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Low Marks for Major Players in 2016 Election – Including the Winner

Half of voters are happy Trump won; Democrats take a hard line

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Low Marks for Major Players in 2016 Election – Including the Winner

Half of voters are happy Trump won; Democrats take a hard line

For most voters, the 2016 presidential campaign was one to forget. Post-election evaluations of the way that the winning candidate, the parties, the press and the pollsters conducted themselves during the campaign are all far more negative than after any election dating back to 1988.

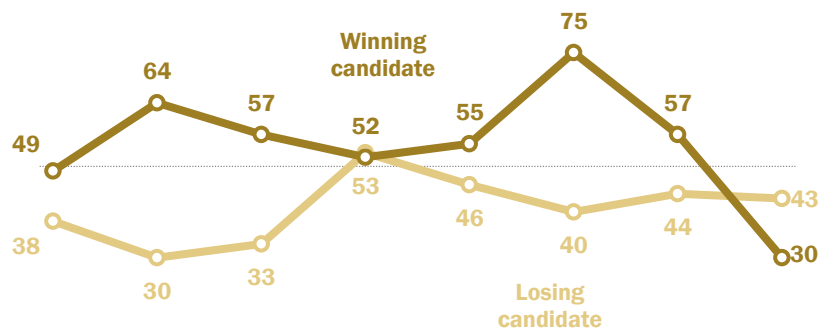
The quadrennial post-election survey by Pew Research Center, conducted November 10-14 among 1,254 voters who were originally interviewed before the election, finds that half are happy that Trump won the election, while nearly as many (48%) are unhappy. That is little different from initial reactions to the election result four years ago, when 52% were happy that Barack Obama won.

But voters' "grades" for the way Trump conducted himself during the campaign are the lowest for any victorious candidate in 28 years. Just 30% of voters give Trump an A or B, 19% grade

him at C, 15% D, while about a third (35%) give Trump a failing grade. Four years ago, most voters (57%) gave Obama an A or B, and after his 2008 election, 75% gave him an A or B.

Voters give Trump worse grades than they have for any winning candidate in recent decades

% of voters who give each candidate a grade of "A" or "B" for the way they conducted themselves over the course of the campaign



1988	1992	1996	2000*	2004	2008	2012	2016
Bush Dukakis	Bush Clinton	Dole Clinton	Bush Gore	Bush Kerry	McCain Obama	Romney Obama	Trump Clinton

Notes: Percent of "A" or "B" grades on an A, B, C, D, F scale.

*In 2000, Bush is labeled as winning candidate, Gore as losing candidate, though at the time of the survey the results of the election had not been declared.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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For the first time in Pew Research Center post-election surveys, voters give the losing candidate higher grades than the winner. About four-in-ten (43%) give Clinton an A or B, which is comparable to the share giving Mitt Romney top letter grades in 2012 (44%) and 13 percentage points higher than Trump's (30%).

After a bitter and contentious campaign, voters are deeply polarized in their reactions to Trump's victory and expectations for his presidency. Among all voters, 56% expect Trump to have a successful first term, which is lower than the share saying that about Obama's first term eight years ago (67%), but on par with expectations for Obama's second term in November 2012 (also 56%).

Virtually all of Trump's supporters (97%) say they expect Trump's first term to be successful; a smaller, but still overwhelming majority of Clinton supporters (76%) say Trump will be unsuccessful.

Trump voters have a high degree of confidence in – and high expectations for – the president-elect. Fully 88% say they are confident in the kind of president Trump will be, while 90% or more express at least a fair amount of confidence in his ability to deal with key issues such as the economy, illegal immigration and health care.

By contrast, Clinton voters express little or no confidence in Trump to deal with major issues. And while a majority of Clinton voters (58%) say they are “willing to give Trump a chance and see how he governs as president,” nearly four-in-ten (39%) say they can't see themselves giving Trump a chance “because of the kind of person he has shown himself to be.”

Large share of Trump voters are confident in kind of president he'll be

% of Trump voters who say ...

Have serious concerns about what kind of president Trump will be **Confident about the kind of president Trump will be**

10

88

Note: Don't know/other responses not shown. Q7b.
Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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How Clinton voters feel about 'giving Trump a chance'

% of Clinton voters who say ...

Can't see myself giving Trump a chance because of kind of person he has shown himself to be **Willing to give Trump a chance to see how he governs**

39

58

Note: Don't know/other responses not shown. Q7a.
Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Equally important, most Democrats would like to see their party's leaders stand up to Trump rather than work with him. In fact, Democratic support for cooperation with the president-elect today is substantially less than GOP support for working with Obama eight years ago.

Nearly two-thirds of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters (65%) say "Democratic leaders should stand up to Donald Trump on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if means less gets done in Washington." Just 32% want the party's leaders to work with Trump if it means disappointing Democrats.

In November 2008 – a time when voters generally felt much better about the election and its outcome – Republicans and Republican leaners were more favorably disposed to their party's leaders working with Obama. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) said GOP leaders should work with Obama, while 36% wanted them to "stand up" to the new president.

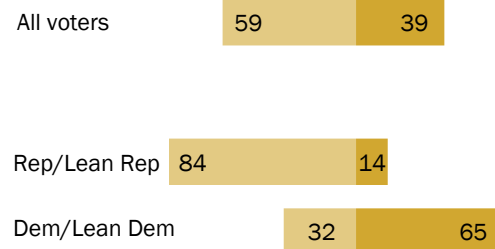
And Democratic voters are now far more supportive of the party moving in a more liberal direction than they were after either the 2012 or 2008 elections. About half of all Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters (49%) say Democratic leaders in Washington should move in a more liberal direction, while nearly as many (47%) favor a more moderate approach. Following Obama's victories, majorities favored the party's leaders moving in a more moderate direction (57% in both 2012 and 2008).

Most Clinton voters want Democratic leaders to stand up to Trump

% of voters saying Democratic leaders should ...

November 2016

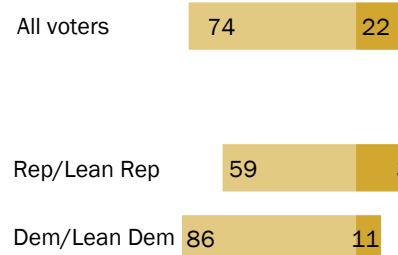
Work with Trump to get things done, even if it disappoints supporters Stand up to Trump on issues important to Dems, even if less gets done in Washington



November 2008

% of voters saying Republican leaders should ...

Work with Obama to get things done, even if it disappoints supporters Stand up to Obama on issues important to Reps, even if less gets done in Washington



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q54F1.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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For their part, more than half of Republican and Republican-leaning voters (53%) say Trump should work with Democratic leaders in Congress, who are in the minority in both the House and Senate, while 39% say he should stand up to Democratic leaders.

However, few Trump voters have a positive view of Trump reaching across partisan lines for appointments to his administration.

Only about a quarter (26%) of Trump voters say the president-elect should appoint Democrats to serve in his administration. Twice as many (52%) say it does not matter, while 21% say Trump should not name Democrats to his cabinet.

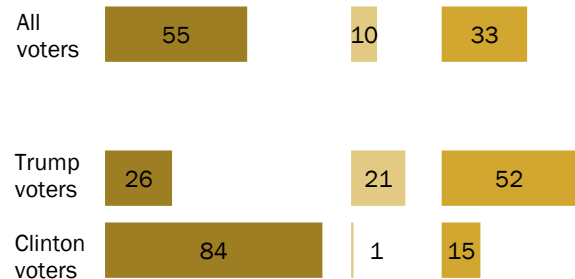
In 2008, after Obama's first victory, 52% of voters who supported him said he should appoint Republicans to his cabinet, double the share of Trump backers who favor Democrats in his cabinet today.

Relatively few Trump backers want him to appoint Democrats to key positions

% of voters saying Donald Trump _____ appoint Democrats to serve in important positions in his administration.

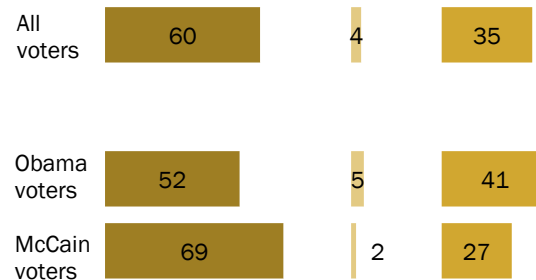
■ Should ■ Should not ■ Doesn't matter

November 2016



November 2008

% of voters who said Barack Obama _____ appoint Republicans to serve in important positions in his administration.



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q68.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Grading the 2016 election

Donald Trump receives low grades for how he conducted himself over the course of the campaign, but voters grade other campaign actors just as harshly and in some cases even more harshly. Only about a quarter give an A or B to the Republican Party (22%) and the Democratic Party (26%). About three-in-ten give the parties an F (30% for Republican Party, 28% Democratic Party), by far the highest share giving the parties failing grades since this series of surveys began in 1988.

Voters also give abysmal grades to the press and pollsters, whose [pre-election surveys were widely criticized](#). Just 22% give the press a grade of an A or B, while 38% give it a failing grade. Similarly, fewer voters award pollsters grades of A or B (21%) than a grade of F (30%).

And voters do not spare themselves from criticism. Just 40% give “the voters” a grade of A or B – the lowest percentage after any election since 1996.

[As our surveys found throughout the campaign](#), voters view the 2016 contest as extraordinarily negative. Fully 92% say there was more “mudslinging” or negative campaigning than in past elections – which is 20 percentage points higher than the previous high (72% after the 2004 election).

And while a large majority of voters (81%) feel they learned enough about the candidates to make an informed choice, a record 73% say that there was less discussion of issues compared with past presidential campaigns.

Election report card: Barely passing grades

	% who give each A or B	Average grade
Trump	30	C-
Clinton	43	C
Rep Party	22	D+
Dem Party	26	C-
The press	22	D+
The pollsters	21	D+
The voters	40	C+

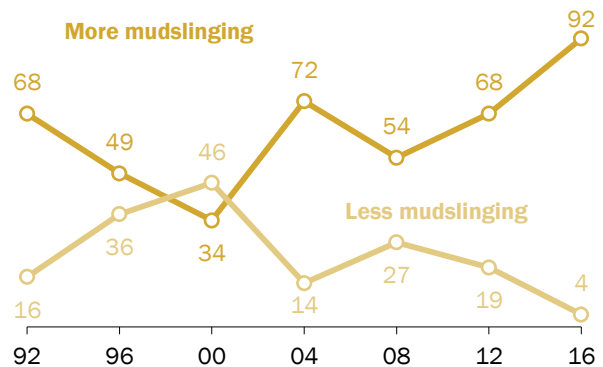
Note: Based on voters. Q24.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Record share of voters say there was more campaign ‘mudslinging’

% of voters who say there was ____ than in past elections



Note: Don't know/other responses not shown. Q26.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Election reactions: Nearly all Trump supporters feel ‘hopeful’

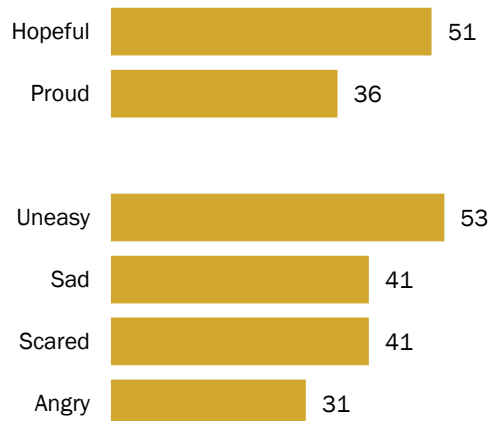
Trump’s upset victory came as a surprise to most voters. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of all voters – including 87% of Clinton supporters and 60% of Trump backers – say they were surprised by Trump’s victory.

About half of voters (53%) say his election makes them feel “uneasy,” while nearly as many (51%) say it makes them feel “hopeful.” Smaller shares say his election triumph makes them feel “scared,” “sad” (41% each), “proud” (36%) or “angry” (31%).

Among Trump voters, 96% say his election made them feel hopeful, while 74% said they feel proud. Substantial majorities of Clinton voters say they feel uneasy (90%), sad (77%) and scared (76%) about Trump’s victory. Very few Clinton voters say they feel hopeful (7%) or proud (only 1%).

Top reactions to Trump’s victory – ‘uneasy,’ ‘hopeful’

% of voters who say the election of Donald Trump makes them feel ...



Note: Q45.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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When voters are asked to summarize their feelings about Trump's victory in a word, the unexpected nature of the result is reflected. Among Trump supporters, "happy" is mentioned most often, while many point to their surprise or shock at the election.

For Clinton voters, "shocked" is the most frequent response, followed by "disappointed" and "disgusted." Other Clinton voters noted their surprise or disbelief about Trump's victory.

Trump's victory in a word

What one word best describes your reaction to Donald Trump winning the presidential election this year?

(Number mentioning each word; not percentages)

Trump voters		Clinton voters	
67	Happy	101	Shocked
60	Surprised	68	Disappointed
46	Relieved	45	Disgusted
29	Shocked	36	Surprised
26	Hopeful	29	Horrorified
26	Elated	18	Sad
25	Great	16	Devastated
18	Ecstatic	16	Fearful
16	Excited	14	Disbelief
15	Glad	10	Stunned
12	Awesome	9	Scared
12	Good	8	Dismayed
11	Pleased	8	Sickening
10	Change	8	Unbelievable
9	Thankful	7	Disastrous
N=533		N=587	

Notes: Based on voters. **Figures show actual number of respondents who offered each response; these numbers are not percentages.** Responses shown for seven or more mentions. Q7.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Other important findings

Voters pessimistic on how Trump will impact race relations. Nearly half of voters (46%) say Trump's election will lead to worse race relations, while only about half as many (25%) expect race relations to improve; 26% say his election won't make a difference. Among Clinton voters, 84% expect race relations to worsen under Trump. Among Trump supporters, half expect improvement, while 38% say his election won't make a difference.

Post-victory, most Trump backers confident in an accurate vote count. [In August](#), just 38% of registered voters who supported Trump were very confident that their vote would be counted accurately. But in the aftermath of Trump's victory, 75% expressed confidence that their votes *were* counted accurately. The views of Clinton supporters showed no change: After the election 67% were confident that their votes were counted accurately.

Most expect woman president, eventually.

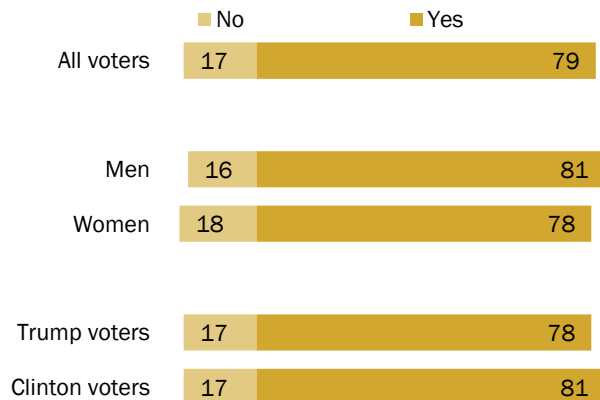
Following Clinton's defeat, a sizable majority of voters (79%) still expect there will be a female president "in their lifetime." There are no significant differences in these opinions among men and women, or Clinton supporters and Trump backers.

Voters say press has too much influence.

Voters grade the press very negatively, and most (57%) say it had too much influence on the outcome of the election. Just 27% say the press had the right amount of influence on the election, while 13% say it had too little influence. About six-in-ten Trump voters (62%) say the press had too much influence, as do 50% of Clinton voters.

Will the country elect a female president in your lifetime?

% of voters who say ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q46bb.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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1. Presidential election reactions and expectations

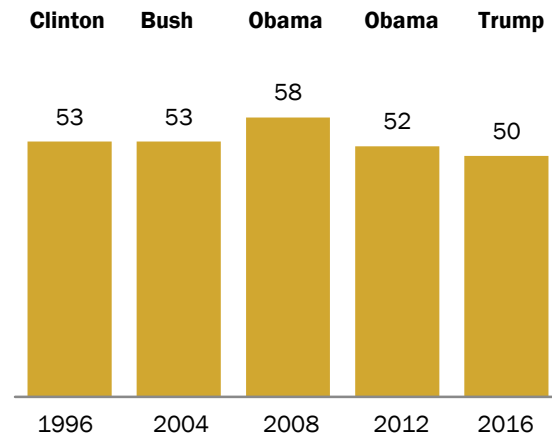
Half of voters say they are happy Donald Trump was elected president, while about as many (48%) say that they are unhappy. Reactions are similar to 2012 (when 52% said they were happy Obama was reelected), but they are less positive than after Obama's first presidential campaign in 2008, when 58% said they were happy he was elected.

Not surprisingly, 97% of Trump voters say they are happy he won, while 93% of Clinton voters say they are unhappy. While wide majorities of voters for the losing presidential candidate are always broadly dissatisfied with the election outcome, this phenomenon was less pronounced eight years ago; in 2008, 77% of McCain supporters said they were unhappy Obama won and 13% said they were happy.

One reaction to the election outcome that most Trump and Clinton supporters share is surprise. Overall, 73% of all voters say they are surprised that Trump won the election, including 87% of Clinton voters. A somewhat smaller 60%-majority of Trump voters express surprise at the outcome, though 40% say they are not surprised he won.

Half say they are happy Trump was elected president

% of voters who say they are happy that _____ was elected president ...



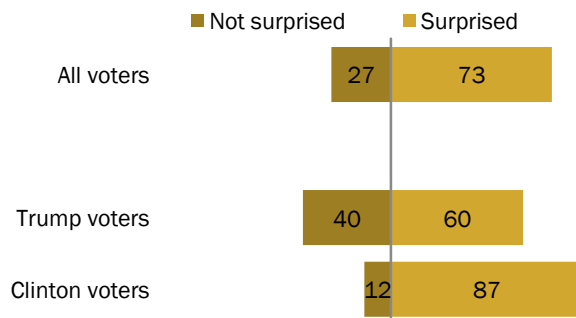
Note: Q39.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Most voters say they are surprised that Trump won the presidential election

% of voters who say they are _____ Donald Trump won the presidential election ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q14.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Emotional reactions to Trump's election

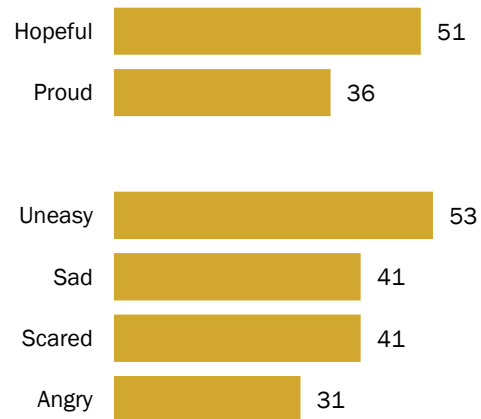
Voters express a mix of emotional reactions to the election of Donald Trump. On the positive side, 51% say that Trump's election makes them feel hopeful; somewhat fewer say it makes them feel proud (36%).

On the negative side, 53% say Trump's election makes them feel uneasy. About four-in-ten say his election makes them feel sad (41%) or scared (41%), and 31% say the election of Trump makes them feel angry.

Eight years ago, voters' emotional reactions to Obama's election were somewhat more positive. In response to a slightly differently worded question that asked about how Obama made them feel – as opposed to how the *election* of Obama made them feel – fully 69% of voters said he made them feel hopeful, while just 35% said that he made them feel uneasy.

Many voters say they feel 'uneasy' about the election of Trump

% of voters who say the election of Donald Trump makes them feel ...



Note: Q45.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Nearly all Trump supporters (96%) say that his election makes them feel hopeful. A somewhat smaller – but still wide – majority of Trump supporters say that his election makes them feel proud (74%).

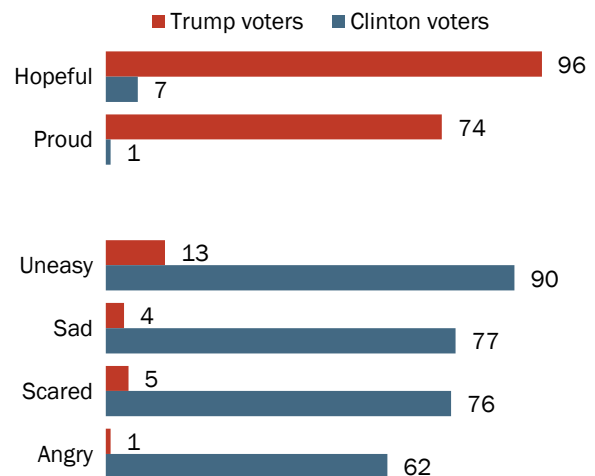
Among Clinton supporters, the most widespread reaction to Trump's victory is unease: 90% say the election of Trump makes them feel uneasy. About three-quarters say his election makes them feel sad (77%) or scared (76%). While less widespread than other negative reactions, most Clinton supporters (62%) also say Trump's election makes them feel angry.

Though majorities of Clinton supporters across demographic groups express unease, sadness, fear and anger about the election of Trump, Clinton voters with college degrees are more likely than those with less education to express anger and sadness. About seven-in-ten Clinton voters with a bachelor's degree or higher (69%) say Trump's election makes them feel angry; a narrower 56% majority of Clinton voters with less education say this.

And while 70% of Clinton voters who have not graduated from college say Trump's election makes them feel sad, fully 85% who have college degrees say that it does.

Trump voters overwhelmingly feel 'hopeful' about his election

% of Trump/Clinton voters who say the election of Trump makes them feel ...



Note: Q45.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Will Trump have a successful first term?

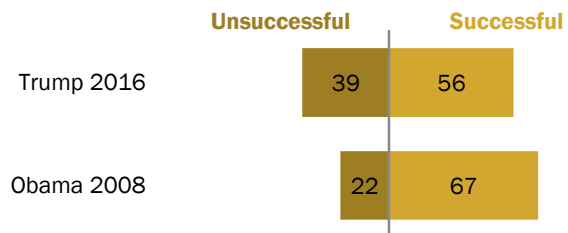
On balance, voters are optimistic about Trump's first term: 56% say it's more likely that Trump will have a successful first term, while 39% say it's more likely that he'll have an unsuccessful first term. Overall views on this question are about the same as they were four years ago, after Barack Obama's reelection, but are less positive than in 2008. Following Obama's victory over John McCain eight years ago, 67% of voters expected Obama would have a successful first term.

An overwhelming 97% of Trump voters expect him to have a successful first term; this is comparable to the 92% of Obama voters who said this about their candidate in 2008.

Views of Trump's first term among Clinton voters are broadly negative and they are more negative than expectations were for Obama's first term among John McCain's supporters in 2008. Overall, just 15% of Clinton supporters think Trump's first term will be successful, while 76% think it will be unsuccessful. In 2008, nearly four-in-ten McCain supporters (39%) thought Obama would have a successful first term.

More expect Trump's first term to be successful than unsuccessful

% of voters who say ____ will have a successful first term ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q40.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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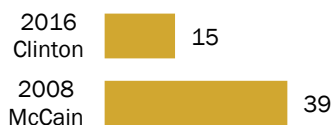
Less optimism for first term among losing candidates' voters in '16 than '08

% of voters who say Trump/Obama will have a successful first term ...

Among winning candidate's voters



Among losing candidate's voters



Note: Q40.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

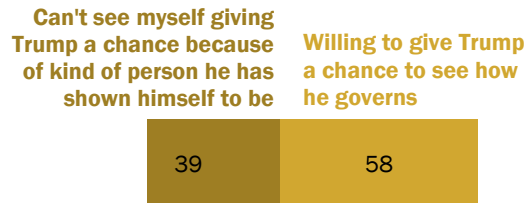
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Can Clinton voters give Trump a chance?

While expectations for Trump's administration among Clinton voters are low, 58% say they're "willing to give Trump a chance and see how he governs." But nearly four-in-ten Clinton voters (39%) say "I can't see myself giving Trump a chance because of the kind of person he has shown himself to be." Clinton supporters expressed highly negative evaluations of Trump throughout the campaign. For example, in October registered voters who supported Clinton [said Trump lacked respect for a wide range of groups](#), including women, blacks, Hispanics, immigrants and Muslims.

Most Clinton supporters willing to give Trump a chance -- but many are not

% of Clinton voters who say ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q7a.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

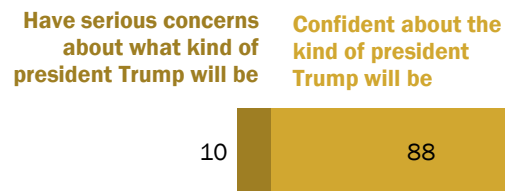
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Clinton voters under the ages of 18-49 are somewhat less likely to say they are willing to give Trump a chance (52%) than are Clinton supporters age 50 and older (64%). There are only modest differences across other demographic groups among Clinton supporters.

In the wake of Trump's election, there is little sign of concern among his voters about the type of president he will be. Overall, 88% of Trump voters say they are confident about the kind of president he will be, while just 10% say they have serious concerns about the kind of president he will be.

Trump voters confident in the type of president he will be

% of Trump voters who say ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q7b.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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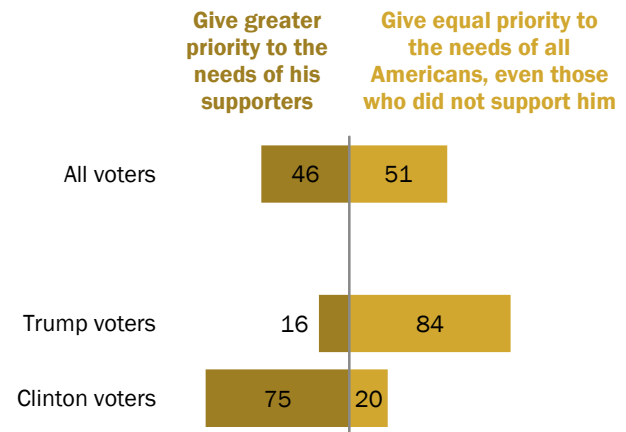
Voters split on whether Trump will favor the needs of his supporters

After a heated general election campaign, voters are divided over whether they think Trump will put the needs of those who supported him in the election ahead of the needs of other Americans. Overall, 51% say that Trump will give equal priority to all Americans, including those who did not support him; 46% say Trump will give greater priority to the needs of those who supported him in the election.

However, these views largely divide along lines of support: Trump voters overwhelmingly say that he will give equal priority to the needs of all Americans (84%). By contrast, 75% of Clinton voters think he will give greater priority to the needs of his supporters.

Will Donald Trump prioritize needs of all Americans or those of his supporters?

% of voters who say that as president, Trump will ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q70.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Views of how Trump will change Washington

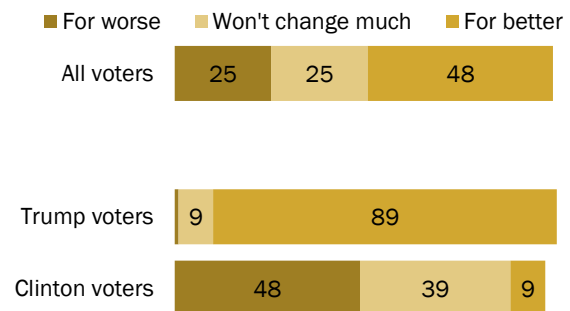
About half of voters (48%) say they think Trump will change the way things work in Washington for the better, 25% think he will change things for the worse and 25% do not think he will change things much either way.

Overwhelmingly, Trump voters expect their candidate to bring positive change to Washington: 89% think he will change the way things work for the better, while just 9% don't think he'll change things much either way and 1% say he'll change things for the worse.

Clinton voters are split in their views: 48% think Trump will change the way things work in Washington for the worse, while 39% don't expect him to change things much either way and just 9% think he will change Washington for the better.

More say Trump will change things in Washington for better than worse

% of voters who say Donald Trump will change the way things work in Washington ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q43.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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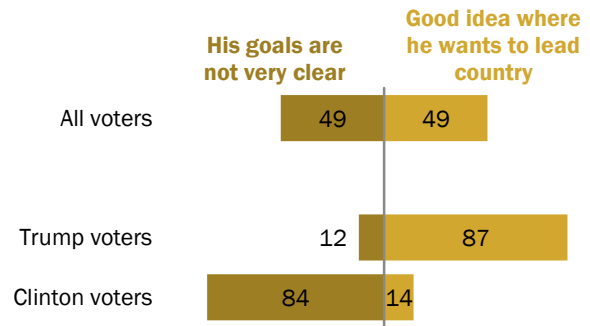
Many voters not clear on Trump's goals and vision for country

While most voters say that Trump will change Washington – either for the better or for the worse – many say they do not have a good idea of Trump's vision for the country. As many voters say they have a good idea of where Trump wants to lead the country (49%) as say his goals are not very clear (49%).

By 87%-12%, Trump voters say they have a good idea of where Trump wants to lead the country. Opinion is the reverse among Clinton voters. Fully 84% of her supporters say Trump's goals are not very clear, while just 14% say they have a good idea of where he wants to take the country.

Most Clinton voters do not have clear sense of Trump's goals and vision

% of voters who say ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q41.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Health care tops list of priorities voters suggest Trump tackle first

Voters offer a mix of ideas for what Trump's first priority should be as president. In an open-ended question, 20% of voters suggest health care as Trump's first priority – the most of any other issue area voters named. Roughly one-in-ten name the economy (12%), immigration (10%), unifying the country (8%) and jobs and unemployment (8%) as the top priority issues Trump should address as president.

Another 6% of voters think Trump's first priority should be to change his personal behavior and address divisions stoked during his campaign.

Fewer mention environmental issues and climate change, as well as foreign policy, as Trump's first priority as president (3% each).

Nearly three-in-ten (29%) Trump voters name health care as Trump's first priority as president, compared with fewer Clinton voters (12%) who say the same (*note that while most voters who mentioned health care did not*

mention what they'd like to see done, among those who did mention what they'd like to see done, Trump voters were more likely to mention repealing the Affordable Care Act, while Clinton voters were more likely to mention maintaining it, or fixing it). Trump voters also were slightly more likely than Clinton voters to name the economy (15% vs. 9%) and immigration (15% vs. 6%). Trump and Clinton voters were about equally likely to say that jobs (10% vs. 7%) should be the main priority of the president-elect.

Among Clinton voters, about a quarter (23%) offer as their top priority for Trump suggestions about healing divisions: 12% say that Trump should prioritize unifying the country, while 11% want to see him change his personal behavior and address divisions he created during his campaign.

What should Trump's first priority be as president?

% of voters saying Trump's first issue priority should be...

	All voters %	Trump voters %	Clinton voters %
Health care/Obamacare	20	29	12
Economy	12	15	9
Immigration/Secure border	10	15	6
Unify the country	8	5	12
Jobs/Unemployment	8	10	7
Change personal behavior/ Address divisions he has created	6	1	11
Defense/National security	3	4	2
Environmental issues/ Climate change	3	*	6
Foreign policy	3	1	4

Notes: Open-ended question. Responses offered by at least 3% shown here. See topline for full set of responses.

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses. Q43a.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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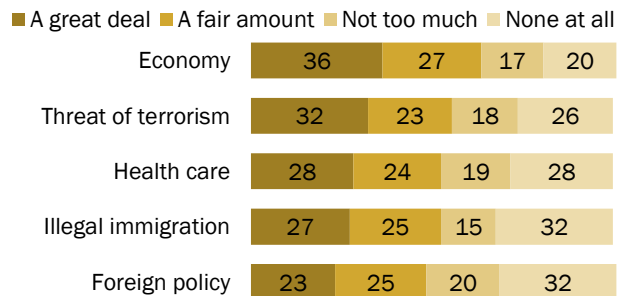
Mixed views of confidence in Trump on major issues

When asked how much confidence they have in Trump to “do the right thing” dealing with five major issues, Trump performs best when it comes to dealing with the economy: 62% of voters have a great deal or a fair amount of confidence in him in this area, including 36% who express a great deal of confidence in Trump, while 37% say they have little or no confidence in him. And 56% have at least a fair amount of confidence in Trump to do the right thing regarding the threat of terrorism, while 44% say they have little or no confidence in him on this issue.

In three other areas: dealing with health care, illegal immigration and foreign policy, voters’ views are more divided, with roughly half of voters expressing little or no confidence in Trump on these issues and about half expressing at least a fair amount of confidence.

Voters most confident in Trump doing right thing on economy and terrorism

% of voters who say they have confidence in Donald Trump to do the right thing when dealing with ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q46.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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At least nine-in-ten Trump voters say they have at least a fair amount of confidence in him on each of these five issues. However, the share expressing a great deal of confidence in Trump varies by issue. Seven-in-ten of his voters have a great deal of confidence that he will do the right thing on the economy (70%), and nearly as many (64%) say this about the threat of terrorism. Yet fewer express a great deal of confidence that he will do the right thing when it comes to health care (58%) or illegal immigration (55%), and only about half (47%) of Trump voters express a great deal of confidence in him on foreign policy.

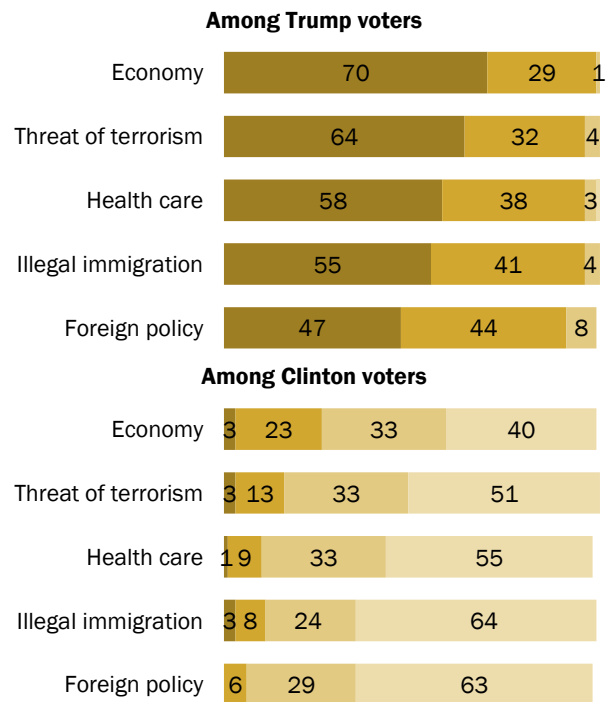
Conversely, most Clinton voters say they have not too much or no confidence at all that Trump will do the right thing on all of these issues. On four of five issues, over 80% of Clinton supporters say they have not too much or no confidence. Nearly two-thirds of Clinton supporters say they have no confidence at all in Trump to do the right thing when it comes to illegal immigration (64%) or foreign policy (63%). However, just 40% say they have no confidence in Trump when it comes to dealing with the economy.

Despite the vast gulf in confidence between Clinton and Trump voters, both sides tend to give Trump relatively better – or worse – ratings on the same issues. For example, both give Trump his best marks on the economy – where the largest share (27%) of Clinton supporters say they have at least a fair amount of confidence and 99% of Trump supporters say the same. Similarly, confidence in Trump is weaker on foreign policy among both his supporters and Clinton’s.

Trump voters confident he will do right thing on issues; Clinton voters are not

% of voters who say they have confidence in Donald Trump to do the right thing when dealing with ...

■ A great deal ■ A fair amount ■ Not too much ■ None at all



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q46.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Few voters expect Trump's election to lead to improved race relations

Voters are skeptical that Trump's election as president will lead to better race relations in the United States: Just a quarter (25%) think this is the case. By contrast, 46% of voters say race relations will get worse after Trump's election, and 26% say his election will make no difference.

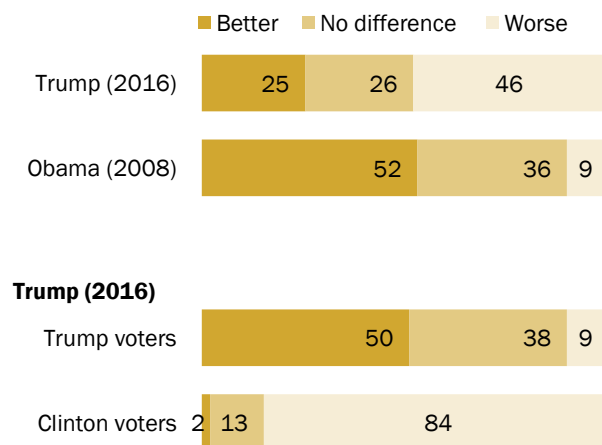
Voters were much more optimistic that Obama would have a positive impact on race relations in the days following his 2008 election: 52% said his election would lead to improving race relations, while just 9% said they would worsen (36% expected little change).

There are stark differences by vote choice in opinion on progress for race relations after Trump's election. Half of Trump voters (50%) expect race relations to get better, and 38% think his election will make no difference; just 9% think race relations will get worse.

On the other hand, an overwhelming majority of Clinton voters (84%) think Trump's election will lead to worse race relations in the country. Few Clinton voters think his election will make no difference (13%) or lead to better race relations (2%). In 2008, Obama voters were more optimistic than McCain's that race relations would improve (69% vs. 34%); still, just 17% of McCain's voters expected relations would worsen (a 45% plurality said Obama's election would not make a difference).

More voters expect race relations to worsen than say they will improve

% of voters who say election of (Trump/Obama) will lead to _____ race relations



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q46aa.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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2. Prospects for bipartisan cooperation, ideological direction of the parties

In a major survey of opinions about government last year, 79% of Americans said the country is more politically divided than in the past. In the wake of Trump's election, few expect partisan relations in Washington to improve.

Today, about a quarter of voters (27%) think that relations between the two parties will improve in the coming year, while as many (27%) say they will worsen; 45% expect they will stay about the same.

Trump voters are much more optimistic in their feelings about the prospect of a better relationship. Nearly half of Trump voters (47%) feel that partisan relations will improve compared with only 9% who say they will get worse (43% expect little change).

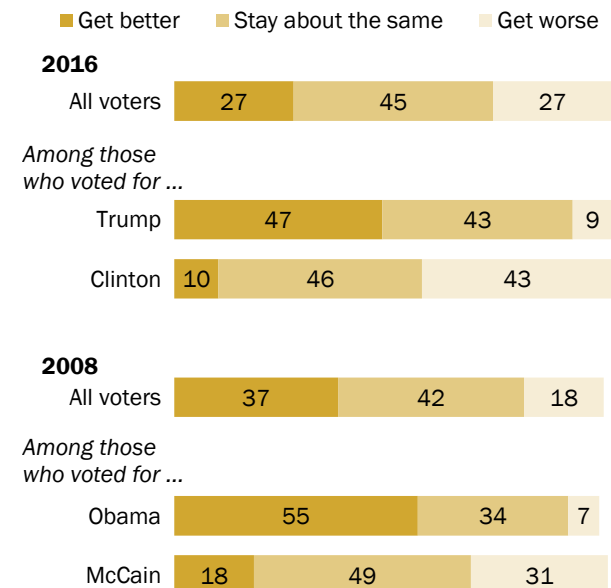
Among Clinton voters, 46% say relations will be little changed in the next year, while 43% say they will worsen; just 10% say they will get better.

There was somewhat more optimism about improved partisan relations eight years ago, after Obama's first victory. At that time, 37% expected relations between Republicans and Democrats to get better, while just 18% said they would get worse; 42% expected little change.

Trump's supporters are slightly less optimistic about improvements in partisan relations than Obama voters were eight years ago (47% of Trump voters expect improvements, 55% of Obama voters did in 2008). And Clinton voters are more likely than McCain voters were in 2008 to say relations will get worse (43% of her voters say this today, 31% of McCain's said this in 2008).

Will relations between Republicans and Democrats improve?

% of voters saying Republican and Democratic relations in Washington will ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q67.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Should Trump and Democratic leadership work together?

Almost three quarters (73%) of all voters – including 55% of his own supporters and fully 90% of Clinton’s – say that Donald Trump should try as best he can to work with Democratic leaders in Washington to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Republican supporters.

About four-in-ten Trump voters (37%) say that he should stand up to the Democrats – who are in the minority in both the House and Senate – on issues that are important to Republican supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington.

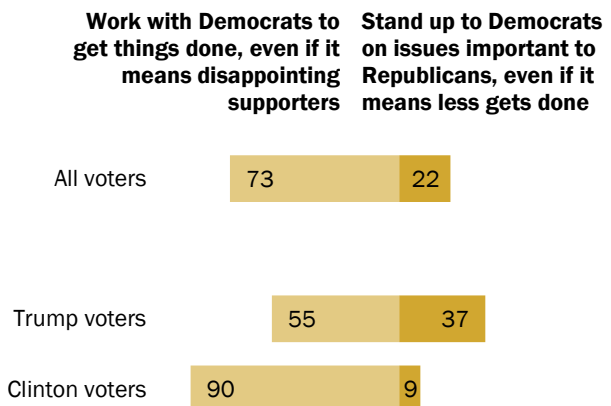
In 2012, the pattern of opinion was very similar: 56% of Obama voters and 90% of Romney backers wanted to see Obama work with Republicans, who controlled the House at the time.

But the partisan divide between voters who supported the winning candidate and voters who supported the losing candidate is larger this year than in 2008 on a similar question asked about whether Democratic leaders should work with Republicans.

In 2008, as Barack Obama was first preparing to enter office, nearly eight-in-ten (78%) of Obama’s voters said that Democratic leaders in Washington should work with Republicans even at the risk of disappointing their supporters, and a similar proportion of McCain’s voters (76%) said the same.

Most voters say Trump should try as best he can to work with Democrats

% of voters who say Donald Trump should...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q55.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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While a large majority wants Trump to work with Democrats, somewhat fewer say the reverse: 59% of voters say Democratic leaders should try to work with Trump even if it means disappointing some Democrats. Nearly four-in-ten (39%) want Democrats to “stand up” to Trump, even if it means less is accomplished.

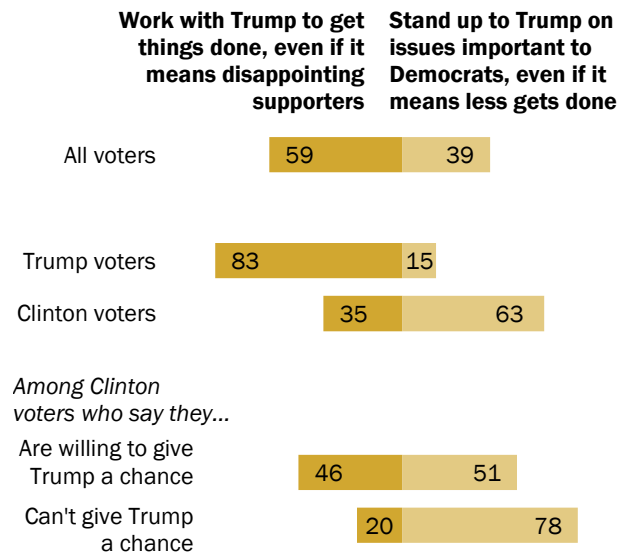
More than eight-in-ten Trump voters (83%) say Democratic leaders should work with Trump to get things done even if it means disappointing their supporters, but that view is held by just 35% of Clinton voters. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of Clinton voters say that Democrats should stand up to Trump on issues that are important to Democrats even if it means less gets done in Washington.

This contrasts with the feelings among those who voted for the losing candidate in 2008, when 58% of McCain voters said Republican leaders should try their best to work with Obama.

Among the majority of Clinton voters (58%) who say they are “willing to give Trump a chance and see how he governs,” about half (51%) still want Democratic leaders to stand up to Trump. Among the 39% of Clinton backers who say they can’t see themselves giving Trump a chance, 78% say the same.

Many Clinton voters want Democrats to stand up to Trump on important issues

% of voters who say Democratic leaders should...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q54.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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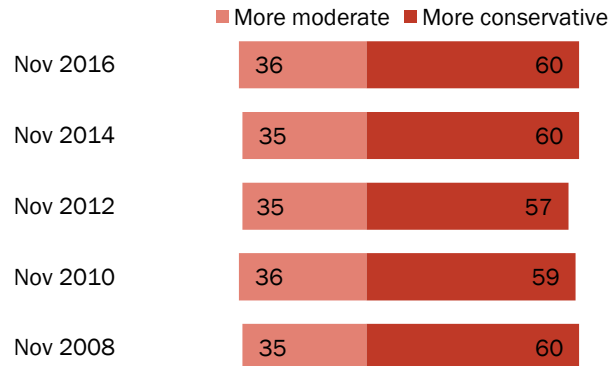
Growing share of Democrats want to see the party move to the left

By a wide margin, Republican and Republican-leaning voters continue to want to see the GOP head in a more conservative, rather than moderate, direction. Today, 60% say they want to see the party move in a conservative direction, while 36% say they'd like to see more moderation. This is little changed from recent years.

Democrats are more divided over whether their party's future should be more liberal (49%) or more moderate (47%). The share of Democratic voters who would like to see a more liberal stance is up significantly from recent years. Two years ago, in the week after the midterm election, just 38% wanted to see the party move to the left. And following both of Obama's presidential victories, only a third of Democratic voters said this.

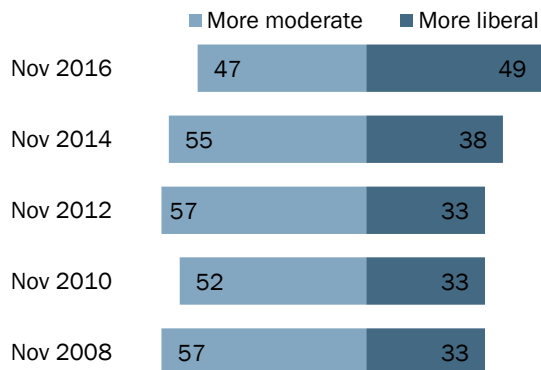
Most Republicans continue to say GOP should be more conservative

% of Republican/Rep-leaning voters who would like to see their party move in a _____ direction ...



As the share of Democrats who want their party to be more liberal grows

% of Democratic/Dem-leaning voters who would like to see their party move in a _____ direction ...



Notes: Data from 2008, 2012 and 2016 based on voters. Data from 2010 and 2014 based on registered voters. Don't know responses not shown. Q78 & Q79. Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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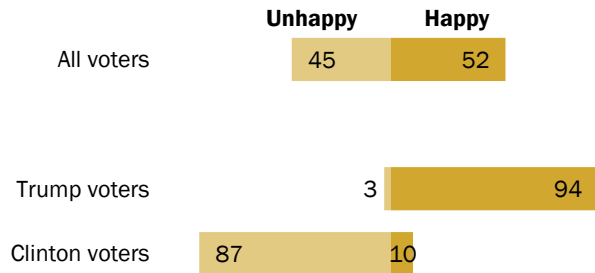
Divided reaction to the GOP maintaining congressional control

Voters have mixed reactions to the results of congressional elections. About half (52%) of voters say they are happy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress, while 45% say they are unhappy.

These feelings predictably align by support for the top of the ticket. Trump voters overwhelmingly say they are happy (94%) the GOP retained congressional control, while the vast majority of Clinton supporters (87%) are unhappy.

Voters have mixed reactions to GOP retaining congressional majority

% of voters who are _____ that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q44.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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3. Voters' evaluations of the campaign

When voters are asked to grade the candidates, parties and press on how they conducted themselves during the presidential campaign, they award the lowest grades for nearly all involved since the quadrennial post-election surveys began in 1988.

Just 30% of voters give Donald Trump a grade of A or B, 19% give him C, while half grade his conduct at either D (15%) or F (35%). Trump receives a C- grade on average.

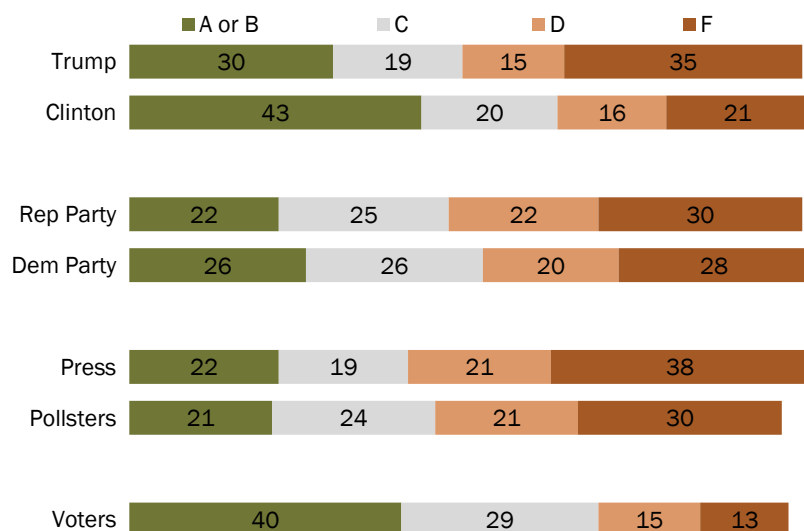
Hillary Clinton's grades are better than Trump's, which marks the first time a losing candidate has received more positive grades than the winner. Clinton receives an A or B from 43% of voters; 20% award Clinton a C, while nearly four-in-ten give Clinton a D (16%) or F (21%). Clinton's average grade is a C.

Few voters give high ratings to the political parties. Only about a quarter overall give the Republican Party (22%) and Democratic Party (26%) an A or B; roughly three-in-ten give each of the parties an F (30% for the Republican Party, 28% for the Democratic Party). On average, the GOP receives a D+, while the Democratic Party gets a C-.

The press and pollsters also are viewed negatively for their performance during the campaign. Only 22% give the press an A or B grade; 38% give them a failing grade. For pollsters, just 21% give them an A or B, while three-in-ten (30%) give them an F.

Voters grade the parties, press and pollsters quite negatively

% of voters who give each a grade of ____ for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q24.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Voters also are not particularly positive about their own conduct in the campaign. Just 40% say “the voters” deserve a grade of A or B, 29% give them C, 15% D and 13% F. Still, on average, voters give themselves C, which is higher than grades they give other campaign actors aside from Clinton.

Campaign grades 1988-2016

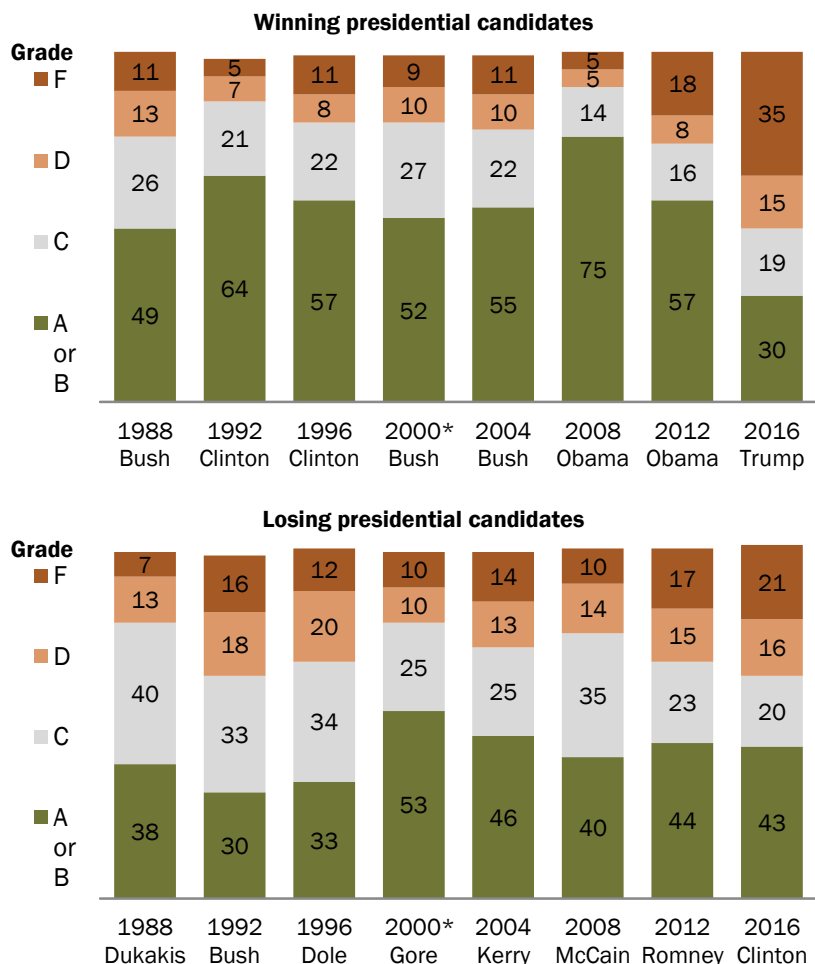
Trump receives historically low grades overall (30% A or B), in part because his own supporters are not all that positive about his campaign conduct. While a majority (58%) of Trump voters give Trump an A or B for his conduct during the campaign, just 17% give him an A.

Barack Obama’s supporters were much more positive about his campaign conduct in 2008 and 2012. In 2008, virtually all Obama voters (97%) gave him a grade of A or B, with 71% giving him an A. In 2012, 91% of Obama voters gave Obama top grades, including 46% who gave him an A.

Trump also gets the lowest grades from supporters of the losing candidate among election winners dating to 1988. Nearly two-thirds of Clinton voters (65%) give Trump a failing grade, by far the highest percentage among

Trump campaign grades at historic low, Clinton’s grades comparable to losing candidates in the past

% of voters who give each a grade of ____ for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign



Notes: *In 2000, Bush is labeled as winning candidate, Gore as losing candidate, though at the time of the survey the results of the election had not been declared.

Don't know responses not shown. Q24.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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the losing candidate's supporters over this period.

Looking at Obama's two campaigns, only 12% of McCain voters gave him a failing grade in 2008, while 37% of Romney voters gave Obama an F four years ago. And just 22% of John Kerry's voters in 2004 gave George W. Bush a failing grade.

Clinton's overall grades are comparable to Romney's in 2012 and only slightly worse than McCain's in 2008. Today, 38% of Trump voters give Clinton a failing grade, similar to the share of Obama supporters who "failed" Romney in 2012 (32%), though just 15% of Obama voters gave McCain an F in 2008.

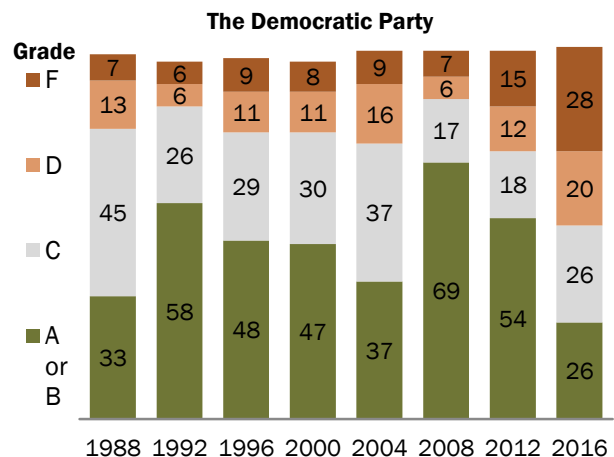
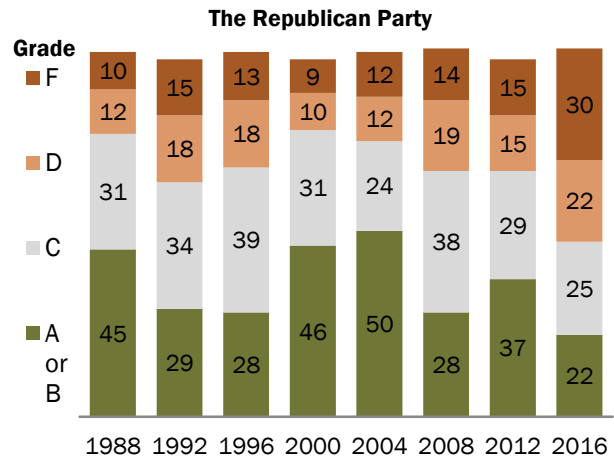
Both political parties receive their lowest grades ever for their conduct during the campaign. In the past, the party that won the White House was graded more positively than the losing party, but that is not the case this year. (In 2000, the grades for the two parties immediately following the election were nearly identical in the post-election survey conducted several weeks before the outcome was certified.)

Overall, just 26% grade the Democratic Party at A or B, while 22% give the same grade to the GOP; nearly identical shares also "fail" both parties (30% Republican, 28% Democratic).

Although the Republican Party won the White House and retained control of the House and Senate, Trump voters are less positive about the performance of the GOP than Romney's supporters were four years ago. Just 38% of Trump voters give the GOP an A or B for its campaign

Both parties receive poor grades for their performance in the campaign

% of voters who give each a grade of ____ for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q24.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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conduct. That is much lower than the 58% of Romney voters who gave the party an A or B in 2012, though about the same as the share of McCain voters who did so four years earlier (43%).

About half of Clinton voters (46%) give the Democratic Party an A or B, which is much lower than the share of Obama voters who did so after his victories (81% in 2012, 90% in 2008).

Both parties receive higher failing grades than in past campaigns. This is largely because both Trump and Clinton voters grade the opposing party harshly: 49% of Clinton voters give a failing grade to the GOP, while 46% of Trump voters “fail” the Democratic Party. In 2012, just 32% of Romney voters gave the Democratic Party an F, while 23% of Obama supporters gave a failing grade to the Republican Party.

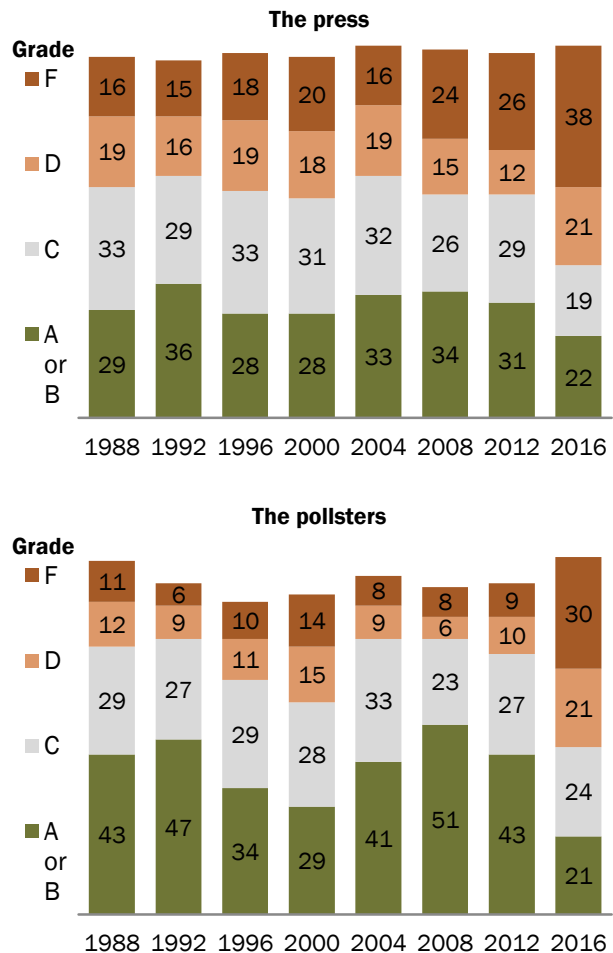
Negative assessments of the way the press and pollsters conducted themselves in the campaign also are higher than in previous elections.

Overall, 38% of voters give the press a failing grade – including 60% of Trump supporters. Voters who back Republican candidates have long been highly critical of the press, but this marks the first time a majority of any presidential candidate’s supporters has “failed” the press for its campaign conduct. In 2008, 44% of McCain voters gave the press a grade of F, as did 45% of Romney voters four years ago.

Clinton supporters grade the press much more positively. Nearly four-in-ten (38%) give the press an A or B, 26% grade it at C, 20% at D and just 15% give it a failing grade. Still, fewer Clinton

Record low grades for the media and pollsters in 2016

% of voters who give each a grade of ____ for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q24.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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supporters give the press an A or B when compared with Obama supporters in 2008 (53% A or B) and 2012 (48%).

And voters offer very negative evaluations of the pollsters. Only 21% of voters give the pollsters a grade of A or B, while 30% give the pollsters an F for their performance. That is the highest percentage giving the pollsters a failing grade in any election dating to 1988.

These low marks for pollsters are shared by Clinton and Trump voters. Only 17% of Trump supporters and 24% of Clinton supporters give pollsters an A or B grade, while about a third (36%) of Trump supporters offer an F, as do 26% of Clinton voters.

As is almost always the case, “the voters” receive lower grades from supporters of the losing candidate than from those who back the winning candidate. Just 27% of Clinton supporters give the voters a grade of A or B; by contrast, a majority of Trump backers (55%) give top grades to the voters.

However, Trump supporters are not as positive about the performance of the voters as Obama supporters were in 2008 (83% A or B) or 2012 (70%). For their part, Clinton voters give the voters lower grades than McCain voters did in 2008 (43% A or B), and about the same grades as Romney supporters gave to the voters in 2012 (29%).

Low satisfaction with voting choices

Voters' satisfaction with the choice of presidential candidates is at its lowest point for any of the last eight presidential elections. And for the first time in this period, a majority of voters (55%) say that ultimately they were not satisfied with their choices for president. Just 44% expressed satisfaction with their options.

In each of the four elections going back to 2000, two-thirds or more of voters expressed satisfaction with the candidates. In 2012, 70% of voters said they were satisfied with their choices; just 28% were not very or not at all satisfied.

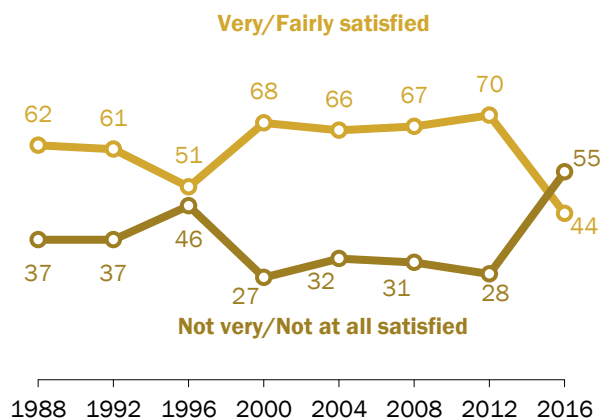
This perspective may have set in early with 2016 voters. In June, registered voters expressed comparably [sour views on their choices](#). Just 40% said they were satisfied with the candidates in the race.

Among those who voted for Trump, 65% said they were satisfied with the field of candidates, which marks a low point for voters who backed the winning candidate in any recent election. Eight years ago, 95% of Obama supporters said they were satisfied with their vote choices, and 87% of Obama voters did so in 2012.

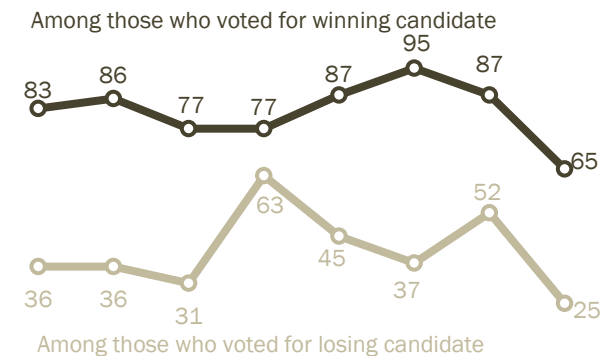
Supporters of losing presidential contenders consistently express less positive views of the field after elections, but Clinton voters are particularly dissatisfied. Only 25% express satisfaction with their options for president this year. Not since Bob Dole lost to Bill Clinton in 1996 have the supporters of a losing candidate expressed so little satisfaction with their choices. Then, just 31% of Dole's voters

For the first time in eight elections, most are dissatisfied with vote choices

% of voters who say they were ____ with the choice of presidential candidates



% of voters who say they were very/fairly satisfied with choice of presidential candidates



1988 1992 1996 2000 2004 2008 2012 2016
 Bush Bush Dole Bush* Bush McCain Romney Trump
 Dukakis Clinton Clinton Gore* Kerry Obama Obama Clinton

Note: *In 2000, Bush is labeled as winning candidate, Gore as losing candidate, though at the time of the survey the results of the election had not been declared. Q15.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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said they were ultimately satisfied with the candidates running.

Campaign viewed as heavy on negative campaigning, light on issues

Voters in 2016 found this presidential campaign to be far more negative than past elections and to include far less discussion of issues than usual.

Almost across the board, voters saw this campaign as more negative than past elections. About nine-in-ten (92%) say there was more mudslinging or negative campaigning compared with previous contests, up from 68% who said that in 2012, up 38 points from 2008 (54% more negative) and 20 points higher than the previous high of 72% in 2004.

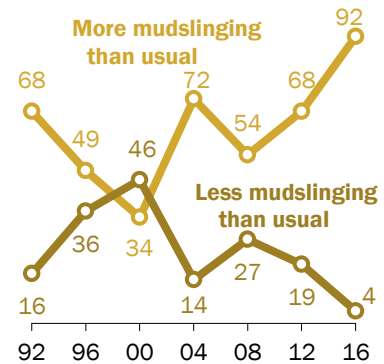
Trump voters and Clinton voters overwhelmingly agree it was a more negative campaign than previous elections (90% and 95%, respectively).

On issues, about three-quarters of voters (73%) say there was less discussion of issues than in past elections, while just 23% say there was more talk of issues. Not since the 1996 election have so many voters said there was less discussion than in typical campaigns.

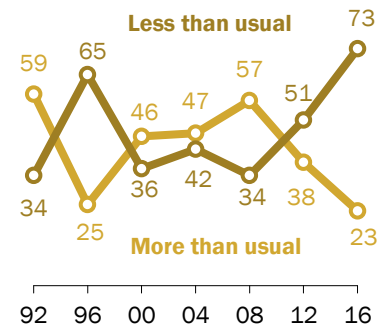
Large majorities of both Trump and Clinton voters say there was less discussion of issues than usual, though Clinton voters are more likely to say this (81% vs. 65%).

More see 'mud-slinging,' less focus on issues

% of voters who say there was ...



% of voters who say discussion of issues was ...



Note: Q25 & Q26.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

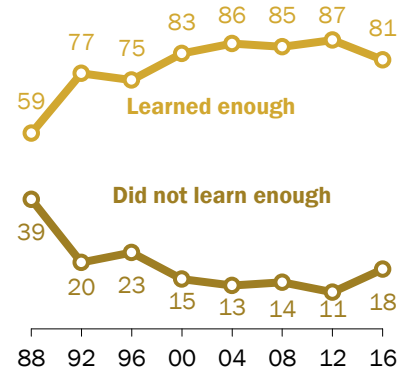
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While most say there was far less discussion of issues, the vast majority of voters (81%) say that they learned enough about the candidates and issues to make an informed choice. The percentage who feels they learned enough to choose a candidate fell slightly from 2012 (87%) but is on par with other recent elections.

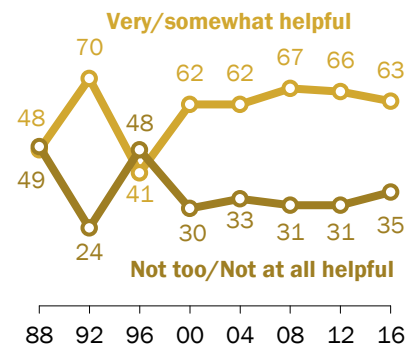
About six-in-ten voters (63%) said the presidential debates were very or somewhat helpful in deciding which candidate to vote for. This is similar to voters' assessments of the debates usefulness in recent elections.

Learning about the candidates and issues

% of voters who say they ____ to make an informed choice



% of voters who say they found the presidential debates ____ in deciding who to vote for



Note: Q17F2 & Q18F2.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Most voters feel news media had too much influence on election outcome

A 57% majority of voters say news organizations had too much influence on the outcome of this year's presidential election, while 13% say the press had too little influence and 27% say the press had the right amount of influence. The share saying news organizations had too much influence on the outcome of the presidential election is the highest it has been since 2000, while the share of those saying the press had about the right amount of influence is the lowest in Pew Research Center polling going back to 1992.

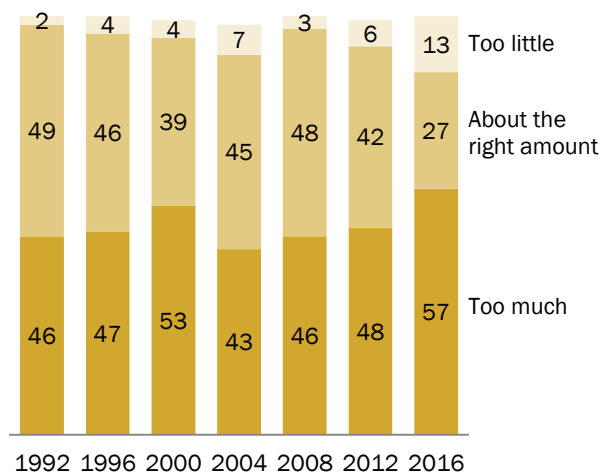
About half of those who voted for Clinton (50%) say news organizations had too much influence on the outcome of the election. This is nearly twice the share of Obama voters who said that the press had too much influence on the outcome in 2012 (29%) or in 2008 (18%), and higher than the 41% of Kerry voters who said this in 2004.

About six-in-ten Trump voters (62%) say news organizations had too much influence on the outcome of the election. Larger shares of Romney (69%) and McCain (77%) voters said the press had too much influence following their election losses. But in 2004, in the days after George W. Bush's reelection, just 45% of Bush voters said news organizations had had too much influence.

Fewer Trump voters (20%) than Clinton voters (34%) say news organizations had about the right amount of influence on the outcome of the election, while similarly small shares of each candidate's voters said the press had too little influence (14% of Clinton voters, 13% of Trump voters).

More say press had 'too much' influence on outcome of the election

% of voters saying news organizations had ____ influence on the outcome of the presidential election



Notes: Don't know responses not shown. Q32.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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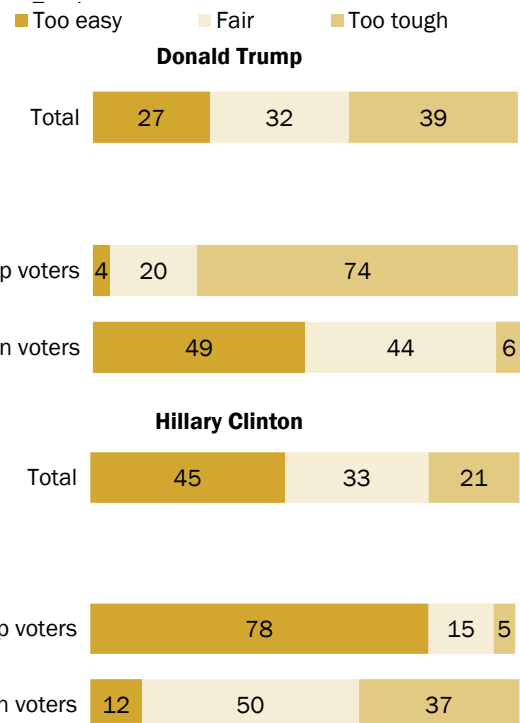
Voters are critical of how the press treated the candidates

About four-in-ten voters (39%) say the press was too tough in the way it covered Trump's campaign, while 32% say it was fair and 27% say it was too easy. Overall, voters were more likely to say the press was too easy on Clinton: 45% say this, while 21% say it was too tough on her and 33% say it was fair.

That the press is viewed by voters as having been easier on Clinton and harder on Trump is largely the result of higher levels of press criticism among Trump voters than Clinton voters: About three-quarters of Trump voters say both that the press was too tough on him (74%) and too easy on her (78%). By contrast, Clinton voters are roughly as likely to say the press treated Trump fairly as they are to say it was too easy on him (49% vs. 44%). And while 37% of Clinton voters say the press was too tough on their candidate, half (50%) say she was treated fairly.

Most Trump voters say press was 'too tough' on Trump, 'too easy' on Clinton

% of voters saying the press was ____ in the way it covered each presidential candidate



Notes: Based on those who voted in the election.

Don't know responses not shown. Q33a&b.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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4. The voting process

A majority of voters say they are confident their own vote was accurately counted in the election, though fewer are confident in the accurate counting of votes across the country. This pattern is little changed from recent presidential elections.

Overall, 90% of voters say they are at least somewhat confident their own vote was accurately counted, including fully 71% who are very confident. Few (9%) are not too or not at all confident their vote was counted.

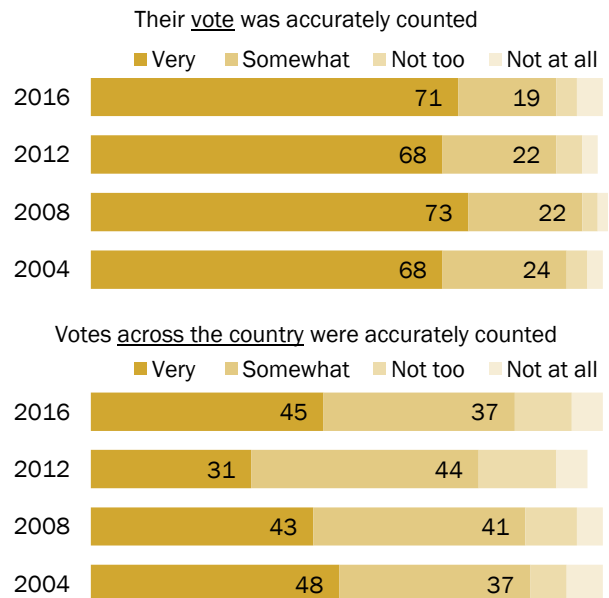
There are no differences in confidence between voters who cast their ballot on Election Day and those who voted early.

Voters are slightly less likely to be at least somewhat confident votes across the country were accurately counted (82%), and fewer than half of voters (45%) say they are very confident about this.

The share very confident in the counting of votes across the country is on par with 2004 and 2008, but is higher than it was four years ago, when confidence was lower than it had been in recent years: In 2012, only about three-in-ten (31%) voters were very confident that votes across the country were accurately counted.

Most voters are confident own vote, national votes counted accurately

% of voters who say they are _____ confident that ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q65 & Q66.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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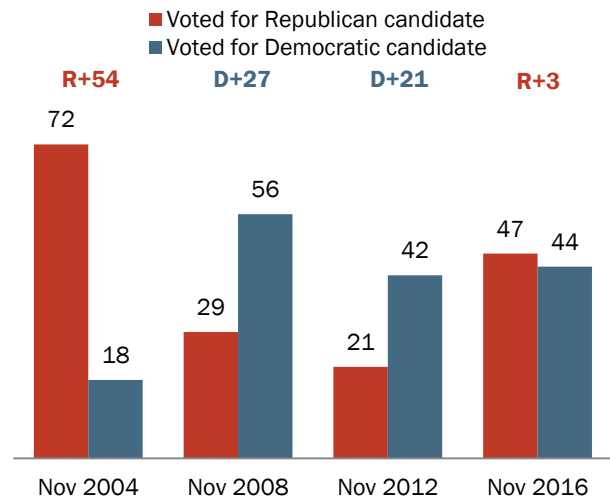
Those who voted for Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton are about equally likely to say they are very confident that votes across the country were accurately counted (47% vs. 44%). This stands in stark contrast to recent cycles, when those who voted for the winning candidate expressed significantly more confidence in the national vote count than those who voted for the losing candidate.

Four years ago, about twice as many Obama voters (42%) as Romney voters (21%) said they were very confident that votes across the country had been accurately counted. And in 2008, 56% of Obama voters were very confident that votes across the country were counted accurately, compared with just 29% of McCain voters.

In 2004, fully 72% of Bush voters were very confident in the national vote count; just 18% of Kerry voters said the same.

Similar shares of Trump, Clinton voters very confident in national vote count

Among those who _____, % who say they are very confident that votes across the country were accurately counted



Note: Based on voters. Q66.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Voters express more confidence about the vote count now than they did earlier in the campaign cycle. In August, about six-in-ten registered voters were very (28%) or somewhat (34%) confident that votes across the country would be accurately counted; 82% of those who voted say this now.

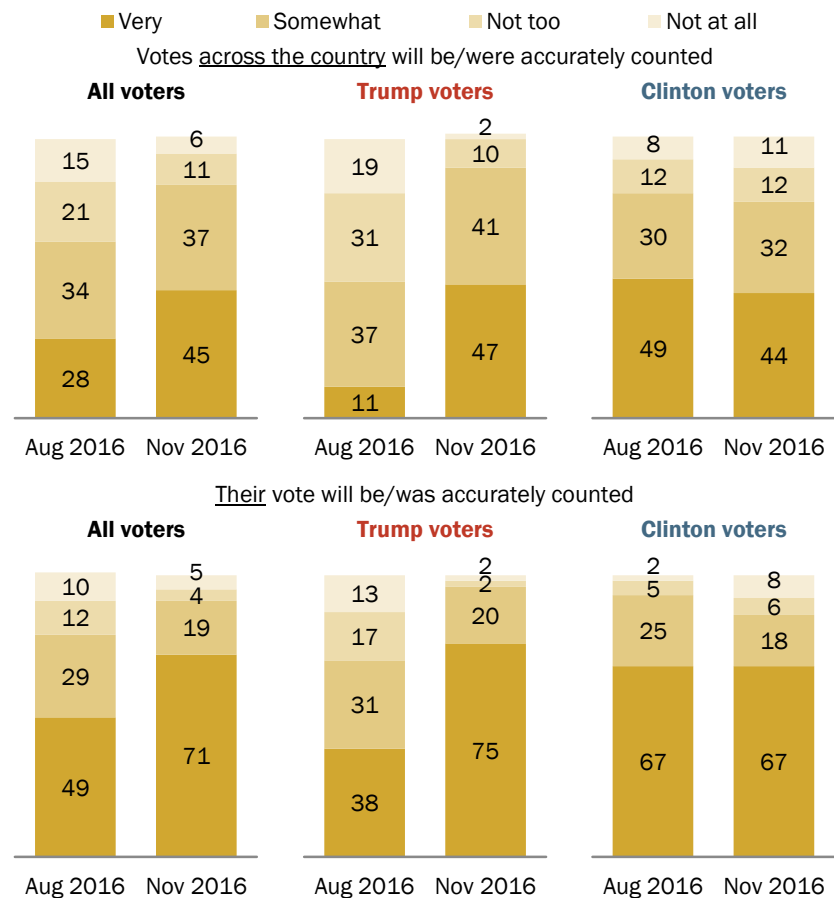
This difference is attributable to Trump voters' increased confidence in the count's accuracy. Fully 51% of registered voters who supported Trump in August were not too or not at all confident in an accurate national vote count, while 37% were somewhat confident and just 11% were very confident. Today, just 11% of Trump voters say they are not too or not at all confident votes were accurately counted.

The views of Clinton voters on this question are little different than they were in the summer: In August, 79% of Clinton supporters were very or somewhat confident votes across the country would be counted accurately, including about half (49%) who were very confident.

Today, 76% of Clinton voters are at least somewhat confident votes across the country were accurately counted, including 44% who are very confident.

In August, Trump supporters voiced low confidence in accurate count; far more Trump voters confident now

% who say they are _____ confident that ...



Notes: November data based on voters. August data based on registered voters; Trump and Clinton voters based on those who supported or leaned toward Trump or Clinton. Don't know responses not shown. Q65 & Q66.

Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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The same pattern exists in confidence that one's own vote was accurately counted: 75% of Trump voters now say they are "very" confident their own vote was counted accurately, double the share of Trump supporters who said in August that they were very confident their vote would be counted accurately in the November election. By comparison, the 67% of Clinton voters who now say they are very confident their vote was counted accurately is identical to the share of Clinton supporters who expected that their votes would be counted accurately in August.

Voters experience at the polls

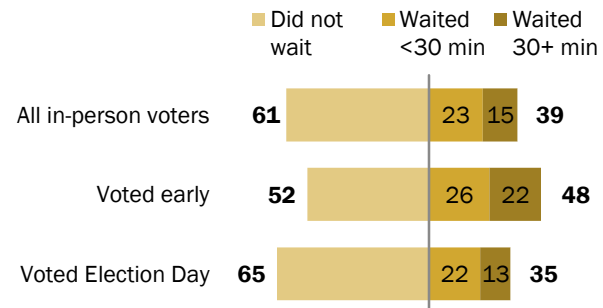
About six-in-ten voters say they cast their ballot on Election Day (59%), while 41% say they voted early. The share of voters casting a ballot before Election Day has risen steadily in recent years. In 2004, just 20% of those who voted said they did so before Election Day. In the current survey, Trump and Clinton voters are about equally likely to say they voted early (39% and 42%, respectively).

Among all in-person voters, 39% reported having to wait in line to vote, while a majority (61%) did not have to wait. Nearly a quarter of all voters (23%) waited less than 30 minutes, while 15% waited longer.

Overall, those who cast a ballot early were more likely to experience wait time than those who voted on Election Day. This was also the case in 2012 and 2008. Overall, 48% of in-person voters who cast a ballot before Election Day had to wait in line, and roughly half of those voters had to wait longer than 30 minutes (22% of all early in-person voters). By contrast, just about a third (35%) of those who voted on Election Day had to wait, including just 13% who waited longer than 30 minutes.

About half of early in-person voters say they had to wait in line to vote

% of in-person voters who ...



Note: Based on those who voted in the election in person before or on Election Day. Don't know responses not shown. Q49 & Q50.
Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Most voters knew who they were voting for before the debates

Voters' reports of when they made their decision between the candidates vary little between Trump and Clinton voters and are similar to past elections without an incumbent president.

Overall, 20% of voters say they made up their minds about who they were voting for before 2016. About half of voters say they decided early in the year (22%), or during and just after the party conventions (32%); 15% say they definitely decided to vote for their candidate during or just after the debates and 7% decided within a week of Election Day.

Most voters decided their vote choice by the end of the summer

% of voters who say they definitely decided to vote for their candidate ...

	All voters %	Trump voters %	Clinton voters %
Within a week of Election Day	7	9	4
During/Just after debates	15	14	14
During/After conventions	32	33	34
Earlier this year	22	21	23
Before 2016	20	20	22
Don't remember/Don't know	3	4	3
	100	100	100

Note: Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Q10F1.
Source: Voter callback survey conducted Nov. 10-14, 2016.

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Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted November 10-14, 2016 among a national sample of 1,254 voters (“Voters” are those who said they voted in the 2016 election). The interviews were conducted among registered voters, 18 years of age or older previously interviewed in one of two Pew Research survey conducted of 1,567 registered voters in August 9-16, 2016 and 2,120 registered voters in October 20-25, 2016 (for more on the methodologies of the original surveys, see [here](#) and [here](#)). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews were conducted on both landline telephones and cell phones (312 respondents for this survey were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 942 were interviewed on a cell phone). Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Interviewers asked to speak with the respondent from the previous interview by first name, if it was available, or by age and gender. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/>

Weighting was performed in two stages. The weight from the original sample datasets was used as a first-stage weight for this project. This first-stage weight corrects for different probabilities of selection and differential non-response associated with the original interview. The sample of all registered voters contacted for this survey was then raked - by form - to match parameters for sex by age, sex by education, age by education, region, race/ethnicity, population density, phone use. The non-Hispanic, white subgroup was also raked to age, education and region. These parameters came from the weighted demographics of registered voters interviewed from the original surveys from which sample was drawn. In addition, a parameter was added to the weighting so that the vote results reported in the survey match the actual popular vote results. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

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 conducted November 10-14, 2016

Group	Weighted proportion of voting public	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	100%	1,254	3.4 percentage points
Trump voters	47%	533	5.1 percentage points
Trump voters half form	--	248 (min)	7.5 percentage points
Clinton voters	48%	587	4.9 percentage points
Clinton voters half form	--	275 (min)	7.2 percentage points
Republican/Lean Rep	47%	580	4.9 percentage points
Republican/Lean Rep half form	--	274 (min)	7.2 percentage points
Democrat/Lean Dem	48%	609	4.8 percentage points
Democrat/Lean Dem half form	--	288 (min)	7.0 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.

Pew Research Center undertakes all polling activity, including calls to mobile telephone numbers, in compliance with the Telephone Consumer Protection Act and other applicable laws.

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