# In Presidential Contest, Voters Say 'Basic Facts,' Not Just Policies, Are in Dispute 

Most think it's important for losing candidate to publicly concede

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

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## In Presidential Contest, Voters Say 'Basic Facts,' Not Just Policies, Are in Dispute <br> Most think it's important for losing candidate to publicly concede

In the contentious weeks leading up to Election Day, voters are deeply divided over the candidates, major issues and the nation's past and future course. And, in a new survey, most voters say these differences even extend to disputes over basic facts.

Fully $81 \%$ say that most supporters of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump not only disagree over plans and policies, but also disagree on "basic facts." Just $18 \%$ say that while Clinton and Trump supporters often differ over plans and policies, they can agree on basic facts.

Ironically, this is a rare point of agreement among the supporters of Clinton and Trump. Comparably large shares of registered voters who back Clinton (80\%) and Trump (81\%) say the two sides are unable to agree on basic facts.

## Most say Clinton, Trump supporters cannot agree even on 'basic facts'

On important issues facing the country, most Trump and Clinton supporters ... (\%)


Note: Based on registered voters.
Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.
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The survey was conducted online from
September 27 to October 10 among 4,132 adults, including 3,616 registered voters, on Pew Research Center's nationally representative American Trends Panel. It was largely completed before the release of a videotape from 2005 showing Trump making lewd comments about women.

The survey finds new indications of how negative attitudes toward the opposition have become a defining feature of the current campaign. It includes a test of "feeling thermometer" ratings of the candidates. Notably, both Republicans and Democrats feel significantly less "warmly" about their own candidate than "coldly" toward the opposing candidate.

About two-thirds of Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters (68\%) give Clinton "warm" ratings on a $0-100$ thermometer and $66 \%$ of Republicans give a warm rating to Trump. But $85 \%$ of Democrats give Trump a cold rating, and $88 \%$ of Republicans give Clinton a cold rating.

With the election now less than a month away, the survey also finds:

Most voters continue to expect a Clinton victory. About six-in-ten voters ( $63 \%$ ) say they think Clinton will win on Nov. 8, while just $34 \%$ expect a Trump victory. This is little changed from surveys conducted since July. However, most think the outcome will be close, regardless of who they think will win.

Most also say it is important for the losing candidate to publicly concede. A sizable majority (77\%) thinks it is very important (53\%) or somewhat important (24\%) that the losing candidate on Nov. 8 "publicly acknowledges the winner as the legitimate president." Just $22 \%$ say this is not too or not at all important.

Six-in-ten voters who favor Clinton (60\%) say it is very important for the losing candidate to concede, as do $51 \%$ of Trump supporters.

Split-ticket voting is still rare. As in the recent past, split-ticket voting is relatively rare, and most who expect to do so this year are splitting their ballots between third-party candidates for president and either Republicans or Democrats for the Senate and House. Overall, just 8\% of voters in the 34 states with Senate races say they will vote for either Clinton or Trump for president and a Senate candidate from the opposing party. Even fewer (4\%) expect to vote for a Democrat or Republican for president and a House candidate from the other party.

## Rating the candidates on a 'feeling thermometer'

As part of a major study of political animosity, released in June, respondents were asked to rate several leading political figures, including Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, on a 0-100 "thermometer" - where $o$ is the coldest, most negative rating and 100 represents the warmest, most positive rating.

Views of Clinton and Trump have changed only modestly since then. Among all voters, Clinton's mean, or average, rating is 40 , while Trump's is 37. Far more voters give both candidates "cold" than "warm" ratings on the 0-100 scale.

These ratings remain deeply polarized along partisan lines. Democrats and Democratic-leaning independent voters give the Republican nominee a mean rating of just 10 on the feeling thermometer. Fully $85 \%$ give Trump a cold rating, with $77 \%$ rating him very coldly

Democrats and Republicans feel less 'warmly' toward their candidate than 'coldly' toward the opponent
$\%$ who rate___ on a 'feeling thermometer' from o (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating) ...
$\square$ Very cold Somewhat cold Neutral $\quad$ Somewhat warm $■$ Very warm
Donald Trump


Notes: Based on registered voters. Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0 to 24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.

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(o-24 on the 100-point scale). In fact, most Democrats (58\%) give Trump a rating of zero.

Likewise, Republican and Republican-leaning voters give Clinton an average rating of 11 on the o100 scale. A wide majority give her a very cold (77\%) or somewhat cold (10\%) rating, including $56 \%$ who give her a rating of zero.

Across both parties, a majority of voters express warm feelings toward their own party's nominee, but fewer rate their party's candidate warmly than rate their opponent coldly. Two-thirds of Republicans (66\%) give Trump a very or somewhat warm rating, and a comparable share of Democrats (68\%) express warmth toward Clinton.

While voters who supported Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton in the primaries have not changed in their ratings of the candidates since spring, supporters of other primary candidates across both parties have grown somewhat warmer in their attitudes toward their party's presidential nominee.

Currently, Republican and Republican-leaning voters give Donald Trump a mean rating of 65 on the o-100 scale, up from 56 in May.

The change since then has come entirely among GOP voters who supported primary candidates other than Trump. Trump's mean thermometer rating among Republican voters who backed a candidate other than Trump for the Republican nomination is 57; in May, it was only 37 .

Still, Republican voters who supported Trump in the primary give far warmer ratings of the candidate; the mean rating among Trump primary supporters in May was 83 , and today it is 81 .

Among Democrats, supporters of Bernie Sanders in the primary gave Clinton a mean rating of 51 in May; Sanders primary

## Trump's image improves among Republicans who backed other GOP candidates during primaries

Mean thermometer ratings among registered voters


Notes: Based on registered voters. Ratings of the candidates are based on a "feeling thermometer" from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest).
Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.
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supporters now give her an
average rating of 59 . Despite the warmer attitudes among Sanders supporters over the course of the campaign, Clinton's primary supporters continue to rate her far higher on the "thermometer" ( 85 then, 81 now).

## Demographic differences in thermometer ratings

Feelings toward the candidates also vary across demographic groups, though there are few groups of voters that give either candidate a "warm" mean rating of 51 or higher.

Voters overall give an average rating of 37 of Trump, and 40 of Clinton. The average rating of Clinton among women is higher than their average rating of Trump (46 vs. 33), while men give Trump a higher mean rating (41) than they do Clinton (34).

Most black voters feel very warmly toward Clinton - her mean rating among blacks is 69 - while registering very cold ratings for Trump (mean rating of 15). By contrast, whites, on average, feel more warmly toward Trump (42 mean rating) than Clinton (33).

Hispanics' average thermometer ratings are much higher for Clinton (mean rating of 56) than Trump (24). (For more on Hispanics' attitudes about the candidates, see "Latino Voters and the 2016 Election.")

## Demographic differences in thermometer ratings of the candidates

Mean thermometer ratings among registered voters


Notes: Based on registered voters. Ratings of the candidates are based on a "feeling thermometer" from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest). Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.

Notably, most white evangelical
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Protestant voters feel warmly
toward Trump; his mean rating among white evangelicals is 58 , while Clinton's is just 17 . By contrast, Clinton's mean rating is much higher than Trump's among religiously unaffiliated voters (45 vs. 22).

While there are only modest differences by age in ratings of Clinton, ratings of Trump vary significantly by age. Voters under 30 give Trump a rating of 23, on average, which is much lower on the scale than the average rating among voters ages 65 and older (46).

Voters with postgraduate degrees give Trump far lower ratings on average than those with less education ( 25 vs. 43 among those with a high school diploma or less education). Those who have postgraduate degrees are closer to neutral in feelings toward Clinton, with an average rating of 48 on the o-10o scale.

## Voters' views of the election outcome and its aftermath

While Clinton is widely expected to win, far more who anticipate a Clinton victory think it will be a close election ( $44 \%$ of all voters say this) than say she will win by "a lot" ( $19 \%$ say this). Similarly, while $34 \%$ predict a Trump victory, most who do so ( $25 \%$ of all voters) expect it will be by close margin.

Overall, Clinton supporters are much more confident of victory than are Trump supporters. Fully $92 \%$ of registered voters who support Clinton for president expect her to win; $69 \%$ of Trump supporters expect him to win.

Among voters who support Libertarian Party nominee Gary Johnson or Green Party
nominee Jill Stein, $64 \%$ expect Clinton to win.

GOP voters who did not support Trump in the Republican primaries are particularly skeptical about his general election prospects. Only half (50\%) of Republican and Republican-leaning

## Clinton supporters more confident of victory than are Trump supporters

\% who think that $\qquad$ will win the presidential election

| All voters | ump | Clinton |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 34 | 63 |
| Trump supporters | 69 | 30 |
| Clinton supporters | 6 | 92 |
| Johnson/Stein supporters | 26 | 64 |
| Primary preference among Rep/Lean Rep voters |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Trump | 76 | 23 |
| Other GOP cand. | 50 | 48 |
| Primary preference among |  |  |
| Dem/Lean Dem voters ... |  |  |
| Clinton | 5 | 94 |
| Sanders | 9 | 88 |

Notes: Based on registered voters.
Don't know/No answer not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER registered voters who did not support Trump in the primaries say he will win, while about the same percentage (48\%) expect Clinton to win. About three-quarters of GOP voters who backed Trump in the primaries (76\%) anticipate a Trump victory on Nov. 8.

Among Democrats, overwhelming shares of those who supported Bernie Sanders in the primaries (88\%) and Clinton primary supporters (94\%) expect Clinton to win next month.

When the election is concluded, most voters say it is either very important (53\%) or somewhat important (24\%) for the losing candidate to acknowledge the winner as "the legitimate president of the country." Only about one in five (22\%) say a public concession by the losing candidate is "not too" or "not at all important."

Clinton supporters (60\%) are more likely than Trump supporters (51\%) to view a concession as very important. Only about one in five of each candidate's supporters ( $21 \%$ of Trump backers, $16 \%$ of Clinton backers) say this is not important. By contrast, roughly twice as many Johnson and Stein supporters (41\%) think it is not too or not at all important that the losing candidate publicly acknowledge the winner as the legitimate president.

## Most say it is important for losing candidate to publicly concede

\% who say it is $\qquad$ important for the losing presidential candidate to publicly acknowledge the winner as the legitimate president of the country


Note: Based on registered voters.
Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.
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## Few intend to split ballots between Democrats and Republicans

When asked who they are supporting in the November election, $65 \%$ of voters say they will be supporting candidates from the same party in their votes for the presidency and House of Representatives. A slightly smaller proportion of voters in states with Senate races (58\%) say they will be supporting candidates from the same party in their votes for the Senate and presidency.

About half of these "straightticket" voters ( $30 \%$ for the House and $25 \%$ for the Senate) say they will be voting for Republicans; the remainder says they will vote for Democrats ( $36 \%$ in the House and $33 \%$ in the Senate).

The number of voters who say they will be supporting the Republican candidate for president and the Democratic candidate for Congress, or vice versa, is very small. Only $2 \%$ of voters say they will vote for Donald Trump for president and a Democratic candidate for the House. As many (2\%), say they will support Hillary

## Split-ticket voting is rare; most ticket-splitters are supporting third-party candidates for president

| \% of voters who plan to vote a | for House and president |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

* Other split ticket refers to those who do not support either major party candidate for president or the House.
Notes: Based on registered voters. 56/435 districts were identified as "competitive" by the Cook Political Report. See the Methodology section for details. No answer not shown Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016.

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Clinton for president and a Republican candidate for the House.

Many of those who are splitting their ballots this year favor either Gary Johnson or Jill Stein for president, while supporting Democrats or Republicans for the House. Overall, 5\% support Johnson or Stein and plan on voting for a Republican in their congressional race. A similar proportion of Johnson and Stein supporters (4\%) say they will vote for the Democrat in their House district. Less than $1 \%$ of voters are not supporting major party candidates either for president or the House.

Another 15\% have a presidential preference, but say they do not know who they are supporting in their congressional race.

In Senate races, which generally have a higher profile than House races, $8 \%$ say they are voting for a Republican or Democratic presidential candidate, and a Senate candidate from the other party. About one-in-ten (11\%) split their ticket in another way, with most ( $10 \%$ overall) supporting Johnson or Stein for president and a major party candidate for Senate.

## Little evidence of split-ticket voting among those with Senate races

$\%$ of voters who plan to vote a___for Senate and president

|  | Straight ticket | NET Split ticket | Split Rep/Dem ticket | Other split ticket* | Not sure on Senate vote | Unweighted N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All voters | 58 | 18 | 8 | 11 | 16 | 2702 |
| Republican | 58 | 18 | 10 | 8 | 16 | 749 |
| Democrat | 68 | 12 | 6 | 6 | 15 | 998 |
| Independent | 51 | 26 | 7 | 19 | 16 | 733 |
| Within competitive states |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All voters | 64 | 17 | 8 | 9 | 13 | 1173 |
| Republican | 74 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 11 | 352 |
| Democrat | 66 | 12 | 10 | 1 | 16 | 405 |
| Independent | 55 | 26 | 7 | 20 | 13 | 330 |
| *Other split ticket refers to those who do not support either major party candidate for president or the Senate. <br> Notes: Based on registered voters living in one of the 34 states with a Senate race. 11/34 states were identified as "competitive" by the Cook Political Report. See the Methodology section for details. No answer not shown. <br> Source: Survey conducted Sept. 27-Oct. 10, 2016. |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Acknowledgments

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## Methodology

## Competitive congressional districts and states

Survey respondents were placed within their congressional districts by geocoding their selfreported addresses. The Cook Political Report identified a set of competitive congressional districts and states. As of October 13, 2016, the Cook Political Report classified 56 congressional districts into six categories: likely Democratic (CA-52, FL-10, MD-06, NY-25, VA-04), lean Democratic (CA-07, CA-24, FL-13, MN-02, MN-08, NV-04, NH-01, NY-03), Democratic toss up (AZ-01, FL-18, NE-02), Republican toss up (CA-25, CO-06, FL-07, FL-26, IL-10, IA-01, IA-03, ME-02, NV-03, NJ-05, NY-19, NY-22, PA-08, TX-23), lean Republican (CA-10, CA-21, CA-49, MI01, MI-07, MN-03, NY-01, NY-23, NY-24, UT-04, VA-10, WI-08), and likely Republican (AK-AL, AZ-02, CO-03, FL-02, FL-27, IL-12, IN-02, IN-09, KS-03, MT-AL, NY-21, PA-06, PA-16, VA-05). Analyses that refer to "competitive districts" are referring to respondents who live within this set.

The Cook Political Report identifies 11 senate races as either lean Democratic (Illinois, Wisconsin), Toss Up (Nevada, Florida, Indiana, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Pennsylvania), or lean Republican (Arizona, Ohio). Respondents living within any of these states were classified as being a part of a competitive senate race.

## Survey conducted September 27-October 10, 2016

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

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted September 27-October 10, 2016 among 4,132 respondents. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,132 respondents is plus or minus 2.8 percentage points.

Members of the American Trends Panel were recruited from two large, national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) surveys conducted in English and Spanish. At the end of each survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The first group of panelists was recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, conducted January 23 to March 16, 2014. Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 5,338
agreed to participate. ${ }^{1}$ The second group of panelists was recruited from the 2015 Survey on Government, conducted August 27 to October 4, 2015. Of the 6,004 adults interviewed, all were invited to join the panel, and 2,976 agreed to participate. ${ }^{2}$

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel and remain an active panelist varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on a number of dimensions. Gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region parameters come from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 American Community Survey. The county-level population density parameter (deciles) comes from the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census. The telephone service benchmark is comes from the July-December 2015 National Health Interview Survey and is projected to 2016. The volunteerism benchmark comes from the 2013 Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. The party affiliation benchmark is the average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. The Internet access benchmark comes from the 2015 Pew Survey on Government. Respondents who did not previously have internet access are treated as not having internet access for weighting purposes. The frequency of internet use benchmark is an estimate of daily internet use projected to 2016 from the 2013 Current Population Survey Computer and Internet Use Supplement. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking.

[^0]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 September 27-October 10, 2016 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Unweighted |  |  |
| sample size |  |  |
| Group | 3,616 | Plus or minus ... <br> All registered voters |
| Among registered voters |  |  |
| Republican | 997 | 5.6 percentage points |
| Democrat | 1,304 | 4.9 percentage points |
| Independent | 1,027 | 5.5 percentage points |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 1,654 | 4.4 percentage points |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 1,901 | 4.1 percentage points |
| Trump supporters | 1,396 | 4.7 percentage points |
| Clinton supporters | 1,775 | 4.2 percentage points |
| Third Party (Johnson, Stein) | 403 | 8.8 percentage points |
| supporters |  |  |

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

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

The September 2016 wave had a response rate of $80 \%$ (4,132 responses among 5,185 individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys (10.0\%) and attrition from panel members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the wave is $2.6 \%$.
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[^1]
## Appendix: Topline questionnaire

2016 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 21 SEPTEMBER<br>FINAL TOPLINE<br>September 27 - October 10, 2016<br>TOTAL N=4,132 ${ }^{1}$

## ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL:

VOTEGENA If the 2016 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FIRST FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED OPTIONS 3 AND 4, WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]

ASK IF NONE/OTHER CANDIDATE OR SKIPPED VOTEGEN (VOTEGENA=5 OR MISSING): VOTEGENB As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGENA]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,616]:

| Sept 27- |  | Aug 16- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Oct 10 |  | Sept 12 |
| $\frac{2016}{39}$ | Donald Trump/lean Trump | $\underline{2016}$ |
| 46 | Hillary Clinton/lean Clinton | 38 |
| 10 | Gary Johnson/lean Johnson | 45 |
| 4 | Jill Stein/lean Stein | 10 |
| 1 | None/other | 4 |
| $*$ | No Answer | 2 |
|  |  | 1 |

[^2]
## ASK ALL:

VOTEGENA If the 2016 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for... [RANDOMIZE
OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FIRST FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED OPTIONS 3 AND 4, WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]

ASK IF NONE/OTHER CANDIDATE OR SKIPPED VOTEGEN (VOTEGENA=5 OR MISSING): VOTEGENB As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGENA]

ASK IF JOHNSON/STEIN IN VOTEGENA (VOTEGENA=3,4) OR VOTEGENB (VOTEGENB=3,4):
VOTEGEND And even though you don't plan to support Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, if you had to choose, would you say you ... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGENA]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,616]:

| Sept 27- | Aug 16- |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Oct 10 | Sept 12 |  |
| $\frac{2016}{44}$ | Donald Trump/lean Trump | $\underline{2016}$ |
| 53 | Hillary Clinton/lean Clinton | 44 |
| 1 | None/other | 52 |
| 2 | No Answer | 2 |
|  |  | 2 |

## TREND FOR COMPARISON:

ASK ALL:
VOTEGEN If the 2016 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]

ASK IF NEITHER/OTHER CANDIDATE OR SKIPPED VOTEGEN (VOTEGEN=3 OR MISSING):
VOTEGEN3 [IF NEITHER/OTHER IN VOTEGEN DISPLAY:]
And even though you don't plan to support Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, if you had to choose, would you say you...
[IF SKIPPED VOTEGEN DISPLAY:]
If you had to choose, would you say you...
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGEN] Note: Display Neither only if the question is skipped without selecting Trump or Clinton

| July 12- |  | June 7- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Aug 8 |  | July 5 |
| 2016 |  | 2016 |
| 46 | Donald Trump/lean Trump | 45 |
| 50 | Hillary Clinton/lean Clinton | 51 |
| 3 | Neither | 3 |
| 1 | No Answer | 1 |
| 20 | Neither in VOTEGEN | 23 |

## ASK IF LIVES IN STATE WITH A SENATE RACE:

## [INSERT NAMES OF CANDIDATES AND RANDOMIZE]

SEN If the elections for the U.S. Senate in [RSTATE] were being held TODAY, would you vote for...

Program an answer choice of "Live in different state" that will appear only when a soft prompt is used.

## ASK IF ANSWERED NOT SURE (SEN=4) OR IF NO RESPONSE TO SEN (SEN=99): <br> [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, KEEPING THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS SEN]

SENA As of TODAY, who do you LEAN more towards for the U.S. Senate?
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS IN STATES WITH SENATE RACES [N=2,708]:

## TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Sept $27-$
Sep 15-
Oct 10 $\underline{2016}$

34
42
7 Another/Lean to another
17

* No Answer

Oct 3
$2014^{2}$
Rep/Lean Rep 40
Dem/Lean Dem
45

Not sure 9
No Answer 0

[^3]
## DO NOT ASK IF RSTATE=11 DC OR IF SEN=Live in different state, ELSE ASK ALL: <br> [INSERT NAMES OF CANDIDATES AND RANDOMIZE]

CONG If the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held TODAY, would you vote for...

ASK IF 'NOT SURE' (CONG=4) OR NO RESPONSE TO CONG (CONG=99) DO NOT ASK IF RSTATE=11 DC:

## [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, KEEPING THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS CONG]

CONGA As of TODAY, who do you LEAN more towards for the U.S. House of Representatives?
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=3,596]:

Sept 27-
Oct 10 $2016^{3}$

38
42
3
17
*

|  | TRENDS FOR <br> COMPARISON: |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Sept 15- | May 30- |  |
| Oct 3 | June 30 |  |
| Rep/Lean Rep | $\underline{2014^{4}}$ | $\underline{2014}$ |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 42 | 38 |
| Another/Lean to another | 47 | 42 |
| Not sure | 5 | 5 |
| No Answer | 6 | 14 |
|  | $*$ | $*$ |

[^4]
## ASK ALL:

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

| Sept 27- |  | Aug 16- | July 12- | June 7- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct 10 |  | Sept 12 | Aug 8 | July 5 |
| $\frac{2016}{32}$ | Donald Trump | $\frac{2016}{29}$ | $\frac{2016}{40}$ | $\frac{2016}{36}$ |
| 64 | Hillary Clinton | 67 | 56 | 59 |
| 3 | No Answer | 4 | 4 | 4 |

## ASK ALL: <br> WHOWIN

Regardless of who you support, who do you think will win the 2016 presidential election... [RANDOMIZE]
ASK IF RESPONDED TO WHOWIN (WHOWIN = 1,2):
WINMARGIN And do you think [PIPE RESPONSE FROM WHOWIN] will win... [RANDOMIZE]
Sept 27-
Oct 10
$\underline{2016}$
9 Trump by a lot
23 Trump in a close election
45 Clinton in a close election
19 Clinton by a lot
4 No Answer

## ASK ALL:

THERMO We'd like to get your feelings toward the presidential candidates on a "feeling thermometer." A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the person at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the group.

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

Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016

| NET | Very | Some- <br> what |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cold | cold <br> cold |  |
| $\underline{\mathbf{0 - 4 9}}$ | $\underline{0-24}$ | $\underline{25-49}$ |
| $\mathbf{5 1}$ | 42 | 9 |
| $\mathbf{5 1}$ | 42 | 9 |

b. Donald Trump

Sept 27-Oct 10, 2016
58
61 53

8
Neutral
$\underline{50}$
10
10

|  | Some- |
| :---: | :---: |
| NET | what |
| Warm | warm |
| $\mathbf{5 1 - 1 0 0}$ | $51-75$ |

Very
warm No 76-100 answer Mean

36

| 14 | 22 | 3 | 41 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 13 | 23 | 3 | 40 |

Apr 5-May 2, 2016
ASK ALL REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN (F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=1) [N=1,831]:
CONGTRUMPSUPPThinking about the candidates running for the U.S. House of Representatives inyour congressional district, if the Republican candidate in your district stronglysupports Donald Trump, would this make you feel... [RANDOMIZE ORDER OFOPTIONS 1 AND 2]

Sept 27
Oct 10$\underline{2016}$
45 More favorably toward the Republican candidate in your district8 Less favorably toward the Republican candidate in your district
46 Wouldn't matter
1 No Answer
ASK ALL DEMOCRAT/LEAN DEMOCRAT (F_PARTYSUM_FINAL=2) [N=2,200]:
CONGCLINTONSUPP Thinking about the candidates running for the U.S. House of Representatives in your congressional district, if the Democratic candidate in your district strongly supports Hillary Clinton, would this make you feel... [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1 AND 2]

Sept 27-
Oct 10 2016
46 More favorably toward the Democratic candidate in your district
3 Less favorably toward the Democratic candidate in your district
51 Wouldn't matter

* No Answer

ASK ALL:
TCFACTS
When it comes to important issues facing the country, would you say most Trump and Clinton supporters... [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]

Sept 27-

## Oct 10

$\underline{2016}$
19

2 No Answer

79 Not only disagree over plans and policies, but they also cannot agree on the basic facts
Can agree on the basic facts, even if they often disagree over plans and policies

ASK ALL: CONCEDE

Thinking about the results of the presidential election this November, how important do you think it is for a losing candidate to publicly acknowledge the winner as the legitimate president of the country?

## Sept 27-

Oct 10
$\underline{2016}$
50 Very important
24 Somewhat important
13 Not too important
12 Not at all important
1 No Answer


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of $25 \%$, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, $83 \%$ of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.
    ${ }^{2}$ Respondents to the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey who indicated that they are internet users but refused to provide an email address were initially permitted to participate in the American Trends Panel by mail, but were no longer permitted to join the panel after February 6, 2014. Internet users from the 2015 Survey on Government who refused to provide an email address were not permitted to join the panel.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves are removed from the panel. These cases are counted in the denominator of cumulative response rates.

[^2]:    1 The Wave 21 survey was administered exclusively in web mode. The survey included $N=147$ previous mail mode panelists that were converted to web and were provided an internet-enabled tablet if necessary.

[^3]:    ${ }^{2}$ In web version, question was asked "If the elections for the U.S. Senate in [RSTATE] were being held TODAY, who would you vote for?" where respondent's state name was shown in place of [RSTATE]. Response options were customized based on respondent's state; the candidate's name and political affiliation were shown in addition to "Another candidate" and "Not sure." Question wording on mail mode questionnaire asked SEN only as follows: "If the elections for U.S. Senate were being held TODAY, would you vote for [FORM1/FORM2: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"] for U.S. Senate in your state?

[^4]:    ${ }^{3}$ Candidates were presented based on respondent's Congressional District (CD). CD was determined based on geolocation coordinates where available or zip code if full geolocation coordinates were not available.
    ${ }^{4}$ Mail and web survey presented answer choices by party only instead of listing a specific candidate. Question wording on mail mode questionnaire asked CONG only as follows: "If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for
    [FORM1/FORM2: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"] for Congress in your district?

