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In Their Own Words: Why Voters Support – and Have Concerns About – Clinton and Trump

Major factor in candidate support: Disliking the opponent

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

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In Their Own Words: Why Voters Support – and Have Concerns About – Clinton and Trump

Major factor in candidate support: Disliking the opponent

Voters who support Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump offer a variety of reasons why they do so, ranging from the candidates’ issue positions to their personal backgrounds.

But a major factor for both groups, beyond their candidate’s attributes, is who they are *not*: Asked in an open-ended format, 33% of Trump supporters and about as many Clinton supporters (32%) frame their vote at least partially in opposition to the other candidate, often using harsh language.

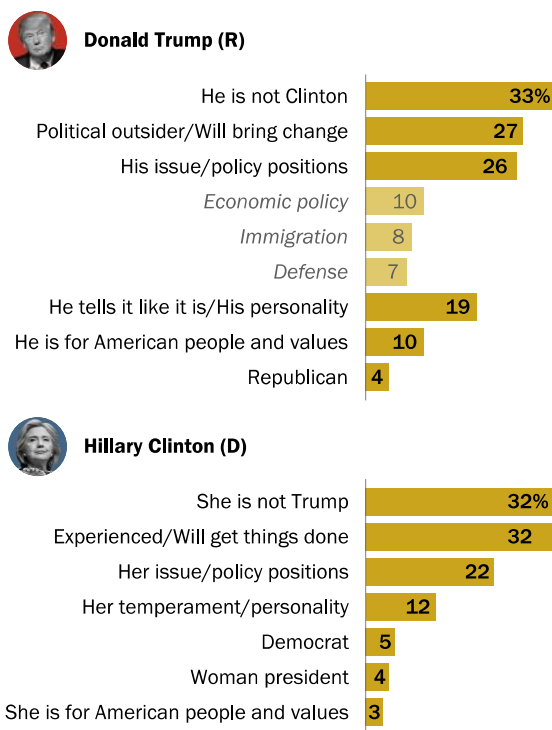
Among Clinton supporters, only her experience, at 32%, is mentioned as frequently as opposition to Trump. For Trump supporters, opposition to Clinton is among the most frequently cited factors for supporting their candidate, with nearly as many citing his status as a political outsider (27%) or his policy stances (26%).

This “opposition as support” takes place in the context of an election campaign that is far more likely to be viewed in negative than positive terms: Majorities of Americans describe themselves as “frustrated” and “disgusted” with the campaign, while few declare themselves “interested”, “optimistic” or “excited.” And these negative takes have only become more widespread over the course of the summer.

The survey conducted August 16-September 12 online and by mail among 4,538 adults, including 3,941 registered voters, provides a unique perspective on voters’ feelings about the presidential candidates. Many voters have

For many voters, opposition to the other candidate is a main factor in their vote

In your own words, what is the main reason you support ... (%)



Notes: Based on registered voters. Open-ended questions asked only of those who support/lean toward Trump or Clinton. Responses offered by at least 3% shown here. Don't know responses not shown. See topline for full set of responses. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.
Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016.

unqualified praise for their preferred candidate. A 78-year-old woman supporting Clinton describes her as “a seasoned veteran” who “can get things done,” and adds: “We need a woman!”

A 43-year-old man who backs Trump says the main reason is that “he’s not a career politician, and he doesn’t owe politicians anything. He’s got real-world experience that most career politicians lack.”

Yet sizable shares in both camps focus at least partly – or in many cases exclusively – on the flaws or shortcomings of the opposing candidate. Several voters, including a 41-year-old woman who is supporting Clinton, describe their choice as “the lesser of two evils.” A 49-year-old man who backs Trump says: “As bad as he is, I think Hillary is worse for our country.”

Clinton and Trump supporters also were asked about concerns they have, if any, about their own candidate. Roughly six-in-ten Trump supporters (62%) and half of Clinton supporters (50%) offer a concern about the candidate they support (the remainder assert that they have no concerns or do not give an answer).

For Trump supporters, the candidate’s character and personality is mentioned far more frequently than any other concern. Four-in-ten registered voters who support Trump point to his personality as their main concern – with 34% specifically referring to his temperament or speaking style.

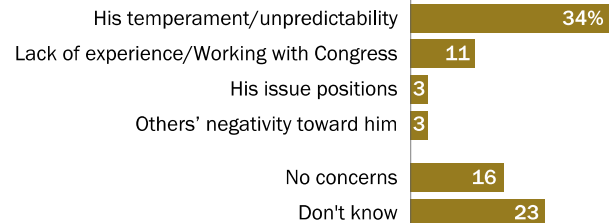
Some Trump supporters express blunt criticisms of their candidate. One 65-year-old woman describes him as a “temperamental child saying anything in an attempt to get what he wants.” A 40-year-old woman points to Trump’s “temper” as a concern, but adds that she likes “his honesty and hard-line beliefs.”

Temperament is Trump backers’ top concern about their candidate

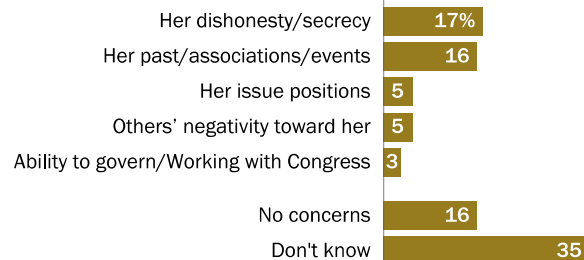
And while you support ___ for president, what, if anything, concerns you about the candidate?



Donald Trump (R)



Hillary Clinton (D)



Notes: Based on registered voters. Open-ended questions asked only of those who support/lean toward Trump or Clinton. Responses offered by at least 3% shown here. See topline for full set of responses. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses. Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16-Sept. 12, 2016.

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Fewer Clinton supporters (18%) cite her character and personality as a concern, but most of those who do (17% of Clinton supporters overall) specifically refer to concerns about honesty or secrecy. An additional 16% cite Clinton's past or some of her associations, such as her ties to Wall Street, her husband's administration, the Clinton Foundation or actions associated with her time as Secretary of State (including her use of a private email server).

A 45-year-old man who supports Clinton says she is "too guarded and not transparent enough. [She] doesn't speak to the media" and "is naturally defensive when it comes to any criticism." A 36-year-old woman says that while Clinton would make a "fine president," she adds she is "concerned about her trustworthiness."

The new survey also finds that, no matter who wins on Nov. 8, few voters anticipate feeling excited about the outcome. Just 11% of all registered voters say they would be excited if Trump won, 26% say they would be relieved, while a majority says they would be disappointed (34%) or angry (25%).

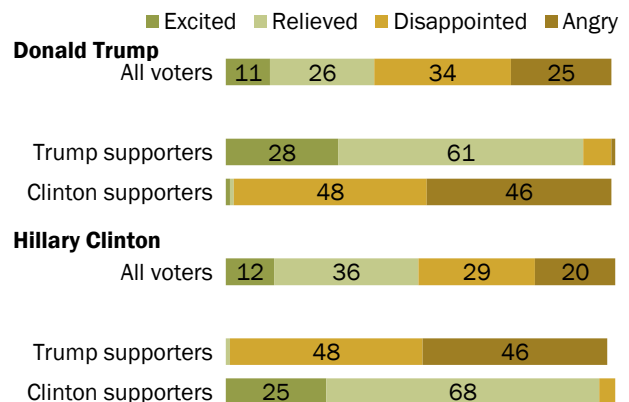
Just 12% overall would be excited if Clinton wins, while 36% would be relieved; nearly half would be disappointed (29%) or angry (20%).

Far more Clinton and Trump supporters say they would feel relieved than excited if their candidate wins. Just a quarter of Clinton supporters (25%) and a similar share of Trump backers (28%) say they would be excited if their candidate were to win.

[As previous Pew Research Center surveys](#) have found, voters have very negative feelings about the presidential campaign. Far more say they have been feeling frustrated (57%), disgusted (55%) or scared (43%) than say they are interested (31%), optimistic (15%) or excited (just 10%). Yet only 9% of voters say they feel indifferent about the campaign. Trump and Clinton supporters express similar levels of frustration (55% and 53%, respectively) and differ little in their feelings of disgust (53% vs. 48%) or fear (46% vs. 41%).

Few will be excited Nov. 8, no matter the outcome

How would you feel if ___ won the presidential election in November 2016? (%)



Notes: Based on registered voters.

Don't know/No answer not shown.

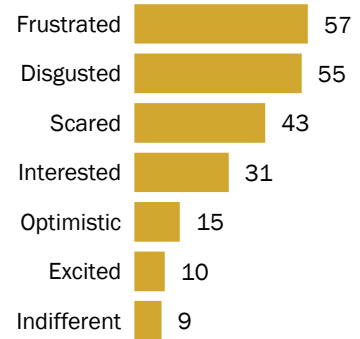
Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16–Sept. 12, 2016.

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Negative feelings about the campaign rose over the summer. The share of voters saying they've been feeling frustrated has risen 8 percentage points since earlier in the summer (from 49% to 57%). Similarly, a larger share now say they are disgusted (45% then, 55% now), while slightly more now say they are scared than said this two months ago (37% then, 43% now). There has been little change in the share expressing positive feelings about the campaign over the course of the summer.

Voters' negative feelings about campaign 2016

*% who say they have been feeling
___ about the campaign*



Note: Based on registered voters.
Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16-
Sept. 12, 2016.

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Explaining their vote: Enthusiasm mixes with dislike of opponent

Voters offer thoughtful comments about why they support their candidate for president. Below are some illustrative examples of the more than 3,100 comments from voters in the nationally representative, randomly selected, American Trends Panel.

Voices of voters: What is the main reason you support _____ for president?

Donald Trump

We need change in Washington, and Hillary cannot be trusted. The politicians need to remember who they represent and not just themselves.

Man, 75

I don't like him - he seems arrogant and egotistical. That said, he's the lesser of the evils I'm seeing for this year's election. But not by much.

Woman, 44

Not a LIAR and is for a strong military, enforcing immigration laws, a conservative Supreme Court, and our right to bear arms.

Man, 70

He is outside of the political corruption that has taken over the country. Like him or not, he is our only chance to right this sinking ship. Hillary Clinton represents everything that is wrong in government. SHE CAN NOT BECOME PRESIDENT!!

Woman, 50

While both candidates are seriously flawed, Hillary belongs behind bars and not the Oval Office. Trump brings hope for this country. Hillary brings nothing but lies.

Man, 56

He will protect our borders, he will get the job done and make America great again. He will put America first, not special interest groups.

Man, 43

Hillary is a terrible candidate. Trump is a business man, maybe a little bit of business and less politics is what this country needs.

Woman, 31

He speaks his mind, although sometimes too boldly. He appears to be more honest than HRC. His plans to protect our country and improve the military are important to me.

Man, 71

I am opposed to Hillary Clinton. I believe she is corrupt and a liar.

Man, 67

Hillary Clinton

She's very knowledgeable about foreign affairs and government, and I trust she would do the best thing for this country. Plus help the economy and making the wealthy pay their fair share in taxes.

Man, 58

Very smart. Lifetime of public service. Woman. Professes a commitment to curbing financial excess and policies that will promote less economic disparity and promote opportunity. She is a work and will sweat the details. Trump is not an acceptable option.

Woman, 32

Her diplomatic experience and my intense opposition to Donald Trump.

Man, 61

I don't fully support Hillary Clinton for president, but she does have the experience and really there is no other option. The concept of Trump as POTUS is terrifying. That man can't run a business, much less a country. Hillary will be politics as usual and I'm actually ok with that!

Woman, 35

Because I don't want Donald Trump to win. I know she isn't perfect, but she will probably be very similar to President Obama. Governing from the center as much as possible.

Woman, 53

She has the knowledge and leadership abilities, specifically with regards to foreign policy, needed to be president. Her views and the platform of the Democratic Party most closely align with mine.

Man, 32

Unlike Donald Trump, Mrs. Clinton is an infinitely more experienced candidate who can work to bring Americans together, not break them apart with brute force and cynicism.

Man, 24

Hillary is for ALL people regardless of race, gender or economic status. She is intelligent and has experience in politics and foreign policy. Hillary carries herself in a manner that is respectful and represents this country.

Woman, 48

She is level-headed, intelligent and experienced. I also will do anything to help make sure Donald Trump does not win.

Woman, 24

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of registered voters who support/lean toward Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton.

Verbatim responses, edited only for minor spelling and grammar corrections.

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16–Sept. 12, 2016.

The concerns of supporters

Many backers of Trump and Clinton offer concerns they have about the candidate that they plan to vote for in November (though some supporters also take this opportunity to offer full-throated endorsements). Below is a sampling of voters concerns about their own candidates.

Voices of voters: While you support _____, what, if anything, concerns you about (her/him) as a candidate?

Donald Trump

His temper - he could also use a little refinement, but I like his honesty and hard-line beliefs.

Woman, 40

Nothing at all! Nothing he could do to make things worse! He's the only candidate that has AMERICA in the best interest! Finally I have a voice! His name is TRUMP!

Man, 54

Nothing. I think Clinton has been in Obama's administration and been caught in lies which are not being addressed. So, how bad can an outsider with no political history be? He will have lots of advice and help from his advisers.

Woman, 70

He will embarrass us by saying inappropriate things but that is a lesser problem than the Democrats being politically correct and not keeping our country SAFE.

Woman, 52

He is outrageous in how he reacts to negative comments about him. I don't like most things about him, but I can't stand Hillary.

Woman, 73

He is like a temperamental child saying anything in an attempt to get what he wants. No real experience and does not seek sound advice. His way or the highway. Not good traits for a president.

Woman, 65

The unknown factors. I'm not sure if he doesn't think the election is a reality show.

Man, 59

Mr. Trump gives answers that don't appear well thought out. He spurs answers that are simplistic. While that isn't necessarily bad in itself, the fact that he backs his answers like a braggart rather than a statesman makes him look unprepared.

Man, 69

He is a loose cannon ... I believe that pride goes before a fall and it scares me that America may be affected by his unfiltered personality.

Woman, 29

Hillary Clinton

She'd make a fine president, but I am concerned about her trustworthiness.

Woman, 36

I disagree with her on some issues, like her support for higher taxes and Obamacare. But that's nothing compared to how afraid I am of a Trump presidency.

Man, 24

I really don't have any concerns. She has the background, knowledge, and will support all the people of the USA and make every effort to keep jobs, businesses, and safety for the people in the USA while maintaining a working relationship with foreign countries.

Woman, 66

Aspersions thrown against her about those emails and people thinking her devious. She may have faults, but against Trump she is a peach.

Man, 53

Too guarded and not transparent enough. Doesn't speak to the media, is naturally defensive when it comes to any criticism.

Man, 45

For whatever reasons too many voters don't see her as trustworthy. I'm amazed at the nonsense some people actually believe—but unfortunate errors in her long history are truths among the things that haunt her.

Woman, 67

I totally support her and have NO reservations about her honesty, integrity or her email server.

Woman, 71

She's quite a hawk, especially for a Democrat. But overall I think she has the temperament and understanding of the world and the position of the POTUS in that framework to do a good job. At a minimum she will not harm the country or the world during her presidency.

Woman, 46

She doesn't inspire people as I would hope.

Man, 38

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of registered voters who support/lean toward Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton. Verbatim responses, edited only for minor spelling and grammar corrections.

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16–Sept. 12, 2016.

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Experience and leadership are major reasons supporters back Clinton

When presented with a list of factors that might influence their vote choice, dislike of the opposition again ranks high for both Trump and Clinton supporters as a major reason for backing their candidate: Roughly two-thirds of voters who favor Donald Trump (67%) and Hillary Clinton (64%) say this.

Among Trump supporters, only the candidate's views on terrorism (78%) and the economy (76%) rank higher than dislike of Clinton on a list of major reasons for supporting him.

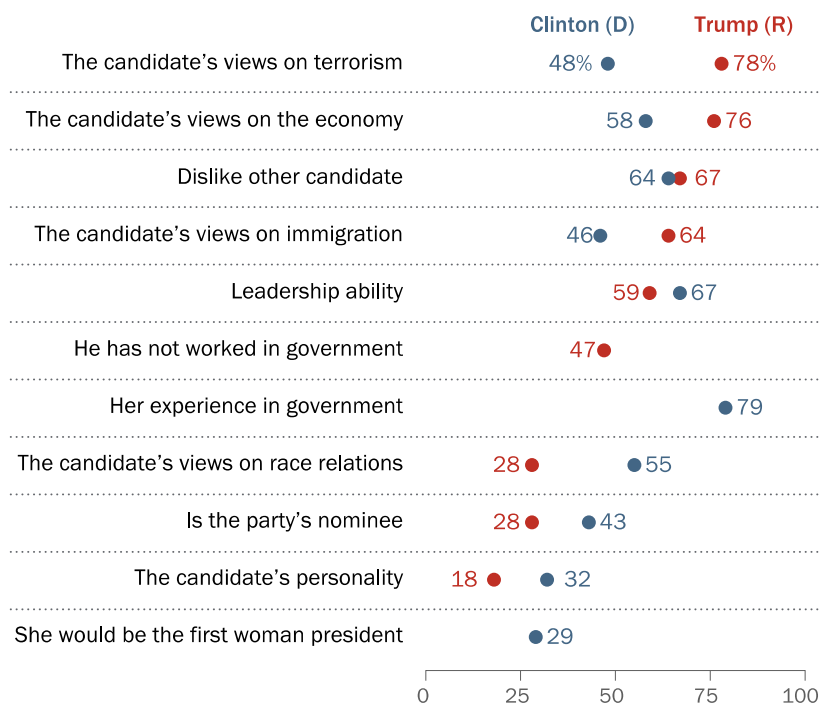
And among Clinton supporters, only her experience in government (79%) ranks higher than dislike of Trump, though roughly as many of her backers cite her leadership ability (67%) as a major reason underlying their support.

Clinton supporters are 30 percentage points less likely than Trump supporters to cite their candidate's views on terrorism as a major reason for supporting them (48% vs. 78%). By contrast, nearly twice as many Clinton supporters (55%) as Trump supporters (28%) cite their candidate's views on race relations as a major reason for support.

While a sizable majority of Clinton supporters (79%) cite her experience as a major reason for why they back the former Secretary of State, nearly half of Trump supporters (47%) say his lack of prior government experience as a major reason they are voting for him.

Clinton, Trump backers differ on factors for candidate support, except for dislike of the opponent

Among voters who back Clinton/Trump, % who say ___ is a major reason why they support their candidate



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 16–Sept. 12, 2016.

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A greater share of Clinton backers than Trump supporters say loyalty to the party's nominee is a major reason for their support: 43% of Clinton voters say they support her because she's the Democratic Party's nominee, but just 28% of Trump supporters say a major reason they back him is because he's the Republican Party's nominee. Neither side has many voters who say the candidates' personalities are a major reason for their support (18% of Trump; 32% of Clinton).

The historic nature of Clinton's candidacy is not a major reason for her supporters to vote for her this fall. About three-in-ten (29%) say Clinton's potential to become the first woman to win the White House is a major reason they support her. About four-in-ten Clinton supporters (41%) say her gender is not a reason at all for their support of her.

Acknowledgements

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

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Methodology

Survey conducted August 16-September 12, 2016

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults living in households. Respondents who self-identify as internet users and who provided an email address participate in the panel via monthly self-administered Web surveys, and those who do not use the internet or decline to provide an email address participate via the mail. The panel is being managed by Abt SRBI.

The analysis in this report is based on 4,538 respondents, including 3,941 registered voters, who participated in the August 16-September 12, 2016 wave of the panel (4,195 by Web and 343 by mail). The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,538 respondents is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points and the margin of sampling error among registered voters is plus or minus 2.6 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 23rd to March 16th, 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 27th to October 4th, 2015. Of the 6,004 adults interviewed, all were invited to join the panel, and 2,976 agreed to participate.²

Participating panelists provided either a mailing address or an email address to which a welcome packet, a monetary incentive and future survey invitations could be sent. Panelists also receive a small monetary incentive after participating in each wave of the survey.

The Web component of the August 16-September 12, 2016 wave had a response rate of 81% (4,195 responses among 5,150 Web-based individuals in the panel); the mail component had a response rate of 76% (343 responses among 454 non-Web individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys (10.0%) and attrition from panel

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.

members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the August 16-September 12, 2016 ATP wave is 2.9%.³

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 matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region to parameters from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2014 American Community Survey. Population density is weighted to match the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census. Telephone service is weighted to estimates of telephone coverage for 2016 that were projected from the July-December 2015 National Health Interview Survey. Volunteerism is weighted to match the 2013 Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. It also adjusts for party affiliation using an average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. Internet access is adjusted using a measure from the 2015 Survey on Government. Frequency of internet use is weighted to 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.

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.

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 August 16-September 12, 2016

Group	Weighted proportion	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	100%	4,538	2.4 percentage points
Registered voters	74%	3,941	2.6 percentage points
<i>Among registered voters</i>			
	Weighted proportion of registered voters		
Donald Trump supporters	38%	1,529	4.1 percentage points
Hillary Clinton supporters	45%	1,849	3.7 percentage points

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

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

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

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Appendix: Topline questionnaire

2016 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL

WAVE 20 August

FINAL TOPLINE

August 16 – September 12, 2016

TOTAL N=4,538

WEB RESPONDENTS N=4,195

MAIL RESPONDENTS N=343¹

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=3,941]:

Aug 16-	
Sep 12	
<u>2016</u>	
38	Donald Trump/lean Trump
45	Hillary Clinton/lean Clinton
10	Gary Johnson/lean Johnson
4	Jill Stein/lean Stein
2	None/other
1	No Answer

¹

Question wording in this topline is that from the web version of the survey. Question wording and format was adapted for the paper questionnaire delivered by mail; this questionnaire is available on request. All questions asked in both modes unless noted.

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=3,941]:

Aug 16-	
Sep 12	
<u>2016</u>	
44	Donald Trump/lean Trump
52	Hillary Clinton/lean Clinton
2	None/other
2	No Answer

VOTEGENA/VOTEGENB/VOTEGEND 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
<u>2016</u>		<u>2016</u>
46	Donald Trump/lean Trump	45
50	Hillary Clinton/lean Clinton	51
3	Neither	3
1	No Answer	1
20	<i>Neither in VOTEGEN</i>	23

ASK ALL:
CAMPFEEL

How have you been feeling about the 2016 presidential campaign recently?

[Check all that apply] **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Selected</u>	<u>Not selected</u> <u>/No Answer</u>
1.	Interested		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	28	72
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	29	71
	June 7-July 5, 2016	31	69
2.	Excited		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	9	91
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	10	90
	June 7-July 5, 2016	9	91
3.	Optimistic		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	14	86
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	13	87
	June 7-July 5, 2016	17	83
4.	Indifferent		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	11	89
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	11	89
	June 7-July 5, 2016	10	90
5.	Frustrated		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	54	46
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	47	53
	June 7-July 5, 2016	48	52
6.	Disgusted		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	54	46
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	50	50
	June 7-July 5, 2016	45	55
7.	Scared		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	41	59
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	40	60
	June 7-July 5, 2016	38	62
8.	None of these [EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]		
	Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	4	96
	July 12-Aug 8, 2016	5	95
	June 7-July 5, 2016	4	96

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP & EMTPRESCLINTON IN SAME ORDER AS RESPONDENT RECEIVED IN WAVE 16. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN WAVE 16 THEN ASSIGN RANDOMIZATION HERE.]

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the presidential election that will take place in November...

ASK ALL:

EMTPRESTRUMP How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election in November 2016?

[ROTATE ORDER 1-4 FOR HALF, 4-1 FOR OTHER HALF USING SAME ROTATION RECEIVED IN WAVE 16. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN WAVE 16 THEN ASSIGN ROTATION HERE. RECORD IF RESPONDENT WAS SHOWN 1-4 OR 4-1]

Aug 16- Sep 12 <u>2016</u>		Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
10	Excited	15
25	Relieved	16
37	Disappointed	36
24	Angry	29
4	No Answer	4

ASK ALL:

EMTPRESCLINTON How would you feel if Hillary Clinton won the presidential election in November 2016?

[DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTPRESTRUMP AND RECORD ORDER]

Aug 16- Sep 12 <u>2016</u>		Apr 5- May 2 <u>2016</u>
13	Excited	15
36	Relieved	25
29	Disappointed	34
19	Angry	22
4	No Answer	4

ASK IF FORM=1 AND CLINTON SUPPORTERS (VOTEGENA=2 OR VOTEGENB=2):

HRCPRES In your own words, what is the main reason you [IF VOTEGENA=2: support] [IF VOTEGENB=2: lean toward] Hillary Clinton for president?

BASED ON FORM 1 VOTERS WHO SUPPORT/LEAN TOWARD CLINTON [N=909]

Aug 16-

Sep 12

2016

32	NET EXPERIENCE/QUALIFICATIONS/ABILITY TO GOVERN
27	Experience/Qualified/Political knowledge
6	Ability to govern/Competence/Will get things done
32	NOT OR NOT AS BAD AS TRUMP/VOTE AGAINST HIM
22	NET ISSUE POSITIONS
3	Economic policy (jobs, taxes, middle class and poor)
3	Immigration
3	Supreme Court appointments
2	Foreign policy/Relationship with other countries
13	Other specific issues/General issues/Represents my values
17	NET PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS/ASSOCIATIONS
12	Temperament/Personality
4	Woman/First woman president
5	NET SHE'S A DEMOCRAT/NOT A REPUBLICAN
5	Democratic nominee/She's a Democrat/She's liberal
3	SHE IS FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE AND VALUES
4	OTHER
10	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ASK IF FORM=1 AND TRUMP SUPPORTERS (VOTEGENA=1 OR VOTEGENB=1):

DTPRES In your own words, what is the main reason you [IF VOTEGENA=1: support] [IF VOTEGENB=1: lean toward] Donald Trump for president?

BASED ON FORM 1 VOTERS WHO SUPPORT/LEAN TOWARD TRUMP [N=748]

Aug 16-

Sep 12

2016

33	NOT OR NOT AS BAD AS CLINTON/VOTE AGAINST HER
27	NET CHANGE/OUTSIDE OF THE SYSTEM
12	Outsider/Not a politician
8	Will change things/Shake things up/Need new blood
4	Business experience/Successful businessman
4	Will not be influenced by special interests/Not corrupt
2	Change from Obama
26	NET ISSUE POSITIONS
10	Economic policy (debt, trade, taxes, jobs, middle class)
8	Immigration
7	Defense and military/Terrorism/Law and order/Keep American safe
4	Supreme Court appointments
7	Other specific issues/General issues/Represents my values
19	NET PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS/ASSOCIATIONS
13	He tells it like it is/Not politically correct/Honest/Trusted
7	Temperament/Personality/Right person for job
10	MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN/HE IS FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE AND VALUES
4	NET HE'S A REPUBLICAN/NOT A DEMOCRAT
2	Republican nominee/He's a Republican/He's conservative
4	OTHER
7	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ASK TRUMP SUPPORTERS (VOTEGENA=1 OR VOTEGENB=1) [N=1,682]:

DTSPprt

Thinking about the reasons you [support/lean toward] Donald Trump, is each of the following a major reason, minor reason or not a reason you support him?
[RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
a.	His views on immigration Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	62	25	12	1
b.	His views on the economy Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	73	19	8	*
c.	His views on terrorism Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	74	17	7	1
d.	His views on race relations Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	27	40	31	1
e.	His leadership ability Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	56	31	12	1
f.	His personality Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	20	38	41	*
g.	Because he has not worked in government before Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	43	26	31	*
h.	Because he's the Republican Party's nominee Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	25	35	40	*
i.	Because I dislike Hillary Clinton Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	63	21	15	1

ASK CLINTON SUPPORTERS (VOTEGENA=2 OR VOTEGENB=2) [N=2,129]:

HRCSPprt

Thinking about the reasons you [support/lean toward] Hillary Clinton, is each of the following a major reason, minor reason or not a reason you support her?
[RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Major reason</u>	<u>Minor reason</u>	<u>Not a reason</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
a.	Her views on immigration Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	46	37	16	1
b.	Her views on the economy Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	55	30	14	1
c.	Her views on terrorism Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	45	35	19	1
d.	Her views on race relations Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	52	31	16	1
e.	Her leadership ability Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	63	23	13	1
f.	Her personality Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	31	36	31	1
g.	Her experience in government Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	74	15	10	1
h.	Because she would be the first woman president Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	29	29	40	1
i.	Because she's the Democratic Party's nominee Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	42	32	25	1
j.	Because I dislike Donald Trump Aug 16-Sep 12, 2016	61	19	18	2

ASK IF FORM=2 AND CLINTON SUPPORTERS (VOTEGENA=2 OR VOTEGENB=2):

HRCCRN And while you [IF VOTEGENA=2: support] [IF VOTEGENB=2: lean toward] Hillary Clinton for president, what, if anything, concerns you about her as a candidate?

BASED ON FORM 2 VOTERS WHO SUPPORT/LEAN TOWARD CLINTON [N=940]

Aug 16-
Sep 12
2016

18	NET PERSONALITY TRAITS
14	Dishonest/Untrustworthy/Disingenuous
3	Secrecy/Lack of transparency/Not forthright with press
16	NET PAST/ASSOCIATIONS/EVENTS
5	Corruption/Ties to financial interests/Wall Street
3	Positions on war/Hawkish
3	Email server
5	Political legacy (general)
5	NET ISSUE POSITIONS
5	NEGATIVITY TOWARD HER/SHE MAY LOSE
3	NET CONCERNS ABOUT PERFORMANCE/GRIDLOCK
2	Concerns about barriers to governing/Gridlock/Obstruction from GOP
7	NET OTHER
16	NO CONCERNS
35	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses

ASK IF FORM=2 AND TRUMP SUPPORTERS (VOTEGENA=1 OR VOTEGENB=1):

DTCRN And while you [IF VOTEGENA=1: support] [IF VOTEGENB=1: lean toward] Donald Trump for president, what, if anything, concerns you about him as a candidate?

BASED ON FORM 2 VOTERS WHO SUPPORT/LEAN TOWARD TRUMP [N=781]

Aug 16-
Sep 12
2016

40	NET PERSONALITY TRAITS
34	Temperament – Speaks without thinking/Unpredictable/Hot-headed
2	Arrogance
2	Lack of presidential traits
11	NET CONCERNS ABOUT PERFORMANCE/GRIDLOCK
4	Lack of experience
3	Lack of knowledge of foreign affairs/Ineptitude with other countries
2	Will be ineffective with/Obstructed by Congress or Republican Party
3	NET ISSUE POSITIONS
3	NEGATIVITY TOWARD HIM/HE MAY LOSE
9	NET OTHER
16	NO CONCERNS
23	DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses