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For Most Trump Voters, 'Very Warm' Feelings for Him Endured

Also: A detailed look at the 2016 electorate, based on voter records

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In the wake of Donald Trump's 2016 election victory, an overwhelming majority of those who said they had voted for him had "warm" feelings for him.

By this spring, more than a year into Trump's presidency, the feelings of these same Trump voters had changed very little.

In March, 82% of those who reported voting for Trump – and whom researchers were able to verify through voting records as having voted in 2016 – said they felt "warmly" toward Trump, with 62% saying they had "very warm" feelings toward him. Their feelings were expressed on a 0-100 "feeling thermometer." A rating of 51 or higher is "warm," with 76 or higher indicating "very warm" feelings.

The views of these same Trump voters had been quite similar in November 2016: At that time, 87% had warm feelings toward him, including 63% who had very warm feelings.

This report is based on surveys conducted on Pew Research Center's nationally representative American Trends Panel. The Center tracked views of Trump among the same groups of Americans in March 2018 and at three points in 2016, including in November shortly after the election. In that survey, respondents reported whom they had voted for.

When state voter files – publicly available records of who turned out to vote – became available months after the election, respondents were matched to these files. Self-reported turnout was not

Trump voters' feelings for him changed little from his election to March 2018

Among validated voters in 2016 who reported voting for Trump, % who rated him _____ on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)
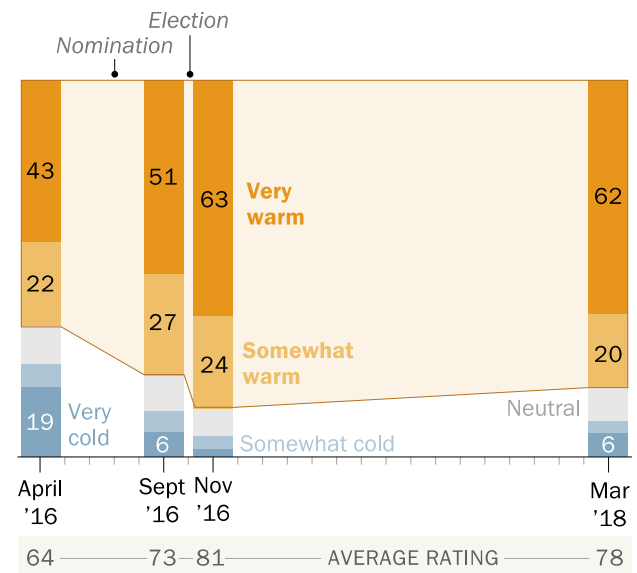
Note: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Among those who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election and who said they voted for Donald Trump.
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 2016 through March 2018 and matched to voter files. See Methodology for details.

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used in this analysis; rather, researchers took extensive effort to determine which respondents had in fact voted. And unlike other studies that have employed voter validation, this one employs five different commercial voter files in an effort to minimize the possibility that actual voters were incorrectly classified as nonvoters due to errors in locating their turnout records.

This study also includes a detailed portrait of the electorate – which also is based on the reported voting preferences of validated voters. It casts the widely reported educational divide among white voters in 2016 into stark relief: A majority of white college graduates (55%) reported voting for Hillary Clinton, compared with 38% who supported Trump. Among the much larger share of white voters who did not complete college, 64% backed Trump and just 28% supported Clinton.

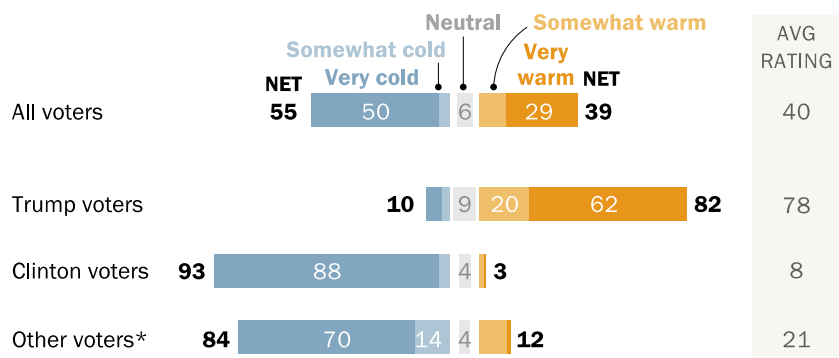## Views of Trump among Clinton voters, supporters of other candidates

Many voters who ultimately supported Trump in the general election did not always feel so warmly toward him. In April 2016, shortly before Trump secured the Republican nomination for president, a substantial share of those who would go on to vote for him in November expressed mixed, or even cold, feelings toward him: While most (65%) either viewed him warmly or very warmly, about a third (35%) felt either cold or neutral toward him. About one-in-five (19%) of those who ended up voting for Trump had *very* cold feelings for him at that time (rating him lower than 25 on the 0-100 scale).

Yet just a few months later, after Trump had wrapped up the GOP nomination and the general election campaign was underway, Trump voters' feelings toward him grew more positive. And in the wake of his election victory, the feelings of these same Trump voters turned even more positive. In November 2016, 87% of Trump voters said they had warm feelings toward him; and in March of this year, 82% did so.

While most Trump voters

In March, large majorities of Clinton, Johnson and Stein voters had 'very cold' feelings for Trump

% of validated voters in 2016 who rated Trump _____ on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest) in March 2018

	NET	Very cold	Somewhat cold	Neutral	Somewhat warm	Very warm	NET	AVG RATING
All voters	55	50		6		29	39	40
Trump voters	10		9		20	62	82	78
Clinton voters	93	88		4	3			8
Other voters*	84	70	14		4		12	21

*Those who voted for Gary Johnson or Jill Stein.

Note: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Among those who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 2016 through March 2018 and matched to voter files. See Methodology for details.

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continued to have very positive feelings for him, Clinton voters – and voters who supported Gary Johnson and Jill Stein – continued to have even more negative views of Trump.

This March, an overwhelming share (93%) of verified voters who had backed Clinton in the 2016 election gave Trump a cold rating, with 88% giving him a very cold rating. Only 3% of those who voted for Clinton felt at all warmly toward Trump. In fact, a majority of Clinton voters (65%) gave Trump the coldest possible rating (0 on the 0-100 scale).

A large majority of verified voters who reported voting for Gary Johnson or Jill Stein in 2016 also viewed Trump very negatively this spring. Among voters who said they voted for either of these candidates, 84% gave Trump a cold rating, with 70% rating him very coldly.

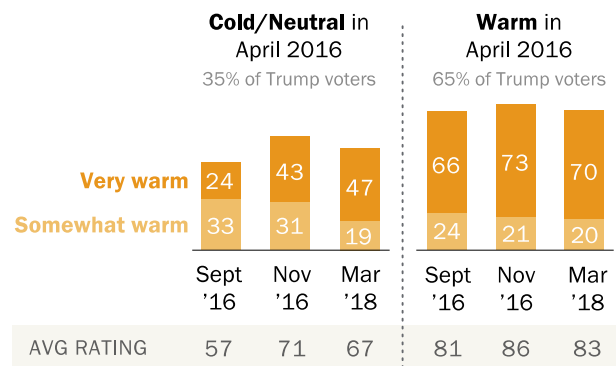## From cold (or neutral) to warm

About a third of Trump's November 2016 voters (35%) had cold or neutral feelings toward him earlier that year. By September 2016, a 57% majority of these voters had warmed to him, including 24% who felt very warmly. And shortly after the election, three-quarters of these once cold or neutral voters (74%) felt warmly toward him, including 43% who rated him very warmly.

Among the 65% majority of Trump voters who felt warmly toward him in April 2016, there was much less change in opinions about him. Of this group, 90% or more maintained warm feelings toward him in September and November 2016.

And among both of these groups of verified voters who cast ballots for Trump in November – those who felt warmly toward Trump in April 2016 and those who did not – opinions about Trump changed little between November 2016 and March 2018.

Most Trump voters who had been cold or neutral toward him in April 2016 turned warmer, stayed warm

Among validated voters in 2016 who reported voting for Trump, % who rated him warm on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating) in ...

	Cold/Neutral in April 2016 35% of Trump voters			Warm in April 2016 65% of Trump voters		
Very warm	24	43	47	66	73	70
Somewhat warm	33	31	19	24	21	20
	Sept '16	Nov '16	Mar '18	Sept '16	Nov '16	Mar '18
AVG RATING	57	71	67	81	86	83

Note: Feeling thermometer ratings: somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Among those who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election and who said they voted for Donald Trump.
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 2016 through March 2018 and matched to voter files. See Methodology for details.

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Four types of Trump voters, based on their views in 2016 and 2018

Comparing Trump voters' feelings about him in April 2016 with their views in March 2018 divides them into four groups: *Enthusiasts,* who had warm feelings for Trump at both points; *Converts*, who were initially cold or neutral but warmed over time; *Skeptics*, who were cold toward Trump in April 2016 and cold again in March 2018; and *Disillusioned* Trump voters, who were initially warm toward him but were cold or neutral in March 2018.

Enthusiasts make up the largest share of Trump voters (59% of verified voters who reported voting for Trump); they gave Trump warm ratings on the feeling thermometer in both April 2016 and March 2018. Their loyalty to Trump was evident in the primary campaign: In April 2016, six-in-ten *Enthusiasts* (60%) said they wanted to see Trump receive the nomination compared with just 14% of the other groups of Trump general election voters.
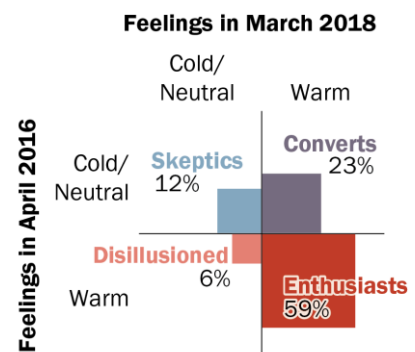
Converts make up the next largest share of Trump voters (23%). These voters were cold or neutral toward Trump prior to his receiving the Republican nomination. In April 2016, nearly half of *Converts* (44%) favored Ted Cruz for the GOP presidential nomination. But in September 2016, during the general election campaign, 73% of this group had warm feelings for Trump, including 31% who gave Trump a very warm rating. By March 2018, 71% gave him a very warm rating.

'Enthusiasts' make up a majority of Trump voters

% of verified voters who reported voting for Trump that fall into each category

Note: Among those who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election and who said they voted for Donald Trump. Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 2016 through March 2018 and matched to voter files. See Methodology for details.

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Skeptics, like *Converts,* had cold or neutral feelings for Trump in April 2016. Unlike *Converts*, however, *Skeptics* did not have warm feelings toward Trump nearly two years later, after he became president. *Skeptics,* who constitute 12% of Trump voters, reported voting for him, and their feelings for the president became somewhat warmer in the wake of the election. But their views of him grew more negative after he became president.

A very small segment of Trump voters, the *Disillusioned,* had warm feelings for him in April 2016 – and reported voting for him that November – but had cold or neutral feelings for him in March 2018. The *Disillusioned* make up just 6% of Trump voters.

Looking at the average thermometer ratings for Trump from 2016 to 2018 among three groups of Trump voters (there are too few of the *Disillusioned* for this analysis) underscores the different trajectories in feelings toward Trump among the *Converts, Skeptics* and *Enthusiasts*.

In April 2016, the average thermometer ratings for Trump among both *Converts* and *Skeptics* were very low (27 among *Converts*, 24 among *Skeptics*). By contrast, the average rating among *Enthusiasts* was 85.

Shortly after the election, both *Converts* and *Skeptics* warmed considerably toward Trump, but there were sizable differences in views of the president-elect among the two groups: In November 2016, the average rating for Trump among *Converts* was 22 points higher than among *Skeptics* (79 vs. 57).

By March 2018, the average thermometer rating among *Converts* was 85, slightly higher than it had been shortly after the election. The average rating among *Skeptics* plummeted more than 20 points (from 57 to 33). The average thermometer rating for Trump among *Enthusiasts* remained very high over the course of the 2016 campaign and into the second year of Trump's presidency (88 in March 2018).

Differing trajectories in views of Trump among 'Enthusiasts,' 'Converts' and 'Skeptics'

Among verified voters who reported voting for Trump, average rating of him on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating) in …
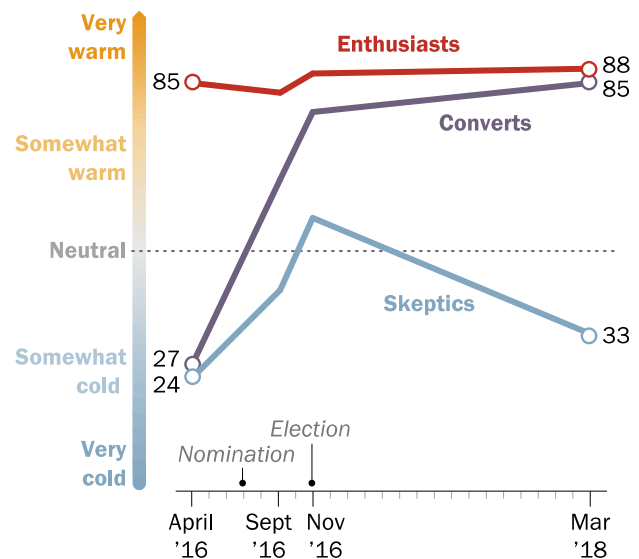
Note: Among those who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election and who said they voted for Donald Trump. There were not enough "disillusioned" voters to display.
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 2016 through March 2018 and matched to voter files. See Methodology for details.

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In March 2018, modest gender gap in views of Trump among supporters

In April 2016, men who ended up voting for Trump gave him somewhat higher average thermometer ratings than did his women supporters. There were no gender differences in November 2016, following the election. But a significant gap is now evident. Among voters who had reported voting for Trump, men gave him an average thermometer rating of 80 in March 2018, unchanged from November 2016. The average rating among women Trump voters was 74, down 7 points from shortly after the election. There were comparable gender differences during the primary campaign in April 2016, when the average rating for Trump was 6 points higher among men (67) than women (61) who said they voted for him.

The oldest Trump voters, those in the Silent Generation (born 1928-1945), gave him the highest average thermometer ratings in March of this year (82) and in November 2016 (87). There were more modest generational differences in April of that year.

Gender, age and educational differences in views of Trump among his voters

Among validated voters who reported voting for Trump, average rating of him on a 'feeling thermometer' from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating) in …

	April 2016	Nov 2016	March 2018
All validated Trump voters	64	81	78
Men (53%)	67	80	80
Women (47%)	61	81	74
Silent (20%)	61	87	82
Boomer (40%)	67	81	76
Gen X (23%)	61	77	77
Millennial (15%)	62	76	75
Postgrad (9%)	56	76	74
College grad (21%)	58	77	72
Some college (38%)	69	80	80
HS or less (31%)	64	84	79

Note: Among those who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election and who said they voted for Donald Trump. Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 2016 through March 2018 and matched to voter files. See Methodology for details.

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Trump voters without a four-year college degree have rated him consistently higher on the thermometer than have his supporters with a four-year college degree or more advanced education. In March of this year, the average rating among Trump voters who had not completed college was 80, compared with 72 among college graduates.

An examination of the 2016 electorate, based on validated voters

One of the biggest challenges facing those who seek to understand U.S. elections is establishing an accurate portrait of the American electorate and the choices made by different kinds of voters. Obtaining accurate data on how people voted is difficult for a number of reasons.

Surveys conducted before an election can overstate – or understate – the likelihood of some voters to vote. Depending on when a survey is conducted, voters might change their preferences before Election Day. Surveys conducted after an election can be affected by errors stemming from respondents' recall, either for whom they voted for or whether they voted at all. Even the special surveys conducted by major news organizations on Election Day – the "exit polls" – face challenges from refusals to participate and from the fact that a sizable minority of voters actually vote prior to Election Day and must be interviewed using conventional surveys beforehand.

This report introduces a new approach for looking at the electorate in the 2016 general election: matching members of Pew Research Center's nationally representative American Trends Panel to voter files to create a dataset of verified voters.

The analysis in this report uses post-election survey reports of 2016 vote preferences (conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016) among those who were identified as having voted using official voting records. These voter file records become available in the months after the election. (For more details, see "Methodology.") Among these verified voters, the overall vote preference mirrors the election results very closely: 48% reported voting for Hillary Clinton and 45% for Donald Trump; by comparison, the official national vote tally was 48% for Clinton, 46% for Trump.

This data source allows researchers to take a detailed look at the voting preferences of Americans across a range of demographic traits and characteristics. It joins resources already available – including the National Election Pool exit polls, the American National Election Studies and the Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement – in hopes of helping researchers continue to refine their understanding of the 2016 election and electorate, and address complex questions such as the role of race and education in 2016 candidate preferences.

It reaffirms many of the key findings about how different groups voted – and the composition of the electorate – that emerged from post-election analyses based on other surveys. Consistent with other analyses and past elections, race was strongly correlated with voting preference in 2016. But there are some differences as well. For instance, the wide educational divisions among white voters seen in other surveys are even more striking in these data.

Overall, whites with a four-year college degree or more education made up 30% of all validated voters. Among these voters, far more (55%) said they voted for Clinton than for Trump (38%). Among the much larger group of white voters who had not completed college (44% of all voters), Trump won by more than two-to-one (64% to 28%).
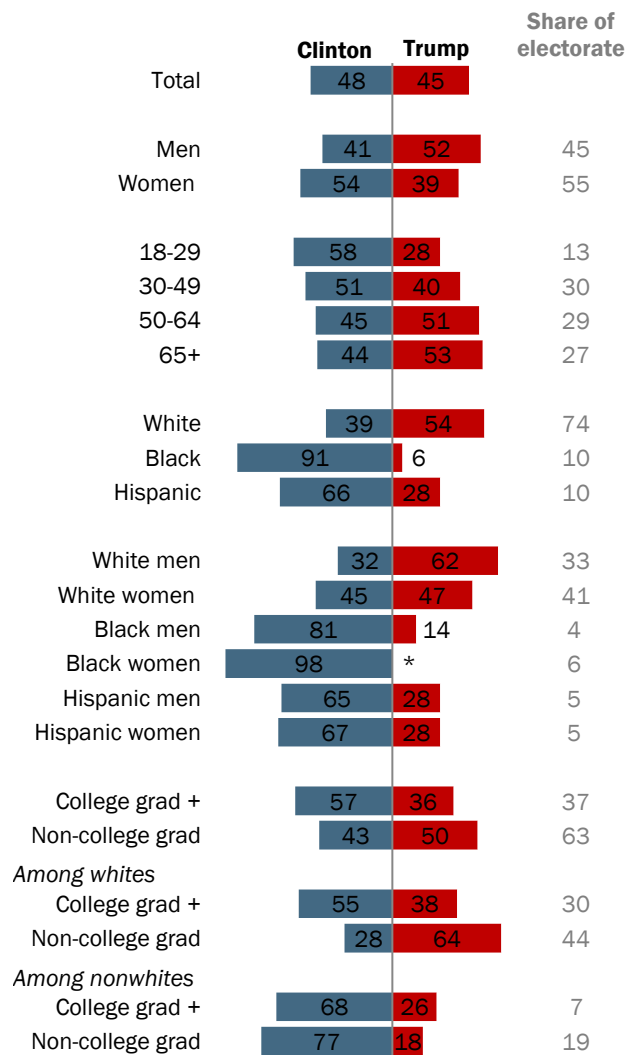
There also were large differences in voter preferences by gender, age and marital status. Women were 13 percentage points more likely than men to have voted for Clinton (54% among women, 41% among men). The gender gap was particularly large among validated voters younger than 50. In this group, 63% of women said they voted for Clinton, compared with just 43% of men. Among voters ages 50 and older, the gender gap in support for Clinton was much narrower (48% vs. 40%).

About half (52%) of validated voters were married; among them, Trump had a 55% to 39% majority. Among unmarried voters, Clinton led by a similar margin (58% to 34%).

Just 13% of validated voters in 2016 were younger than 30. Voters in this age group reported voting for Clinton over Trump by a margin of 58% to 28%, with 14% supporting one of the third-party candidates. Among voters ages 30 to 49, 51% supported Clinton and 40% favored Trump. Trump had an advantage among 50- to 64-year-old voters (51% to 45%) and those 65 and older (53% to 44%).

Among validated voters in 2016, wide gap among whites by education

% of validated voters in 2016 who reported voting for …

	Clinton	Trump	Share of electorate
Total	48	45	
Men	41	52	45
Women	54	39	55
18-29	58	28	13
30-49	51	40	30
50-64	45	51	29
65+	44	53	27
White	39	54	74
Black	91	6	10
Hispanic	66	28	10
White men	32	62	33
White women	45	47	41
Black men	81	14	4
Black women	98	*	6
Hispanic men	65	28	5
Hispanic women	67	28	5
College grad +	57	36	37
Non-college grad	43	50	63
Among whites			
College grad +	55	38	30
Non-college grad	28	64	44
Among nonwhites			
College grad +	68	26	7
Non-college grad	77	18	19

Notes: Based on 3,014 validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey and excludes those who refused to answer or reported voting for a candidate other than Trump, Clinton, Johnson or Stein. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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For a detailed breakdown of the composition of the 2016 electorate and voting preferences among a wide range of subgroups of voters, see Appendix. For the survey methodology and details on how survey respondents were matched to voter records, see "Methodology."
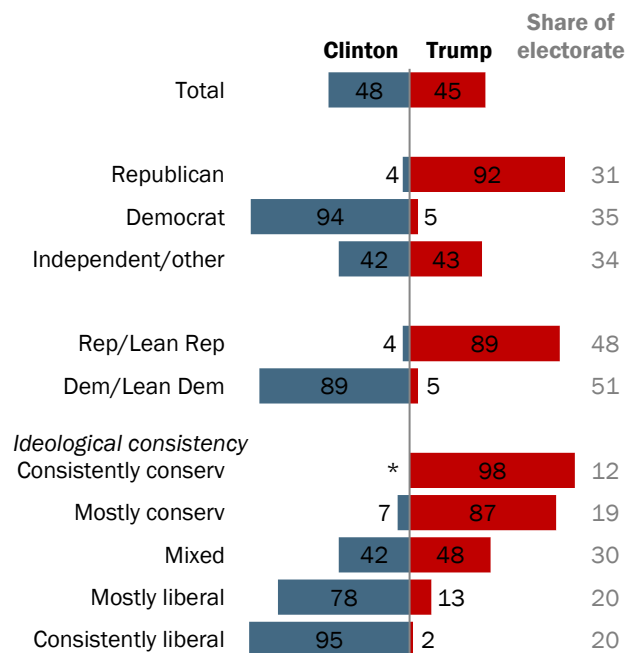
2016 vote by party and ideology

Voter choice and party affiliation were nearly synonymous. Republican validated voters reported

choosing Trump by a margin of 92% to 4%, while Democrats supported Clinton by 94% to 5%. The roughly one-third (34%) of the electorate who identified as independent or with another party divided their votes about evenly (43% Trump, 42% Clinton).

Similarly, voting was strongly correlated with ideological consistency, based on a scale composed of 10 political values – including opinions on race, homosexuality, the environment, foreign policy and the social safety net. Respondents are placed into five categories ranging from "consistently conservative" to "consistently liberal." (For more, see "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider.")

Virtually all validated voters with consistently liberal values voted for Clinton over Trump (95% to 2%), while nearly all those with consistently conservative values went for Trump (98% to less than 1% for Clinton). Those who held conservative views on most political values ("mostly conservative") favored Trump by 87% to 7%, while Clinton received the support of somewhat fewer among those who were "mostly liberal" (78%-

2016 electorate was deeply divided along ideological lines

% of validated voters who reported voting for …

	Clinton	Trump	Share of electorate
Total	48	45	
Republican	4	92	31
Democrat	94	5	35
Independent/other	42	43	34
Rep/Lean Rep	4	89	48
Dem/Lean Dem	89	5	51
Ideological consistency			
Consistently conserv	*	98	12
Mostly conserv	7	87	19
Mixed	42	48	30
Mostly liberal	78	13	20
Consistently liberal	95	2	20

*For items in the ideological consistency scale, see report "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider," Oct. 5, 2017. Notes: Based on 3,014 validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey and excludes those who refused to answer or reported voting for a candidate other than Trump, Clinton, Johnson or Stein.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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13%). Among the nearly one-third of voters whose ideological profile was mixed, the vote was divided (48% Trump, 42% Clinton).

Religious affiliation and attendance

As in previous elections, voters in 2016 were sharply divided along religious lines. Protestants constituted about half of the electorate and reported voting for Trump over Clinton by a 56% to 39% margin. Catholics were more evenly divided; 52% reported voting for Trump, while 44% said they backed Clinton. Conversely, a solid majority of the religiously unaffiliated – atheists, agnostics and those who said their religion was "nothing in particular" – said they voted for Clinton (65%) over Trump (24%).
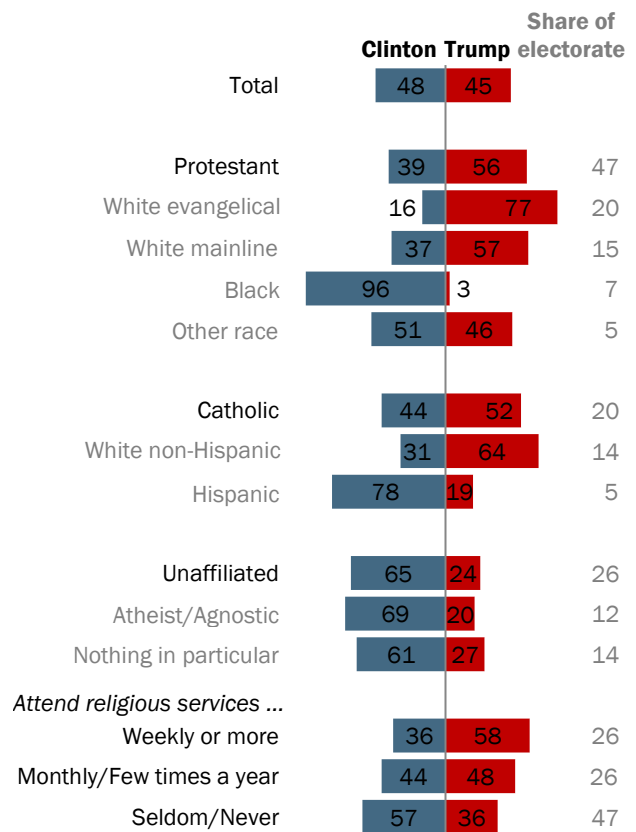
Within the Protestant tradition, voters were divided by race and evangelicalism. White evangelical Protestants, who constituted one out of every five voters, consistently have been among the strongest supporters of Republican candidates and supported Trump by a 77% to 16% margin.

This is nearly identical to the 78% to 16% advantage that Mitt Romney held over Barack Obama among white evangelicals in Pew Research Center polling on the eve of the 2012 presidential election.

Among white mainline Protestants (15% of voters overall) 57% said they voted for Trump and 37% reported voting for Clinton. Clinton won overwhelmingly among black Protestants (96% vs. 3% for Trump).[1]

Wide divisions by religious affiliation, attendance by 2016 validated voters

% of validated voters who reported voting for ...

	Clinton	Trump	Share of electorate
Total	48	45	
Protestant	39	56	47
White evangelical	16	77	20
White mainline	37	57	15
Black	96	3	7
Other race	51	46	5
Catholic	44	52	20
White non-Hispanic	31	64	14
Hispanic	78	19	5
Unaffiliated	65	24	26
Atheist/Agnostic	69	20	12
Nothing in particular	61	27	14
Attend religious services ...			
Weekly or more	36	58	26
Monthly/Few times a year	44	48	26
Seldom/Never	57	36	47

Notes: Based on 3,014 validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey and excludes those who refused to answer or reported voting for a candidate other than Trump, Clinton, Johnson or Stein. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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[1] CORRECTION (October 3, 2019): The text of the report has been edited to correct an error in the reported vote choice of non-Hispanic white mainline Protestants, 57% of whom voted for Donald Trump vs. 37% for Hillary Clinton. The graphics and tables were unaffected by this error.

White non-Hispanic Catholics supported Trump by a ratio of about two-to-one (64% to 31%), while Hispanic Catholics favored Clinton by an even larger 78% to 19% margin.

Among all voters, those who reported attending services at least weekly favored Trump by a margin of 58% to 36%; the margin was similar among those who said they attended once or twice a month (60% to 38%). Those who reported attending services a few times a year or seldom were divided; 51% supported Clinton and 42% supported Trump. Among the nearly one-quarter of voters (23%) who said they never attend religious services, Clinton led Trump by 61% to 30%.

Demographic and political profiles of Clinton and Trump voters

As the pattern of the votes implies, the coalitions that supported the two major party nominees were very different demographically. These differences mirror the broad changes in the compositions of the two parties: The Republican and Democratic coalitions are more dissimilar demographically than at any point in the past two decades.

In 2016, a 61% majority of those who said they voted for Clinton were women, while Trump voters were more evenly divided between men and women. Whites constituted nearly nine-in-ten (88%) of Trump's supporters, compared with a smaller majority (60%) who voted for Clinton. Clinton's

The demographic profiles of Trump and Clinton voters differed dramatically

% composition of Clinton voters and Trump voters
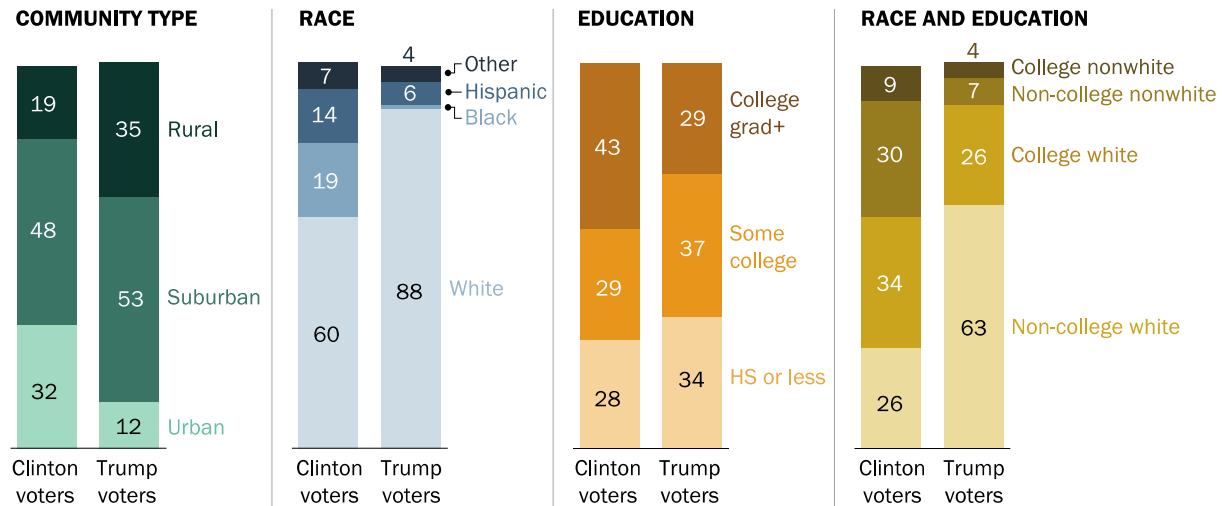
Notes: Based on validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey. Whites include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Nonwhites include Hispanics. No answer not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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voters also were younger than Trump's on average (48% were younger than 50, compared with 35% for Trump).

Among Clinton voters, 43% were college graduates, compared with 29% of Trump voters. And while non-college whites made up a majority of Trump's voters (63%), they constituted only about a quarter of Clinton's (26%).

About a third of Clinton voters (32%) lived in urban areas, versus just 12% among Trump voters. By contrast, 35% of Trump voters said they were from a rural area; among Clinton voters, 19% lived in a rural community.

The religious profile of the two candidates' voters also differed considerably. About a third of Clinton voters (35%) were religiously unaffiliated, as were just 14% of Trump voters. White evangelical voters made up a much greater share of Trump's voters (34%) than Clinton's (7%). One-in-five Trump voters (20%) were white non-Hispanic Catholics, compared with just 9% of Clinton voters. And black Protestants were 14% of Clintons supporters, while almost no black Protestants in the survey reported voting for Trump.

How did 2016 voters and nonvoters compare?

The data also provide a profile of voting-eligible nonvoters. Four-in-ten Americans who were eligible to vote did not do so in 2016. There are striking demographic differences between voters and nonvoters, and significant political differences as well. Compared with validated voters, nonvoters were more likely to be younger, less educated, less affluent and nonwhite. And nonvoters were much more Democratic.

Profiles of validated voters and nonvoters in 2016; nonwhites made up nearly half of nonvoters, but only a quarter of voters

% composition of validated voters and nonvoters
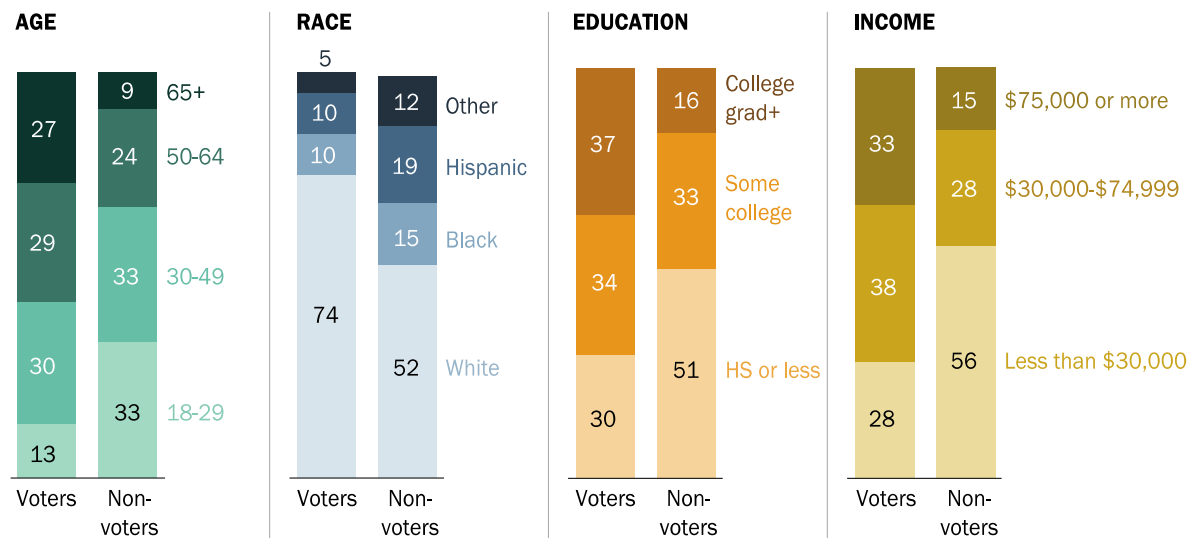
AGE

Voters	Non-voters	
27	9	65+
	24	50-64
29	33	30-49
30		
	33	18-29
13		

RACE

Voters	Non-voters	
5	12	Other
10	19	Hispanic
10	15	Black
74	52	White

EDUCATION

Voters	Non-voters	
37	16	College grad+
34	33	Some college
30	51	HS or less

INCOME

Voters	Non-voters	
33	15	$75,000 or more
38	28	$30,000-$74,999
28	56	Less than $30,000

Notes: Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files in November 2016 and reported voting for Trump, Clinton, Johnson or Stein. Nonvoters are those who were not found to have voted in any of the files. Corrected for questionable matches. Whites include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Nonwhites include Hispanics. No answer not shown.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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Among members of the panel who were categorized as nonvoters, 37% expressed a preference for Hillary Clinton, 30% for Donald Trump and 9% for Gary Johnson or Jill Stein; 14% preferred another candidate or declined to express a preference. Party affiliation among nonvoters skewed even more Democratic than did candidate preferences. Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents made up a 55% majority of nonvoters; about four-in-ten (41%) nonvoters were Republicans and Republican leaners. Voters were split almost evenly between Democrats and Democratic leaners (51%) and Republicans and Republican leaners (48%).

While nonvoters were less likely than voters to align with the GOP, the picture was less clear with respect to ideology. Owing in part to the tendency of nonvoters to be politically disengaged more generally, there are far more nonvoters than voters who fall into the "mixed" category on the ideological consistency scale. Among nonvoters who hold a set of political values with a distinct ideological orientation, those with generally liberal values (30% of all nonvoters) considerably outnumbered those with generally conservative values (18%).

Voters were much more highly educated than nonvoters. Just 16% of nonvoters were college graduates, compared with 37% of voters. Adults with only a high school education constituted half (51%) of nonvoters, compared with 30% among voters. Whites without a college degree made up 43% of nonvoters, about the same as among voters (44%). But nonwhites without a college degree were far more numerous among nonvoters (at 42%) than they were among voters (19%).

There also were wide income differences between voters and nonvoters. More than half (56%) of nonvoters reported annual family incomes under $30,000. Among voters, just 28% fell into this income category.

Acknowledgements

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

Methodology

This report is based on respondents to a self-administered web survey conducted between Nov. 29 and Dec. 12, 2016, who were matched to at least one of five different commercial voter file databases. This includes 3,014 individuals who were validated as having voted in the 2016 general election and 756 who were classified as nonvoters. Respondents were members of Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel, a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults recruited from landline and cellphone 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. At the time of the Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016 survey, the panel was managed by Abt, and it is currently being managed by GfK.

An effort was made to match the panelists to five commercially available databases that contain information about voter registration and turnout for nearly every U.S. adult. In total, 91% of panelists were located in at least one of the files. Panelists who were verified as having voted in at least one of the commercial voter databases were considered to be validated voters and are included in the tabulations here. Panelists for whom no turnout record was located were considered to be nonvoters. Details about the validation process are discussed in a more general report about commercial voter files published in February 2018, "Commercial Voter Files and the Study of U.S. Politics."

The resulting sample of verified voters mirrored the election results very closely. After the validation was done and the sample was limited to those for whom a turnout record could be located, 48% reported voting for Hillary Clinton and 45% for Donald Trump; by comparison the official national vote tally was 48% for Clinton, 46% for Trump.

No one survey is perfect, and like others this one is subject to error. But a number of features may help to bolster its value as a source of information about who participated in the election and for whom they voted. First, the panel is based on a probability sample of the U.S. public and is weighted to correct for nonresponse and other biases. Second, vote preference was gathered using a self-administered survey, minimizing the risk that respondents might decline to answer. Third, the interviews were conducted within about a month of the election, reducing the potential for memory errors or subsequent political events to affect recall of candidate preference. In addition, pre-election vote preferences from a survey conducted with the same set of respondents are largely consistent with this post-election analysis. Fourth – and perhaps most important – the survey did not use self-reported turnout but rather made an extensive effort to validate whether each respondent actually voted in the election. Unlike other studies that have employed vote validation, this one employed five different commercial voter files in an effort to minimize the possibility that

actual voters were incorrectly classified as nonvoters due to errors in locating their turnout records.

For full details about the voter file matching and voter verification process, see the February 2018 report.

See topline from "In Election's Wake, Partisans Assess the State of Their Parties," December 20, 2016 for full wording of the questions used in this analysis.

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 Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Voters	3,014	3.2 percentage points
College degree or more	1,718	4.2 percentage points
No college degree	1,288	4.9 percentage points
White, college graduates	1,463	4.6 percentage points
White, no college degree	1,003	5.6 percentage points
Non-white, college graduates	243	11.3 percentage points
Non-white, no college degree	274	10.6 percentage points
Non-voters	756	6.4 percentage points
Trump voters	1,283	4.9 percentage points
Enthusiasts	684	6.7 percentage points
Converts	361	9.3 percentage points
Skeptics	171	13.5 percentage points
Clinton voters	1,552	4.5 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.

About the missing data imputation

Participants in the American Trends Panel are sent surveys to complete roughly monthly. While wave-level response rates are relatively high, not every individual in the panel participates in every

survey. The analyses of sentiment of 2016 voters at different time points in this report are based on four surveys fielded in April 2016, September 2016, November 2016 and March 2018.

Of the more than 3,000 respondents who participated in the November 2016 wave and were validated as having voted in the 2016 election, several hundred respondents (16% overall) did not respond to at least one of the other waves. A statistical procedure called multiple imputation by chained equations was used to guard against the analysis being undermined by this wave level nonresponse. In particular, there is some evidence that those who are most likely to participate consistently in the panel are more interested and knowledgeable about politics than those who only periodically respond. Omitting the individuals who did not participate in every wave of the survey might introduce bias into the sample.

The particular missing data imputation algorithm we used is a method known as multiple imputation by chained equations, or MICE. The MICE algorithm is designed for situations where there are several variables with missing data that need to be imputed at the same time. MICE takes the full survey dataset and iteratively fills in missing data for each question using a statistical model that more closely approximates the overall distribution with each iteration. The process is repeated many times until the distribution of imputed data no longer changes. Although many kinds of statistical models can be used with MICE, this project used classification and regression trees (CART). For more details on the MICE algorithm and the use of CART for imputation, see:

Azur, Melissa J., Elizabeth A. Stuart, Constantine Frangakis, and Philip J. Leaf. March 2011. "Multiple Imputation by Chained Equations: What Is It and How Does It Work." International Journal of Methods in Psychiatric Research.

Burgette, Lane F., and Jerome P. Reiter. Nov. 1, 2010. "Multiple Imputation for Missing Data via Sequential Regression Trees." American Journal of Epidemiology.

Appendix: Detailed tables of the 2016 electorate

2016 vote choice among validated voters

% of validated voters who reported voting for ...

Share of electorate		Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump
(45)	Men	41	52
(55)	Women	54	39
(13)	18-29	58	28
(30)	30-49	51	40
(29)	50-64	45	51
(27)	65+	44	53
(74)	White	39	54
(10)	Black	91	6
(10)	Hispanic	66	28
(5)	Other/Mixed race	59	32
(33)	White men	32	62
(41)	White women	45	47
(4)	Black men	81	14
(6)	Black women	98	*
(5)	Hispanic men	65	28
(5)	Hispanic women	67	28
Among ages 18-49			
(21)	Men	43	46
(23)	Women	63	27
(14)	White men	34	55
(16)	White women	55	33
(7)	Nonwhite men	62	29
(7)	Nonwhite women	81	12
Among ages 50 and older			
(24)	Men	40	58
(32)	Women	48	47
(20)	White men	31	67
(25)	White women	39	56
(5)	Nonwhite men	75	23
(7)	Nonwhite women	82	16

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2016 vote choice among validated voters, continued

% of validated voters who reported voting for …

Share of electorate		Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump
(14)	Postgrad	66	29
(23)	College grad	52	41
(34)	Some college	42	49
(30)	HS or less	44	51
(37)	College grad+	57	36
(63)	Non-college grad	43	50
	Among whites		
(30)	College grad+	55	38
(44)	Non-college grad	28	64
(13)	College grad+ men	47	44
(21)	Non-college grad men	23	73
(17)	College grad+ women	61	35
(24)	Non-college grad women	33	56
	Among nonwhites		
(7)	College grad+	68	26
(19)	Non-college grad	77	18
	Among all		
(52)	Married	39	55
(48)	Unmarried	58	34
(27)	Married men	32	62
(19)	Unmarried men	54	39
(26)	Married women	47	48
(29)	Unmarried women	60	31

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CORRECTION (October 17, 2018): In the chart above, the "share of electorate" column has been edited to reflect updated percentages for gender and race by education to correct for a data tabulation error. Changes did not affect the report's substantive findings.

2016 vote choice among validated voters, continued

% of validated voters who reported voting for …

Share of electorate		Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump
	Family income		
(7)	$150,000 or more	51	44
(11)	$100,000-$149,999	48	45
(15)	$75,000-$99,999	39	55
(18)	$50,000-$74,999	48	46
(20)	$30,000-$49,999	42	54
(28)	Less than $30,000	58	32
(33)	$75,000 or more	45	49
(38)	$30,000-$74,999	45	50
(28)	Less than $30,000	58	32
	Among whites		
(27)	$75,000 or more	39	55
(28)	$30,000-$74,999	37	58
(18)	Less than $30,000	44	43
	Among nonwhites		
(6)	$75,000 or more	71	23
(10)	$30,000-$74,999	68	27
(10)	Less than $30,000	84	10
	Among all, say they live in ____ community		
(22)	Urban	70	24
(50)	Suburban	45	47
(27)	Rural	34	59

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2016 vote choice among validated voters, continued

% of validated voters who reported voting for …

Share of electorate		Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump
(47)	Protestant	39	56
(20)	Catholic	44	52
(26)	Unaffiliated	65	24
(20)	White Evangelical Protestant	16	77
(15)	White Mainline Protestant	37	57
(7)	Black Protestant	96	3
(5)	Other race Protestant	51	46
(14)	White non-Hispanic Catholic	31	64
(5)	Hispanic Catholic	78	19
(12)	Atheist/Agnostic	69	20
(14)	Nothing in particular	61	27
	Attend religious services…		
(26)	At least once a week	36	58
(26)	Once or twice a month/a few times a year	44	48
(47)	Seldom/Never	57	36

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2016 vote choice among validated voters; continued

% of validated voters who reported voting for …

Share of electorate		Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump
(31)	Republican	4	92
(35)	Democrat	94	5
(34)	Independent/other	42	43
(48)	Republican/Lean Republican	4	89
(51)	Democrat/Lean Democrat	89	5
	Self-identified ideology		
(9)	Very conservative	16	83
(26)	Conservative	10	84
(38)	Moderate	55	36
(18)	Liberal	86	8
(9)	Very liberal	88	4
	Ideological consistency scale*		
(12)	Consistently conservative	*	98
(19)	Mostly conservative	7	87
(30)	Mixed	42	48
(20)	Mostly liberal	78	13
(20)	Consistently liberal	95	2

*For items in the ideological consistency scale, see the Center's report "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider," Oct. 5, 2017.

Notes: Based on 3,014 validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey and excludes those who refused to answer or reported voting for a candidate other than Trump, Clinton, Johnson or Stein.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of voters and nonvoters

% composition of validated voters and nonvoters

	Voters	Nonvoters
Candidate preference		
Hillary Clinton	48	37
Donald Trump	45	30
Male	45	51
Female	55	49
18-29	13	33
30-49	30	33
50-64	29	24
65+	27	9
White	74	52
Black	10	15
Hispanic	10	19
Other	5	12
Postgrad	14	6
College grad	23	10
Some college	34	33
HS or less	30	51
College grad+	37	16
Non-college grad	63	84
Among whites		
College grad+	30	11
Non-college grad	44	43
Among nonwhites		
College grad+	7	5
Non-college grad	19	42
N=	*3,014*	*756*

*For items in the ideological consistency scale, see the Center's report "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider," Oct. 5, 2017.
Notes: Based on validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of voters and nonvoters, continued

% composition of validated voters and nonvoters

	Voters	Nonvoters
Family income		
$150,000 or more	7	4
$100,000-$149,999	11	4
$75,000-$99,999	15	8
$50,000-$74,999	18	11
$30,000-$49,999	20	17
Less than $30,000	28	56
$75,000 or more	33	15
$30,000-$74,999	38	28
Less than $30,000	28	56
Among whites		
$75,000 or more	27	9
$30,000-$74,999	28	15
Less than $30,000	18	29
Among nonwhites		
$75,000 or more	6	5
$30,000-$74,999	10	13
Less than $30,000	10	28
Among all, say they live in ___ community		
Urban	22	27
Suburban	50	42
Rural	27	30
N=	*3,014*	*756*

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of voters and nonvoters, continued

% composition of validated voters and nonvoters

	Voters	Nonvoters
White Evangelical Protestant	20	13
White Mainline Protestant	15	10
Black Protestant	7	9
Other race Protestant	5	13
White non-Hispanic Catholic	14	6
Hispanic Catholic	5	7
Atheist/Agnostic	12	10
Nothing in particular	14	22
Attend religious services…		
At least once a week	26	23
Once or twice a month/a few times a year	26	29
Seldom/Never	47	48
Married	52	36
Unmarried	48	64
Married men	27	17
Unmarried men	19	34
Married women	26	20
Unmarried women	29	30
N=	*3,014*	*756*

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of voters and nonvoters, continued

% composition of validated voters and nonvoters

	Voters	Nonvoters
Candidate preference		
Hillary Clinton	48	37
Donald Trump	45	30
Republican/Lean Republican	48	41
Democrat/Lean Democrat	51	55
Self-identified ideology		
Very conservative	9	14
Conservative	26	23
Moderate	38	39
Liberal	18	17
Very liberal	9	6
Ideological consistency scale*		
Consistently conservative	12	5
Mostly conservative	19	13
Mixed	30	52
Mostly liberal	20	22
Consistently liberal	20	8
N=	*3,014*	*756*

*For items in the ideological consistency scale, see the Center's report "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider," Oct. 5, 2017.

Notes: Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of 5 commercial voter files in November 2016 and reported voting for Trump, Clinton, Johnson or Stein. Nonvoters are those who were not found to have voted in any of the files. Corrected for questionable matches. Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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Profile of Clinton and Trump voters

% composition of validated Clinton voters and Trump voters

	Clinton voters	Trump voters
Male	39	53
Female	61	47
18-29	16	8
30-49	32	27
50-64	27	33
65+	25	32
White	60	88
Black	19	1
Hispanic	14	6
Other/Mixed race	7	4
Postgrad	19	9
College grad	25	21
Some college	29	37
HS or less	28	34
College grad+	43	29
Non-college grad	57	71
Among whites		
College grad+	34	26
Non-college grad	26	63
Among nonwhites		
College grad+	9	4
Non-college grad	30	7
N=	*1,552*	*1,283*

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of Clinton and Trump voters, continued

% composition of validated Clinton voters and Trump voters

	Clinton voters	Trump voters
Family income		
$150,000 or more	8	7
$100,000-$149,999	11	11
$75,000-$99,999	12	18
$50,000-$74,999	18	19
$30,000-$49,999	17	23
Less than $30,000	33	20
$75,000 or more	31	36
$30,000-$74,999	35	42
Less than $30,000	33	20
Among whites		
$75,000 or more	22	34
$30,000-$74,999	22	37
Less than $30,000	16	18
Among nonwhites		
$75,000 or more	9	3
$30,000-$74,999	14	6
Less than $30,000	17	2
Among all, say they live in ___ community		
Urban	32	12
Suburban	48	53
Rural	19	35
N=	*1,552*	*1,283*

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of Clinton and Trump voters, continued

% composition of validated Clinton voters and Trump voters

	Clinton voters	Trump voters
White Evangelical Protestant	7	34
White Mainline Protestant	11	19
Black Protestant	14	*
Other race Protestant	5	5
White non-Hispanic Catholic	9	20
Hispanic Catholic	8	2
Atheist/Agnostic	17	5
Nothing in particular	17	8
Attend religious services...		
At least once a week	20	34
Once or twice a month/a few times a year	24	29
Seldom/Never	56	38
Married	43	64
Unmarried	57	36
Married men	18	36
Unmarried men	21	17
Married women	25	27
Unmarried women	36	20
N=	*1,552*	*1,283*

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Profile of Clinton and Trump voters, continued

% composition of validated Clinton voters and Trump voters

	Clinton voters	Trump voters
Republican/Lean Republican	4	94
Democrat/Lean Democrat	95	6
Self-identified ideology		
Very conservative	3	17
Conservative	5	48
Moderate	43	30
Liberal	32	3
Very liberal	17	1
*Ideological consistency scale**		
Consistently conservative	*	25
Mostly conservative	3	37
Mixed	26	31
Mostly liberal	33	6
Consistently liberal	39	1
N=	*1,552*	*1,283*

*For items in the ideological consistency scale, see the Center's report "The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider," Oct. 5, 2017.
Notes: Based on validated 2016 general election voters. Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files; corrected for questionable matches. Vote choice is from a post-election survey.
Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

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