Politics, Friendships, and Campaign 2016

Almost half (47 percent) of Hillary Clinton’s supporters and 31 percent of Donald Trump’s supporters say they have no close friends in the other candidate’s camp (Pew). More than half of their supporters say they don’t go out of their way to tell people which candidate they favor. Seven percent in Pew’s poll said they have had a major argument about this year’s contest, and an identical 7 percent in Monmouth’s September poll said they have lost or ended a friendship because of this year’s campaign. Seventy percent of registered voters, including at least two-thirds of partisans, say the campaign has brought out the worst in people.

Q: Thinking about your preference in the 2016 presidential election, which best describes you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Trump supporters</th>
<th>Clinton supporters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I’d rather people not know that I support [Trump/Clinton]</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t mind if other people know, but I don’t go out of my way to say it</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m pretty outspoken with others about my support</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q: Have you had an argument with another person over the 2016 presidential election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument Type</th>
<th>Trump supporters</th>
<th>Clinton supporters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, a major argument</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, a minor argument</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No, have not had an argument</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have argued about the election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Trump supporters</th>
<th>Clinton supporters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q: Have you lost or ended any friendships because of this year’s presidential campaign, or has this not happened?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendship Status</th>
<th>Trump supporters</th>
<th>Clinton supporters</th>
<th>Inds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes, lost or ended a friendship</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has not happened</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q: Has this year’s presidential campaign . . . ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign Outcome</th>
<th>Trump supporters</th>
<th>Clinton supporters</th>
<th>Inds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brought out the . . .</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Best in people</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worst in people</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Sample is registered voters. Source: Pew Research Center, June–July 2016.
Voters’ Expectations . . .

Recent surveys show the public predicts Hillary Clinton will win the presidential election. A Quinnipiac University survey of likely voters shows Donald Trump’s supporters are less confident he will win than Clinton’s supporters are that she will. In the same survey, 69 percent said this year’s election will be close. More Trump supporters (80 percent) gave that response than Clinton supporters (58 percent). In a recent Economist/YouGov online survey, 31 percent of Clinton’s supporters said she will win in a landslide; 28 percent of Trump’s supporters said he would.

Q: Regardless of whom you support, who do you expect to win the election for president?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>January 2016</th>
<th>March 2016</th>
<th>May 2016</th>
<th>September 2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hillary Clinton</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donald Trump</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expect Clinton will win</td>
<td>Expect Trump will win</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Easily</td>
<td>Will be close</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *In the January–May surveys, question wording read, “Regardless of whom you support, if (Clinton) and (Trump) are the nominees for president, who would you expect to win, (Clinton) or (Trump)?”


Q: Regardless of who you’re voting for, who do you believe will win the presidential election this year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hillary Clinton</th>
<th>Trump</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Sample is likely voters.

Source: Quinnipiac University, September 2016.

Q: Do you think . . . ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>This year’s presidential election will be a close election</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Reps.</th>
<th>Dems.</th>
<th>Inds.</th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Trump</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One of the candidates will win in a landslide</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Sample is likely voters.

Source: Quinnipiac University, September 2016.

Q: What do you think is the most likely outcome of the presidential election with Hillary Clinton as the Democratic nominee and Donald Trump as the Republican nominee?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clinton will win . . .</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Reps.</th>
<th>Dems.</th>
<th>Inds.</th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Trump</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In a landslide</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrowly</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump will win . . .</td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Reps.</td>
<td>Dems.</td>
<td>Inds.</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>Trump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrowly</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In a landslide</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


...And Voting Outcomes

Nationally, confidence that votes across the nation will be counted accurately has declined in recent election years, and voters express even less confidence this year. In an August Pew poll of registered voters, Donald Trump's supporters were less confident than Hillary Clinton’s that their own vote or votes across the country would be accurately counted in the upcoming election. In an August Fox News poll of registered voters, Republicans were more likely than Democrats to believe this year's contest would be rigged. The next page revisits public opinion about the 2000 election, when the legitimacy of the presidential vote count was a source of national debate.

Q: How confident are you that . . . ?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trump supporters</th>
<th>Clinton supporters</th>
<th>All voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very confident that your vote will be accurately counted</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat confident</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too confident</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all confident</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very confident that votes across the country will be accurately counted</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat confident</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too confident</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all confident</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In October 2008, 57 percent of registered voters were very confident their vote would be counted accurately. In October 2004, 62 percent gave that response.

Note: Sample is registered voters.

Gallup asks a different question about whether votes will be “accurately cast and counted” at “the voting facility where you vote.” In August, 81 percent of respondents were very or somewhat confident they would be accurately cast and counted at their voting facility, down from 91 percent in 2006.

Q: Do you think this year’s presidential election is rigged, or not. (If yes) Is it rigged in Clinton’s favor or Trump’s favor?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>All voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contest is rigged . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Clinton’s favor</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Trump’s favor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure for whom</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not rigged</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Sample is registered voters.
Source: Fox News, August 2016.

(Continued on the next page)
# The 2000 Election Revisited

On election night on November 7, 2000, the news networks initially projected that Al Gore had won Florida’s 25 electoral votes and then later retracted the prediction. The outcome turned on the votes of Florida, and a mandatory recount was ordered there. Until December 12, when the Supreme Court ruled on the case of Bush v. Gore and the recount was stopped, the public was riveted to the drama about the election’s outcome. At no time during the 34-day ordeal, however, did the public see a constitutional crisis, although they thought the situation was a major problem. A bare majority said the Court had acted in a nonpartisan way and confidence in the Court did not suffer. Americans felt that in the end, either Bush or Gore would be the legitimate president. The 2000 election was only the fourth in US history in which the popular vote winner did not become the president.

Q: Which of these statements best describes the situation that has occurred since the election for president . . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The situation is a constitutional crisis</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A major problem for the country, but not a crisis</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A minor problem</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not a problem</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Q: Do you believe that the U.S. Supreme Court acted in a nonpartisan way when it ruled in a way that meant ballots would not be counted in Florida, or did the court show political favoritism?

| Court acted in a nonpartisan way | 51% |
| Court showed political favoritism | 42% |


Q: Now I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself have . . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have a great deal/quite a lot of confidence in the Supreme Court</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Q: If _________ is declared the winner and inaugurated next January, would you accept him as a legitimate president, or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If George W. Bush is declared the winner</th>
<th>If Al Gore is declared the winner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Would accept him as a legitimate president</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would not</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In a December 13 poll by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, 80 percent said Bush was the legitimate president. Source: Gallup/CNN/USA Today, December 2–4, 2000.
When Do Voters Decide?

Since 1984, the national presidential exit polls have asked voters when they decided how they would vote. As the data (below) show, a strong majority in each election since 1996 made their decision before the last month or two of the campaign. This year is no exception. Most voters say they have already decided if they will cast their ballot for Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton. Recent polls show that around 90 percent of likely voters who name either Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump as their candidate of choice have made up their minds and will not change them before Election Day. Among likely voters who intend to vote for Clinton and, separately, for Trump, about the same percent gave that response.

Q: When did you finally decide for whom to vote in the presidential election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time of vote (percent of electorate)</th>
<th>Vote for</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today (3%)</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last few days (6)</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In October (11)</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In September (9)</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before that (69)</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today (4%)</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last three days (3)</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last week (3)</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In October (15)</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In September (14)</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before that (60)</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Today (5%)</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last three days (4)</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last week (2)</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last month (10)</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before that (78)</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last three days (11%)</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last week (6)</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last month (13)</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before that (69)</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued on the next page)
Minds Made Up in the Past and Present

The Data Over Time: In every presidential election year since 1948, the American National Election Study has asked voters when they decided how they voted. In each election, at least 30 percent of those who voted said they knew all along who they would vote for or decided when their candidate announced. No more than 18 percent have ever said they made their decision in the last two weeks before Election Day, and no more than 9 percent said they made their decision on Election Day.

The Undecided: As of this writing, Hufpolster’s polling average shows 6.5 percent of voters are undecided about which of the candidates they support—Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, or third party candidates.
The Diploma Divide

In recent elections, voters with a college diploma did not differ much in their choices for president from those with less formal education. The most notable divide was between postgraduates—who have leaned Democratic since 1992—and everyone else. This year, there is a larger education gap between college graduates, who strongly support Hillary Clinton, and those without a college degree, who are more divided and lean toward Donald Trump (see next page).

The diploma divide is particularly notable among white voters. Most recent polls show Clinton leading among white college graduates—a group that did not vote for a Democratic candidate in any election from 1952–2012 according to data from American National Election Studies or national exit polls. Voters without a college degree favor Trump.

Note: Vote preferences of voters without a high school diploma not shown. In 2012, only 3 percent of voters were in that group.
Source: National exit polls.
(Continued from previous page)

**Recent 2016 polls**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poll</th>
<th>No college degree</th>
<th>College graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABC News/Wash Post</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 5–8 (LV)</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NBC News/WSJ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 16–19 (RV)</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>McClatchy/Marist</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 15–20 (LV)</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABC News/Wash Post</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 19–22 (LV)</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CNN/ORC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 28–Oct. 2 (LV)</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education Gap Among White Voters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poll</th>
<th>Obama</th>
<th>McCain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008 exit polls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White college graduates</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 exit polls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites—no college degree</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White college graduates</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recent 2016 polls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NBC News/WSJ</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 16–19 (LV)</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>McClatchy/Marist</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 15–20 (LV)</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABC News/Wash Post</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 19–22 (LV)</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fox News</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 27–29 (LV)</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CNN/ORC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 11–28–Oct. 2 (LV)</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: For 2016, the five most recent surveys are shown for which responses by educational level were available. The results shown are based on a two-way presidential match-up between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. The margins between the two main party candidates were similar in questions that included Gary Johnson and Jill Stein. "LV" indicates the sample was likely voters; "RV," registered voters.
Independents and Moderates

Twenty-nine percent of voters identified as independents in the 2012 presidential election. They sided with Mitt Romney, only the third time since 1972 that independents have backed the losing candidate. Forty-one percent of voters in 2012 described themselves as moderate on most political matters. Moderates have supported the Democratic candidate by a wide margin in the past six presidential elections, and recent polls show they favor Hillary Clinton over Donald Trump. Support for third-party candidates Gary Johnson and Jill Stein is higher among independents than among moderates.

---

2016 Presidential Vote Choice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hillary Clinton</th>
<th>Donald Trump</th>
<th>Gary Johnson</th>
<th>Jill Stein</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC/Washington Post  Sep. 5–8 (LV)</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC/WSJ            Sep. 16–19 (LV)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC/Washington Post  Sep. 19–22 (RV)</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monmouth          Sep. 22–25 (RV)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN/ORC           Sep. 28–Oct. 2 (LV)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|        |             |              |              |            |
| Moderates |                 |              |              |            |
| ABC/Washington Post  Sep. 5–8 (LV) | 51%           | 33%          | 12%          | 2%         |
| NBC/WSJ            Sep. 16–19 (RV)  | 44            | 30           | 14           | 3          |
| ABC/Washington Post  Sep. 19–22 (LV) | 52            | 37           | 5            | 1          |
| Monmouth          Sep. 22–25 (RV)  | 47            | 33           | 11           | 3          |
| CNN/ORC           Sep. 28–Oct. 2 (LV) | 55            | 30           | 12           | 1          |

Note: Polls shown are the five most recent for which moderates’ and independents’ responses were available. Question wording varied by survey, but all included the four presidential candidates shown.