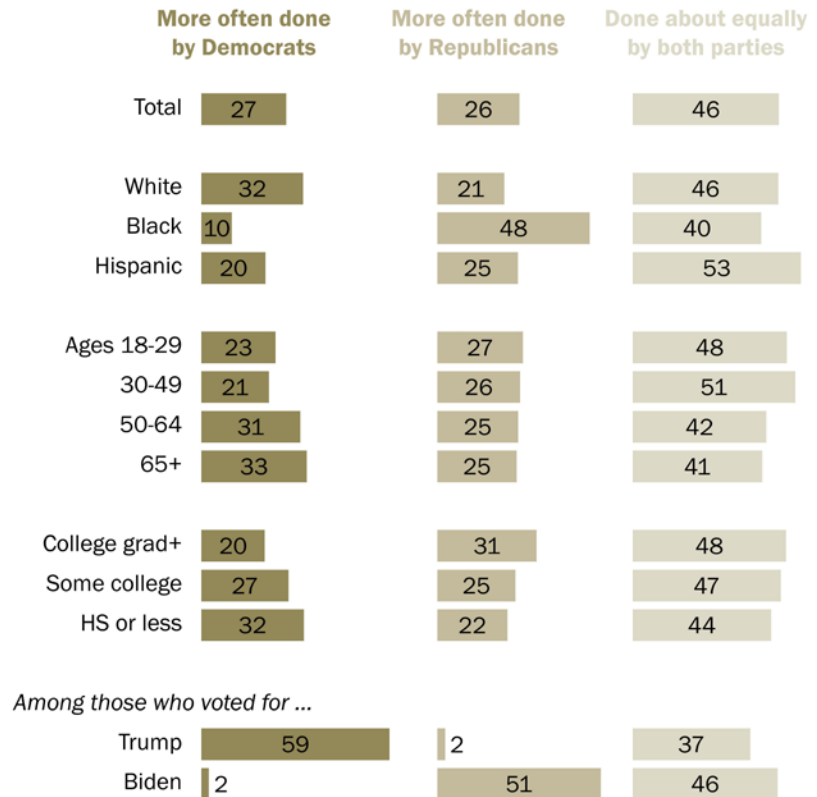
Nearly half of Black adults (48%) say illegal election activity is more often done by Republicans. That is far larger than the shares of White adults (21%) or Hispanics (25%) who say this.

By contrast, White adults are more likely than Black adults or Hispanic adults to say that Democrats engage in election cheating more often.

College graduates are more likely than those with less formal education to say that illegal activity is more often done by Republicans than Democrats; conversely, those with a high school degree or less education are more likely to point to the Democrats as being responsible for election cheating.

Black adults are far more likely than White and Hispanic adults to say the GOP engages in illegal election activity more often than Democrats

Among those who say candidates and campaigns ever do things that are illegal in order to win, % who say it is ...



Notes: Based on those who say candidates and campaigns do things that are illegal in order to win “hardly ever,” “sometimes” or “often.” White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

Acknowledgments

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

Research team

Carroll Doherty, *Director, Political Research*
Jocelyn Kiley, *Associate Director, Political Research*
Baxter Oliphant, *Senior Researcher*
Andrew Daniller, *Research Associate*
Bradley Jones, *Research Associate*
Hannah Hartig, *Research Associate*
Amina Dunn, *Research Analyst*
Ted Van Green, *Research Assistant*
Vianney Gomez, *Research Assistant*

Communications and editorial

Nida Asheer, *Communications Manager*
Calvin Jordan, *Communications Associate*
David Kent, *Senior Copy Editor*

Graphic design and web publishing

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

Methodology

Andrew Mercer, *Senior Research Methodologist*
Nick Bertoni, *Senior Panel Manager*
Arnold Lau, *Research Analyst*

Others at Pew Research Center also gave valuable assistance on this project, including Research Associate Shannon Schumacher and Research Assistant Jesse Bennett.

Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from the panel wave conducted Jan. 8 to Jan 12, 2021. A total of 5,360 panelists responded out of 6,107 who were sampled, for a response rate of 88%. This does not include two panelists who were removed from the data due to extremely high rates of refusal or straightlining. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 5,360 respondents is plus or minus 1.9 percentage points.

Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample of households selected

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	2,186
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,244
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	622
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	5,904
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS/web	5,900	4,720	2,333
June 1 to July 19, 2020	ABS/web	1,865	1,636	1,272
	Total	36,879	25,076	13,561

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2019 and 2020, respectively. Across these three address-based recruitments, a total of 17,161 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 15,134 (88%) agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 25,076 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 13,561 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.¹ The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

Sample design

This study featured a stratified random sample from the ATP. The sample was allocated according to the following strata, in order: tablet households, U.S.-born Hispanics, foreign-born Hispanics, high school education or less, foreign-born Asians, not registered to vote, people ages 18 to 34, uses internet weekly or less, non-Hispanic Black adults, nonvolunteers and all other categories not already falling into any of the above.

Questionnaire development and testing

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

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$15 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

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

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was Jan. 8 to Jan. 12, 2021. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on Jan. 6, 2021.

An initial soft launch was conducted on Jan. 6, 2021. Those cases are excluded from the final dataset and analysis due to significant questionnaire changes after the soft launch. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking panelists were included in the survey launch and were sent an invitation on Jan. 8, 2021. All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists that consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to one SMS reminders. Interactive voice recording (IVR) reminder calls were made to 58 tablet households that previously provided consent to receive these reminders on Jan. 11, 2021.

Initial invitation	Jan. 8, 2021
First reminder	Jan. 10, 2021
IVR reminder	Jan. 11, 2021
Final reminder	Jan. 11, 2021

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, two ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data was weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey (and the probability of being invited to participate in the panel in cases where only a subsample of respondents were invited). The base weights for panelists recruited in different years are scaled to be proportionate to the effective sample size for all active panelists in their cohort. To correct for nonresponse to the initial recruitment surveys and gradual panel attrition, the base weights for all active panelists are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table to create a full-panel weight.

For ATP waves in which only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate, a wave-specific base weight is created by adjusting the full-panel weights for subsampled panelists to account for any differential probabilities of selection for the particular panel wave. For waves in which all active panelists are invited to participate, the wave-specific base weight is identical to the full-panel weight.

In the final weighting step, the wave-specific base weights for panelists who completed the survey are again calibrated to match the population

benchmarks specified above. These weights are trimmed (typically at about the 1st and 99th percentiles) to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and test of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age x Gender	2019 American Community Survey
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2019 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2016 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey
Frequency of internet use	
Religious affiliation	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. The 2016 CPS was used for voter registration targets for this wave in order to obtain voter registration numbers from a presidential election year. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. The 2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey featured 1,862 online completions and 2,247 mail survey completions.

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

Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021

Group	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	5,360		1.9 percentage points
Half sample	At least 2,676		2.7 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	2,273	44	2.7 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,119		3.9 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	2,919	49	2.7 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,443		3.7 percentage points
2020 voters	4,040		2.0 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,999		2.9 percentage points
Trump voters	1,585		3.2 percentage points
Half sample	At least 770		4.5 percentage points
Biden voters	2,305		2.8 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,161		3.9 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.

Dispositions and response rates

Final dispositions	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	5,360
Logged onto survey; broke-off	2.12	58
Logged onto survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	36
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	651
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		2
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		6,107
Completed interviews	I	5,360
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	745
Non-contact	NC	2
Other	O	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		6,107
AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	73%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 80	57%
Response rate to Wave 80 survey	88%
Cumulative response rate	4%

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**2021 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 80 JANUARY 2021
FINAL TOPLINE
JANUARY 8-12, 2021
N=5,360**

ASK ALL:

YEARAHEAD Looking ahead, as far as you are concerned, do you think that 2021 will be... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Jan 8-12 <u>2021</u>		Jan 6-19, <u>2020</u>
67	Better than 2020	55
32	Worse than 2020	43
1	No answer	2

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Looking ahead, as far as you are concerned, do you think that [coming year] will be better or worse than [prior year]?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 8-13, 2020	55	34	11
Jan 9-14, 2019	47	43	10
Jan 10-15, 2018	61	29	11
Jan 4-9, 2017	49	42	9
Jan 7-14, 2016	56	30	14
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	49	42	9
Jan 15-19, 2014	56	35	9
Dec 5-9, 2012	55	36	9
Jan 11-16, 2012	57	29	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	55	31	14
Jan 6-10, 2010	67	26	8
Jan 7-11, 2009	52	37	11
December, 2007	50	34	16
December, 2006	57	28	15
December, 1999	66	19	15
December, 1998	59	25	16
December, 1994	59	28	13
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1993	64	20	16
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1992	61	11	28
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1991	61	31	8
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1990	48	42	10
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1986	53	25	22
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1985	64	20	17
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1984	61	20	19
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1982	50	32	18
<i>Gallup:</i> December, 1981	41	44	15

ASK ALL:

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

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>No answer</u>
Jan 8-12, 2021	29	68	3
July 27-Aug 2, 2020	38	59	3
June 16-22, 2020	39	59	2
Apr 7-12, 2020	44	53	3
Mar 19-24, 2020	45	52	2
Jan 6-19, 2020	40	58	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	40	59	1
July 22-Aug 4, 2019	40	59	1
Apr 29-May 13, 2019	40	59	1
Feb 4-17, 2019	38	61	1
Nov 7-13, 2018	41	58	1
Sep 24-Oct 7, 2018	38	61	2
Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	40	59	2
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	38	60	2
Aug 8-21, 2017	36	63	1
Apr 4-18, 2017	39	61	1
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017 ²	44	56	1

ASK ALL:

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

ASK IF ANSWERED POL1DT (POL1DT=1,2) [N=5,229]:

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

BASED ON TOTAL:

	NET	<i>Very</i>	<i>Not so</i>	<i>No</i>	NET	<i>Very</i>	<i>Not so</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>
	<u>Approve</u>	<i>strongly</i>	<i>strongly</i>	<i>answer</i>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<i>strongly</i>	<i>strongly</i>	<i>answer</i>	<i>answer</i>
Jan 8-12, 2021	29	21	7	*	68	56	12	*	3
June 16-22, 2020	39	29	9	1	59	48	11	*	2
Apr 7-12, 2020	44	33	10	1	53	42	11	*	3
Mar 19-24, 2020	45	34	10	1	52	40	11	*	2
Jan 6-19, 2020	40	31	9	*	58	46	11	1	1
Sep 3-15, 2019	40	31	9	*	58	46	11	1	1
Apr 29-May 13, 2019	40	29	10	*	59	48	10	*	1
Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	40	31	9	*	59	48	10	*	2
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018	38	29	9	*	60	48	12	*	2
Aug 8-21, 2017	36	26	10	*	63	49	13	*	1
Apr 4-18, 2017	39	27	12	*	61	45	15	*	1
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017 ³	44	30	13	*	56	43	12	*	1

² The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only.³ The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only.

ASK ALL:
JAN6HEARD

How much, if anything, have you read or heard about rioting at the U.S. Capitol in Washington DC on January 6, when, following a protest earlier in the day, supporters of Donald Trump broke into the Capitol building while the Senate and House were in the process of certifying Electoral College votes?

Jan 8-12,
2021

69	A lot
28	A little
3	Nothing at all
*	No answer

ASK ALL:
JAN6REACT

Please describe, in a few words, your reaction to rioting at the Capitol. [OPEN-END]

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=2,684]:

Jan 8-12,
2021

37	NET: Negative emotion
35	<i>Anguished/Awful/Horrified/Shocked</i>
3	<i>Angry</i>
3	<i>Scared/Fearful/Terrified</i>
14	Surprised/concerned about future of country
13	NET: Trump/GOP to blame
12	<i>Trump is to blame</i>
2	<i>Republican leaders to blame</i>
9	NET: Criticism of law enforcement response/preparation
5	<i>Police response too slow/underprepared/inadequate</i>
4	<i>Perpetrators treated differently because they were mostly white</i>
8	NET: Criminal acts/Punishment needed
5	<i>Coup/Domestic terrorism/sedition</i>
3	<i>Perpetrators need to be punished</i>
8	Doubt/Don't think it was Trump supporters
6	Not surprised/inevitable
5	NET: Democrats at fault/Rationale was justified
3	<i>Reasons justified</i>
2	<i>Democrats fault</i>
4	It started out peaceful
4	NET: Similar to/Not as bad as Black Lives Matter and other events
3	<i>Similar to other events like Black Lives Matter</i>
1	<i>Not as bad as Black Lives Matter/other events</i>
2	Not Trump's fault
1	Criticism of media
1	Entertaining/funny
11	'Bad thing' unspecified/other description
6	Other description/emotion
10	Refused

ASK ALL:

JAN6_DTRESP

How much responsibility, if any, does Donald Trump bear for the violence and destruction committed by some of his supporters after they broke into the U.S. Capitol?

Jan 8-12,
2021

52	A lot
23	A little
24	Nothing at all
1	No answer

ASK ALL:

TRMP_RMV

As you know, Donald Trump's term in office ends Jan. 20. Which do you think would be better for the country?

Jan 8-12,
2021

45	For Trump to remain in office until his term is completed
54	For Trump to be removed from office, with Mike Pence finishing out the last few days of his term
2	No answer

ASK ALL:

PRESINAUG

Do you plan to watch Joe Biden's inauguration later this month?

Jan 8-12,
2021

53	Yes
46	No
1	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Do you plan to watch ___'s inauguration later this month?

	Trump	Obama	Clinton
	Jan 4-9	January	<i>US News</i> January
	<u>2017</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>1993</u>
Yes	46	67	57
No	51	28	32
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	5	11

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=2,684]:

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

Jan 8-12,
2021

58	Approve
39	Disapprove
3	No answer

PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,676]:

PRESWHERE Would you say Joe Biden has clear goals for where he wants to lead the country?

Jan 8-12,
2021

58	Yes
40	No
2	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Would you say that you have a good idea where Donald Trump wants to lead the country, or would you say his goals are not very clear?

	Trump (RVs) Nov 10-14 <u>2016</u>	Obama <i>LA Times/Bloomberg</i> ⁴ (RVs) Dec <u>2008</u>
Good idea where Donald Trump wants to lead the country	49	57
His goals are not very clear	49	34
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	9

⁴ In LA Times/Bloomberg survey, question was asked of Barack Obama, based on registered voters.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,676]:

JBSUCCESS In the long run, do you think Joe Biden will be...

Jan 8-12,
2021

29	A successful president
26	An unsuccessful president
44	Too early to tell
1	No answer

TREND FOR COMPARISON:*In the long run, do you think Donald Trump will be...*Jan 6-19,
2020

34	A successful president
48	An unsuccessful president
18	Too early to tell
1	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON*In the long run, do you think Donald Trump will be a successful or unsuccessful president, or do you think it is too early to tell?*

	<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>	<u>Too early to tell</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Trump				
Jan 8-13, 2020	36	37	26	1
Jan 9-14, 2019	29	47	23	1
Jan 10-15, 2018	23	41	34	1
Jan 4-9, 2017	21	20	58	1
Obama				
Jan 7-14, 2016	37	34	26	3
Jan 7-11, 2015	32	38	29	2
Jan 15-19, 2014	28	34	35	3
Jun 12-16, 2013	34	31	33	2
Jan 9-13, 2013	33	26	39	2
Jan 11-16, 2012	27	32	39	2
Jan 5-9, 2011	25	26	47	2
Jan 6-10, 2010	24	21	52	3
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	27	18	54	2
Jan 7-11, 2009	30	4	65	1
Bush				
January, 2007	24	45	27	4
January, 2006	27	37	32	4
Early October, 2005	26	41	30	3
January, 2005	36	27	35	2
December, 2003	39	20	38	3
Early October, 2002	40	15	44	1
January, 2001	26	15	58	1
Clinton				
January, 1999	44	24	29	3
Early September, 1998	38	24	35	3
February, 1995	18	34	43	5
October, 1994	14	35	48	3
May, 1994	21	26	52	1
January, 1994	21	19	57	3
October, 1993	18	25	56	1

PHONE TREND CONTINUED...

	<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>	<u>Too early to tell</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
September, 1993	22	22	54	2
August, 1993	13	25	60	2

ASK ALL:

JB_WASH All in all, what effect will Joe Biden have on the way the federal government works in Washington. Will he...

Jan 8-12,

2021

46	Make things better
28	Make things worse
24	Not have much of an effect
1	No answer

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=2,684]:

BIDECAB So far, would you say you approve or disapprove of Joe Biden's cabinet choices and other high-level appointments?

Jan 8-12,

2021

57	Approve
37	Disapprove
5	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

So far, would you say you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump's cabinet choices and other high-level appointments?

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Trump	Jan 4-9, 2017	41	49	9
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	40	51	9
Obama	Jan 7-11, 2009	66	17	17
	December, 2008	71	17	12
Bush	January, 2001	58	16	26
Clinton	<i>U.S. News & World</i>			
	<i>Report: January, 1993</i>	64	15	21
Bush	<i>ABC: January, 1989</i>	59	15	26

TREND FOR COMPARISON: *Now let me ask you about President-elect Reagan's Cabinet appointments. How would you rate his appointment of... the cabinet as a whole? Would you say it was an excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor appointment?"*

Reagan

Harris

January

1981

52	Excellent/Good
34	Only fair/Poor
14	Don't know

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,676]:

JBAPPT Do you think it's a good thing or a bad thing that many of Joe Biden's top advisors worked in the Obama administration?

Jan 8-12,
2021

58	Good thing
39	Bad thing
3	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Do you think it's a good thing or a bad thing that many of Barack Obama's top advisors worked in the Clinton administration?

	Obama <u>Jan 2009</u>	Obama <u>Dec 2008</u>	Bush <u>Jan 2001⁵</u>
Good thing	59	63	56
Bad thing	21	22	29
Neither/Doesn't matter (VOL.)	8	7	n/a
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	8	15

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,676]:

VP2PRES As you may know, Kamala Harris is Vice President elect. Do you think that Kamala Harris is...

Jan 8-12, 2021

50	Qualified to be president
47	Not qualified to be president
3	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Do you think that Mike Pence is qualified to be President if something were to happen to Donald Trump?

Nov 30-Dec 5
2016

54	Yes, is qualified
30	No, is not qualified
15	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Do you think that Dan Quayle is qualified to be President if something were to happen to George Bush?

	----- Time/CNN/Yankelovich -----					
	January <u>1989⁶</u>	July <u>1990</u>	November <u>1990⁷</u>	May <u>1991</u>	December <u>1991</u>	June <u>1992</u>
Yes, is qualified	30	25	24	36	36	28
No, is not qualified	52	65	65	50	55	66
Not sure	18	10	11	14	9	6

⁵ In 2001, the question was worded: "Do you think it's a good thing or a bad thing that many of George W. Bush's top advisors worked in his father's administration?"

⁶ In January 1989 survey, question was worded: "Do you think that Senator Quayle is qualified to be President if something were to happen to George Bush?"

⁷ In November 1990 survey, question was worded: "Do you think that (Vice President) Quayle is qualified to be President if something were to happen to George Bush?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,676]:

HARRI_INFL How much influence do you think Kamala Harris will have within the Biden administration?
[RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]

Jan 8-12, 2021

36	Too much influence
7	Too little influence
55	About the right amount of influence
2	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

How much influence do you think ___ will have within the ___ administration?

	Pence/Trump <u>Nov 30-Dec 5 2016</u>	Cheney/Bush <u>January 2001⁸</u>	<i>CBS/NYT</i> Gore/Clinton <u>February 1993⁹</u>
Too much	21	12	6
Too little	21	12	25
About the right amount	50	58	52
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	18	17

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

⁸ In January 2001 survey, question was worded: "How much influence do you think Dick Cheney is having within the Bush Administration... too much, too little or about the right amount?"

⁹ In February 1993 survey, question was worded: "Do you think Al Gore will have too much influence, or about the right amount of influence on the decisions Bill Clinton makes as President?"

ASK ALL:
ETHICSJB

With Biden as president, do you think the overall level of ethics and honesty in the federal government will... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

Jan 8-12,
2021

46	Rise
30	Fall
24	Stay the same
1	No answer

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON

Do you think the overall level of ethics and honesty in the federal government will rise, fall or stay the same with ___ as president?

	Trump <u>Jan 4-9 2017</u>	Clinton <u>January 1997</u>	Clinton <u>January 1993</u>
Rise	29	16	35
Fall	34	26	13
Stay the same	33	55	50
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	2	3

-----ABC News/WaPo-----

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=2,684]:**

PRESWITHOP This year, do you think Joe Biden should... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Jan 8-12,
2021

74	Try as best he can to work with Republican congressional leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some people who voted for him
23	Stand up to Republican congressional leaders on issues that are important to his supporters, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country
3	No answer

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=2,676]:

OPWITHPRES This year, do you think Republican congressional leaders should... **[RANDOMIZE]**

Jan 8-12,
2021

66	Try as best they can to work with Joe Biden to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some Republican voters
31	Stand up to Joe Biden on issues that are important to Republican voters, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country
3	No answer

[RANDOMIZE POSTELEC_BIDE AND POSTELEC_TRMP AND SHOW ON SAME PAGE]**ASK ALL:**

POSTELEC_BIDE How would you rate Joe Biden's conduct since the presidential election on November 3rd?

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

ASK ALL:

POSTELEC_TRMP How would you rate Donald Trump's conduct since the presidential election on November 3rd?

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

ASK ALL:

BDIDEO Which best describes your impression of Joe Biden's views **[REVERSE SCALE FOR RANDOM ½ OF RESPONDENTS]**

Jan 8-12, <u>2021</u>	
4	He has conservative views on ALMOST ALL issues
4	He has conservative views on MOST issues
39	His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal
25	He has liberal views on MOST issues
23	He has liberal views on ALMOST ALL issues
4	No answer
9	NET conservative views
49	NET liberal views

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**ASK DEM OR LEAN DEM (XPARTYSUM=2) [N=2,919]:**

BIDEFOCUS Thinking about what Joe Biden will do as president, do you think he will listen...
[RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]

Jan 8-12, <u>2021</u>	
9	More to liberal Democrats
28	More to moderate Democrats
62	About equally to moderate and liberal Democrats
1	No answer

ASK ALL:
WON20

As you may know, Donald Trump contested the results of the 2020 election through legal challenges in various states and the Supreme Court. Those challenges were not successful.

Who do you think won the 2020 election – that is, who received the most votes cast by eligible voters in enough states to win the election? **[REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS]**

Jan 8-12,
2021

53	Joe Biden definitely won
13	Joe Biden probably won
17	Donald Trump probably won
16	Donald Trump definitely won
1	No answer
66	NET Joe Biden won
33	NET Donald Trump won

ASK ALL:
JBWON

How much of a reason, if at all, are each of the following for the result of the 2020 presidential election? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREENS 1 AND 2, RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON EACH SCREEN]**

		<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CHT	There was widespread illegal voting and fraud Jan 8-12, 2021	31	14	54	1
CMPN	Biden ran a better campaign than Trump Jan 8-12, 2021	28	24	47	1
NWS	There was too little attention given to Trump's successes Jan 8-12, 2021	31	20	49	1
BSE	Trump did not do enough to reach beyond his base of supporters Jan 8-12, 2021	36	25	38	1
ESY	More citizens were able to vote early or vote by mail Jan 8-12, 2021	57	23	20	1
DV	Many voters were excited to vote against Trump Jan 8-12, 2021	63	22	14	1
CVD	The Trump administration did not do a good enough job handling the coronavirus outbreak				
FW	There was too little attention given to Biden's flaws Jan 8-12, 2021	30	25	44	1

ASK ALL:

ELCT_ILG

Thinking about U.S. elections in general, how often, if at all, do you think political candidates or campaigns do things that are illegal in order to make sure they have the best possible chance to win?

Jan 8-12,

2021

36	Often
43	Sometimes
17	Hardly ever
3	Never
1	No answer

ASK IF CANDIDATES OFTEN, SOMETIMES OR HARDLY EVER DO THIS (ELCT_ILG=1-3) [N=5,185]:

ELCT_PTYILG

And thinking about those political candidates or campaigns that do things that are illegal in order to make sure they have the best possible chance to win, would you say this is... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

Jan 8-12,

2021

27	More often done by Democrats than Republicans
26	More often done by Republicans than Democrats
46	About equally by Democrats and Republicans
2	No answer

ASK ALL:

TRUMPFUT

Thinking about after Biden's inauguration, would you, personally, like to see Donald Trump continue to be a major national political figure for many years to come?

Jan 8-12,

2021

29	Yes
68	No
2	No answer

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING [N=1,963]:

PARTYLN

As of today do you lean more to...¹⁰

<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>Something else</u>	<u>No answer</u>	<u>Lean Rep</u>	<u>Lean Dem</u>
27	32	26	14	1	17	17

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

(U)

Pew Research Center/USA Today polls

¹⁰ Party and PartyIn asked in a prior survey.