

**2021 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 80 JANUARY SURVEY
JANUARY 8 – 12, 2021¹**

ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Better than 2020
- 2 Worse than 2020

Looking ahead, as far as you are concerned, do you think that 2021 will be...

☐ Better than 2020

☐ Worse than 2020

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ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove

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

☐ Approve

☐ Disapprove

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ASK IF POL1DT=1,2:

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

- 1 Very strongly
- 2 Not so strongly

Do you approve of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president...

☐ Very strongly

☐ Not so strongly

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¹ Open-end responses are excluded from public datasets to protect the confidentiality of ATP panelists

Do you disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president...

- ☐ Very strongly
☐ Not so strongly

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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?

- 1 A lot
 2 A little
 3 Nothing at all

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?

- ☐ A lot
☐ A little
☐ Nothing at all

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ASK ALL:

JAN6REACT

Please describe, in just a few words, your reaction to the rioting at the U.S. Capitol.

[TEXT BOX]

Please describe, in just a few words, your reaction to the rioting at the U.S. Capitol.

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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?

- 1 A lot
 2 Some
 3 None at all

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?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ None at all

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ASK ALL:

TRMP_RMV

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

- 1 For Trump to remain in office until his term is completed
- 2 For Trump to be removed from office, with Mike Pence finishing out the last few days of his term

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

- ☐ For Trump to remain in office until his term is completed
- ☐ For Trump to be removed from office, with Mike Pence finishing out the last few days of his term

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ASK ALL:

PRESINAUG

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

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

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

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove

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?

- ☐ Approve
☐ Disapprove

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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

- 1 Yes
 2 No

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

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

JBSUCCESS In the long run, do you think Joe Biden will be... **[RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

- 1 A successful president
 2 An unsuccessful president
 3 Too early to tell **[ANCHOR]**

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

- ☐ A successful president
☐ An unsuccessful president
☐ Too early to tell

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ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Make things better
 2 Make things worse
 3 Not have much of an effect

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

- ☐ Make things better
- ☐ Make things worse
- ☐ Not have much of an effect

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

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

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove

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

- ☐ Approve
- ☐ Disapprove

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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?

- 1 Good thing
- 2 Bad thing

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?

- ☐ Good thing
- ☐ Bad thing

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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

- 1 Qualified to be president
- 2 Not qualified to be president

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

- ☐ Qualified to be president
☐ Not qualified to be president

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

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]**

- 1 Too much influence
 2 Too little influence
 3 About the right amount of influence **[ANCHOR]**

How much influence do you think Kamala Harris will have within the Biden administration?

- ☐ Too little influence
☐ Too much influence
☐ About the right amount of influence

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ASK ALL:

PRIPRES How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREENS 1 AND 2 FOR EACH FORM]

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [SCREEN ONE, RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON SCREEN]

PRIPRES_JOB Improving the job situation
 PRIPRES_BD Reducing the budget deficit
 PRIPRES_CRI Reducing crime
 PRIPRES_CVD Dealing with the coronavirus outbreak
 PRIPRES_HC Reducing health care costs

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [SCREEN 2, RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON SCREEN]

PRIPRES_TER Defending the country from future terrorist attacks
 PRIPRES_GT Dealing with global trade issues
 PRIPRES_EDU Improving the educational system
 PRIPRES_INF Improving the country's roads, bridges and public transportation systems
 PRIPRES_SC Taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [SCREEN 1, RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON SCREEN]

PRIPRES_IMM Dealing with the issue of immigration
 PRIPRES_EC Strengthening the nation's economy
 PRIPRES_GCC Dealing with global climate change
 PRIPRES_JUS Addressing issues within the criminal justice system

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [SCREEN 2, RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON SCREEN]

PRIPRES_POOR Dealing with the problems of poor people

PRIPRES_MIL Strengthening the U.S. military

PRIPRES_POL Improving the way the political system works in the U.S.

PRIPRES_RA Addressing issues around race in this country

PRIPRES_DA Dealing with drug addiction

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Top priority
- 2 Important but lower priority
- 3 Not too important
- 4 Should not be done

How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Dealing with the coronavirus outbreak

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing the budget deficit

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Improving the job situation

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing crime

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing health care costs

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Improving the educational system

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Improving the country's roads, bridges and public transportation systems

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Dealing with global trade issues

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Defending the country from future terrorist attacks

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Improving the way the political system works in the U.S.

- ☒ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Strengthening the U.S. military

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Addressing issues around race in this country

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Dealing with drug addiction

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Dealing with the problems of poor people

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Strengthening the nation's economy

☐ Top priority

☐ Important but lower priority

☐ Not too important

☐ Should not be done

Dealing with the issue of immigration

☐ Top priority

☐ Important but lower priority

☒ Not too important

☐ Should not be done

Addressing issues within the criminal justice system

☐ Top priority

☐ Important but lower priority

☐ Not too important

☐ Should not be done

Dealing with global climate change

☐ Top priority

☐ Important but lower priority

☐ Not too important

☐ Should not be done

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ASK ALL:

COVID_2ASSISTLD

As you may know, Congress and President Trump passed a second major economic assistance package in December in response to the economic impact of the coronavirus outbreak.

Do you think another economic assistance package will be...

- 1 Necessary
- 2 Not necessary

As you may know, Congress and President Trump passed a second major economic assistance package in December in response to the economic impact of the coronavirus outbreak.

Do you think another economic assistance package will be...

☐ Necessary

☐ Not necessary

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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]**

- 1 Rise
- 2 Fall
- 3 Stay the same

With Biden as president, do you think the overall level of ethics and honesty in the federal government will...

- ☐ Fall
- ☐ Rise
- ☐ Stay the same

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ASK ALL:

ELCTCOLLB

Thinking for a moment about the way in which the president is elected in this country, which would you prefer? **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Change the current system, so the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide wins the election
- 2 Keep the current system, in which the candidate who wins the most votes in the Electoral College wins the election

Thinking for a moment about the way in which the president is elected in this country, which would you prefer?

- ☐ Change the current system, so the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide wins the election
- ☐ Keep the current system, in which the candidate who wins the most votes in the Electoral College wins the election

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ASK FORM 1:

PRESWITHOP

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

- 1 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
- 2 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

This year, do you think Joe Biden should...

- ☐ 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
- ☐ 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

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ASK FORM 2:

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

- 1 Try as best they can to work with Joe Biden to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some Republican voters
- 2 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

This year, do you think Republican congressional leaders should...

- ☐ Try as best they can to work with Joe Biden to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some Republican voters
- ☐ 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

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[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?

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only fair
- 4 Poor

ASK ALL:

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

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only fair
- 4 Poor

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

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Only fair
- ☐ Poor

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

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Only fair
- ☐ Poor

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ASK ALL:

BDIDEO

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

- 1 He has conservative views on ALMOST ALL issues
- 2 He has conservative views on MOST issues
- 3 His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal
- 4 He has liberal views on MOST issues
- 5 He has liberal views on ALMOST ALL issues

Which best describes your impression of Joe Biden's views?

- ☐ He has liberal views on ALMOST ALL issues
- ☐ He has liberal views on MOST issues
- ☐ His views on issues are a mix of conservative and liberal
- ☐ He has conservative views on MOST issues
- ☐ He has conservative views on ALMOST ALL issues

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ASK ALL:

PRESGRPS_INFL Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence.

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Joe Biden taking office?

[RANDOMIZE SCREEN 1 AND 2]**ASK FORM 1 ONLY SCREEN 1 [RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON PAGE]**

PRESGRPS_BP Black people
 PRESGRPS_HP Hispanic people
 PRESGRPS_WP White people
 PRESGRPS_AAP Asian American people

ASK FORM 1 ONLY SCREEN 2 [RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON PAGE]

PRESGRPS_BC Business corporations
 PRESGRPS_MIL The military
 PRESGRPS_OLD Older people
 PRESGRPS_YNG Younger people

ASK FORM 2 ONLY SCREEN 1 [RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON PAGE]

PRESGRPS_EC Evangelical Christians
 PRESGRPS_MEN Men
 PRESGRPS_WMN Women
 PRESGRPS_UN Unions

ASK FORM 2 ONLY SCREEN 2 [RANDOMIZE ITEMS ON PAGE]

PRESGRPS_PR Poor people
 PRESGRPS_CHI Children
 PRESGRPS_WLTH Wealthy people
 PRESGRPS_LGB Gay and lesbian people

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Gain influence
- 2 Lose influence
- 3 Not be affected

Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence.

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Joe Biden taking office?

Black people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Hispanic people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Asian American people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

White people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

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Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence.

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Joe Biden taking office?

The military

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Younger people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Older people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Business corporations

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

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Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence.

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Joe Biden taking office?

Poor people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Gay and lesbian people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Children

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Wealthy people

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

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Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence.

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Joe Biden taking office?

Women

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Unions

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Men

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

Evangelical Christians

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

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ASK ALL:

PRESGRPS_YOU

And do you think people like yourself will...

- 1 Gain influence
- 2 Lose influence
- 3 Not be affected

And do you think people like yourself will...

- ☐ Gain influence
- ☐ Lose influence
- ☐ Not be affected

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ASK DEM OR LEAN DEM (XPARTYSUM=2):

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]

- 1 More to liberal Democrats
- 2 More to moderate Democrats
- 3 About equally to moderate and liberal Democrats **[ANCHOR]**

Thinking about what Joe Biden will do as president, do you think he will listen...

☐ More to liberal Democrats
 ☐ More to moderate Democrats
 ☐ About equally to moderate and liberal Democrats

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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]**

- 1 Joe Biden definitely won
- 2 Joe Biden probably won
- 3 Donald Trump probably won
- 4 Donald Trump definitely won

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?

☐ Donald Trump definitely won
 ☐ Donald Trump probably won
 ☐ Joe Biden probably won
 ☐ Joe Biden definitely won

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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]**

[SHOW FOLLOWING ITEMS ON SCREEN 1]

JBWON_CHT There was widespread illegal voting and fraud
 JBWON_CMPN Biden ran a better campaign than Trump
 JBWON_NWS There was too little attention given to Trump's successes
 JBWON_BSE Trump did not do enough to reach beyond his base of supporters

[SHOW FOLLOWING ITEMS ON SCREEN 2]

JBWON_ESY More citizens were able to vote early or vote by mail
 JBWON_DV Many voters were excited to vote against Trump
 JBWON_CVD The Trump administration did not do a good enough job handling the coronavirus outbreak
 JBWON_FW There was too little attention given to Biden's flaws

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Major reason
- 2 Minor reason
- 3 Not a reason

How much of a reason, if at all, are each of the following for the result of the 2020 presidential election?

There was too little attention given to Biden's flaws

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

Many voters were excited to vote against Trump

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

More citizens were able to vote early or vote by mail

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

The Trump administration did not do a good enough job handling the coronavirus outbreak

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

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How much of a reason, if at all, are each of the following for the result of the 2020 presidential election?

There was widespread illegal voting and fraud

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

There was too little attention given to Trump's successes

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

Trump did not do enough to reach beyond his base of supporters

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

Biden ran a better campaign than Trump

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

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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?

- 1 Often
- 2 Sometimes
- 3 Hardly ever
- 4 Never

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?

- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Hardly ever
- ☐ Never

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ASK IF CANDIDATES OFTEN, SOMETIMES OR HARDLY EVER DO THIS (ELCT_ILG=1-3):

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]**

- 1 More often done by Democrats than Republicans
- 2 More often done by Republicans than Democrats
- 3 Done about equally by Democrats and Republicans **[ANCHOR]**

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...

- ☐ More often done by Democrats than Republicans
- ☐ More often done by Republicans than Democrats
- ☐ Done about equally by Democrats and Republicans

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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?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

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?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

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

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

Note: Flag to identify party/party lean

Source: Frame file variable F_PARTYSUM_FINAL