

**Before the Conventions: Insights into Trump and Clinton Voters**  
 July 8-12, 2016

- **Trump supporters** have negative views of the impact of globalization and international trade on the U.S., and are less inclined to allow illegal immigrants a path to citizenship. They are more likely to support building a wall along the U.S. border and temporarily banning Muslims from entering the country. Many say the country’s values are changing in a way they disagree with, and they are pessimistic about the future for the next generation.
- Voters who back Trump are also more likely to call the U.S. the greatest country on earth, and to think that in today’s economy everyone has a chance to get ahead in life.
- **Clinton voters** hold more positive views of the impact of globalization, and are more optimistic about the American job market. However, they are more likely to say that only a few people have a chance to get ahead in life. They oppose banning Muslims or building a wall along the Mexico border, and half feel that too little attention has been paid to the problems of minorities.
- Trump’s and Clinton’s supporters have at least one thing in common – majorities of both express frustration towards Washington DC.

**The State of the Race**

Heading into the two parties’ conventions, the race for President is now tied, a change from last month when Hillary Clinton led by six points. 40% of registered voters now say they will back Clinton, while 40% say they’ll vote for Trump.

	<b>2016 Presidential Vote Choice</b>			
	(Among registered voters)			
	Now	6/2016	5/2016	4/2016
Hillary Clinton	40%	43%	47%	50%
Donald Trump	40	37	41	40
Other (vol.)	4	5	2	1
Won’t vote (vol.)	7	6	5	6

This poll also sought to delve more deeply into the views that underlie voters’ candidate choice, and identify attitudes on policy issues and views of the country that characterize each candidate’s voters.

**Globalization, Trade and Jobs**

Trump supporters are noteworthy in their negative views of the impact of globalization, trade with other countries and the availability of U.S. jobs. Still, they think everyone has a fair chance to get ahead in the U.S. Most Clinton’s supporters think more is gained than lost from globalization, and are more inclined to think only a few people have a chance to get ahead.

55% of voters overall say the U.S. has lost more than it has gained as a result of globalization, but even more Trump supporters -- three in four -- think the country has lost due to globalization. In contrast, half of Clinton voters think globalization has had a positive impact on the U.S.

**Has U.S. Gained or Lost from Globalization?**

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Gained more	35%	17%	53%
Lost more	55	76	38
Both equal	2	2	2

Similarly, most voters think that trade with other countries costs the country jobs; Trump voters are especially likely to say this, Clinton voters are less apt to.

**Trade with Other Countries**

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Creates U.S. jobs	19%	12%	27%
Loses U.S. jobs	60	75	48
No effect	14	8	20

Voters are divided as to the future for good jobs in the U.S.: 47% say the best years are behind us, while 47% say the best is yet to come. Trump voters are much more pessimistic about the future of U.S. jobs than Clinton voters; a majority of her supporters are optimistic.

**When it Comes to Availability of Good Jobs for Americans...**

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Best years are behind us	47%	55%	36%
Best times are yet to come	47	38	60

But it's the Clinton voters who are more apt to say that only a few people at the top have a chance to get ahead in today's economy.

**Who Can Get Ahead in the U.S.?**

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Everyone has a fair chance	38%	51%	30%
Just a few at the top have a chance	58	46	67

And the poll finds greater economic anxiety among Trump supporters too; they are more likely to feel uneasy about their personal finances over the next few months.

### Confidence in Personal Finances

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Very confident	24%	24%	27%
Somewhat confident	36	30	42
Somewhat uneasy	26	28	22
Very uneasy	13	16	8

### Immigration, Walls and Muslims

While most voters, and a large majority of Clinton supporters, oppose building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border, fully 73% of Trump voters support it. Among voters overall, 57% now oppose it, up from 48% in January.

### Building a Wall along the U.S.-Mexican Border

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters	1/2016
Favor	39%	73%	13%	47%
Oppose	57	22	86	48

Two in three Trump supporters support a temporary ban on allowing Muslims to enter the U.S. – something 87% of Clinton voters oppose.

### Should the U.S. Temporarily Ban Muslims from Entering the Country?

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Yes, should ban	35%	67%	11%
No, should not ban	59	28	87

And while most voters overall, and most Clinton supporters, think immigrants who are here illegally should be given a chance to stay and apply for citizenship, 44% of Trump supporters think they should have to leave the country. 51% of Trump supporters think they should be permitted to stay, but just 37% think they should be allowed to apply for citizenship.

### What Should Happen to Illegal Immigrants in the U.S.?

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Stay & apply for citizenship	60%	37%	82%
Stay but not apply	12	14	11
Leave the U.S.	24	44	6

More Trump voters than Clinton supporters think illegal immigrants take jobs away from Americans.

### Illegal Immigrants Take Jobs...

(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Away from Americans	30%	49%	14%
That Americans don't want	61	41	81

## Views on Minorities and the Changing Face of the U.S.

There are also differences between Trump and Clinton supporters in their views of minorities.

Half of Trump supporters think that too much has been made of the problems facing minorities in recent years – compared to just 16% of Clinton voters who say the same. Half of Clinton supporters think too little has been made of such problems.

	<b>Problems Facing Minorities</b>		
	(among registered voters)		
	All	Trump	Clinton
		Voters	Voters
Too much has been made	32%	51%	16%
Too little has been made	32	16	49
About right	32	28	34

Most voters – including most Trump and Clinton supporters – think that a future U.S. in which a majority of the population is non-white won't make a difference. But 27% of Trump voters think that will be a bad thing for the country, and a quarter of Clinton voters expect this will be a good thing.

	<b>Will a Future Non-White Majority in the U.S. be a...</b>		
	(among registered voters)		
	All	Trump	Clinton
		Voters	Voters
Good thing	14%	4%	26%
Bad thing	16	27	7
No difference	65	63	65

## ISIS

Trump and Clinton voters have somewhat different views on how things are going for the U.S. in its fight against ISIS; four in five Trump voters say it is going badly.

	<b>How is the U.S. Fight Against ISIS Going?</b>		
	(among registered voters)		
	All	Trump	Clinton
		Voters	Voters
Well	28%	15%	44%
Badly	66	81	50

## General Unease?

The poll suggests a significant chunk of voters – especially those supporting Donald Trump -- are feeling some discontent: many are uneasy with the changes taking place in the country, and pessimistic about the future. But most think the U.S. is one of the greatest or the greatest country in the world, and Trump supporters are especially likely to call it the greatest.

61% of voters say that the country's values are changing in a way they disagree with, and just 15% say the country's values are changing in a way they agree with. Fully 79% of Trump supporters see the country as changing in a way they don't agree with.

**America's Values are...**  
(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Changing in a way they agree with	15%	6%	26%
Changing in a way they disagree with	61	79	42
Not changing	22	14	29

There is pessimism about the future as well in the poll, especially among Trump voters. Nearly half of voters think the future for the next generation of Americans will be worse, rising to 59% among Trump supporters.

**Future for the Next Generation Will be....**  
(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Better	23%	16%	30%
Worse	48	59	36
Same	25	18	32

Half of voters say they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in Washington, and another 33% are angry. Trump supporters are more apt to say they are angry – 44% feel that way. But even those supporting Clinton are unhappy with Washington.

**Feelings About Washington DC**  
(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Enthusiastic	2%	1%	5%
Satisfied	13	7	20
Dissatisfied	51	48	51
Angry	33	44	23

But despite their frustrations, nearly all voters think the U.S. is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, countries in the world. Six in ten Trump supporters think it is the greatest country.

**The U.S. is...**  
(among registered voters)

	All	Trump Voters	Clinton Voters
Greatest country in the world	45%	61%	34%
One of the greatest countries	48	34	59
Not one of the greatest countries	6	5	6

## President Obama, Congress and the Economy

President Obama continues to enjoy higher approval ratings than he has had in recent years – 53% approve of the job he is doing – the same as last month.

<b>President Obama's Job Approval Rating</b>					
	Now	6/2016	5/2016	5/2015	5/2014
Approve	53%	53%	50%	42%	43%
Disapprove	41	41	43	48	48

50% approve of his handling of the economy, and 42% approve of his handling of foreign policy.

<b>Obama Approval on...</b>						
	Economy			Foreign Policy		
	Now	6/2016	5/2016	Now	6/2016	5/2016
Approve	50%	49%	47%	42%	45%	42%
Disapprove	45	44	47	49	45	48

The percentage that thinks the country is headed in the right direction has dropped a bit in this poll – 26% now say the country is headed in the right direction, down from 33% last month. 69% say it is on the wrong track.

15% approve of the job Congress is doing, and 79% disapprove. Congressional evaluations have been low for many months now.

<b>Congress' Job Approval Rating</b>					
	Now	5/2016	4/2016	10/2015	7/2015
Approve	15%	14%	14%	12%	17%
Disapprove	79	77	77	79	74

49% say the economy is in good shape, while 50% say it is in bad shape. 24% say it is getting better. Assessments have been similar since the start of the year.

<b>Condition of the Economy</b>						
	Now	6/2016	3/2016	1/2016	12/2015	10/2015
Good	49%	51%	51%	49%	46%	38%
Bad	50	47	47	49	53	60

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This poll was conducted by telephone July 8-12, 2016 among a random sample of 1,600 adults nationwide, including 1,358 registered voters. Data collection was conducted on behalf of CBS News and the New York Times by SSRS of Media, PA. Phone numbers were dialed from samples of both standard land-line and cell phones.

The poll employed a random digit dial methodology. For the landline sample, a respondent was randomly selected from all adults in the household. For the cell sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone.

Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish using live interviewers.

The data have been weighted to reflect U.S. Census figures on demographic variables.

The error due to sampling for results based on the entire sample could be plus or minus three percentage points. The margin of error for the sample of registered voters is four points. The error for subgroups may be higher and

is available by request. The margin of error includes the effects of standard weighting procedures which enlarge sampling error slightly.

This poll release conforms to the Standards of Disclosure of the National Council on Public Polls.

**CBS NEWS/NEW YORK TIMES POLL**  
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Q4. If the 2016 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Hillary Clinton, the Democrat, and Donald Trump, the Republican, and Gary Johnson, the Libertarian would you vote for Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump or Gary Johnson?

	*** REGISTERED VOTERS ***				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Jun16b
	%	%	%	%	%
Hillary Clinton	40	7	81	28	43
Donald Trump	40	79	7	40	37
Other (Vol.)	4	3	2	7	5
Won't vote (Vol.)	7	6	4	12	6
Depends (Vol.)	1	1	1	1	1
Don't know/No answer	7	3	6	11	8

Q12. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President?

	** TOTAL RESPONDENTS **				Mar16d
Approve	53	17	83	51	53
Disapprove	41	79	15	41	41
Don't know/No answer	5	4	2	8	6

Q13. Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

Right direction	26	7	44	23	33
Wrong track	69	90	49	71	63
Don't know/No answer	5	3	6	6	4

Q14. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling foreign policy?

Approve	42	10	74	37	45
Disapprove	49	82	20	52	45
Don't know/No answer	9	8	6	12	11

Q15. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling the economy?

Approve	50	19	81	45	49
Disapprove	45	79	16	48	44
Don't know/No answer	5	3	3	7	7



Q16. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

	** TOTAL RESPONDENTS **				May16a
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	15	12	18	14	14
Disapprove	79	80	78	79	77
Don't know/No answer	7	8	4	7	9

Q17. How would you rate the condition of the national economy these days? Is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?

					Jun16b
Very good	4	2	5	3	5
Fairly good	45	30	64	40	46
Fairly bad	32	41	18	36	26
Very bad	18	26	12	18	21
Don't know/No answer	1	1	1	2	2

Q18. Do you think the economy is getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

Better	24	8	35	23	25
Worse	30	43	17	32	28
Same	45	49	45	44	46
Don't know/No answer	1	*	3	1	1

Q30. Which comes closest to your feelings about the way things are going in Washington – enthusiastic, satisfied but not enthusiastic, dissatisfied but not angry, or angry?

	*** REGISTERED VOTERS ***				May16a
Enthusiastic	2	*	3	3	2
Satisfied but not enthusiastic	13	7	20	10	16
Dissatisfied but not angry	51	51	55	47	51
Angry	33	39	22	37	28
Don't know/No answer	2	2	1	3	2

Q31. Do you think the future of the next generation of Americans will be better, worse, or about the same as life today?

					Nov14c
Better	23	16	30	22	25
Worse	48	57	37	51	43
Same	25	21	31	23	27
Don't know/No answer	4	6	2	5	5

Q32. Globalization is the increase of trade, communication, travel and other things among countries around the world. In general, has the United States gained more or lost more because of globalization?

	*** REGISTERED VOTERS ***				Feb07b
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	
	%	%	%	%	%
Gained	35	22	50	32	36
Lost	55	69	42	57	50
Both equal (Vol.)	2	2	1	3	1
Don't know/No answer	8	7	7	8	13

Q33. Overall, would you say U.S. trade with other countries creates more jobs for the U.S., loses more jobs for the U.S., or does U.S. trade with other countries have no effect on U.S. jobs?

					Feb96a
Creates jobs	19	16	24	18	39
Loses jobs	60	70	53	60	42
No effect	14	10	18	13	10
Don't know/No answer	7	5	5	9	10

Q34. Do you feel America's values are generally changing in a way you agree with, changing in a way you disagree with, or not changing much either way?

					Jan16a*
Changing in a way you agree with	15	5	27	13	17
Changing in a way you disagree with	61	78	44	63	57
Not changing much either way	22	16	26	22	22
Don't know/No answer	2	1	3	2	4

\*wording chg: "...American's culture and values..."

Q35. Which comes closer to your view? In today's economy, everyone has a fair chance to get ahead in the long run or in today's economy, it's mainly just a few people at the top who have a chance to get ahead?

Anyone can get ahead	38	50	26	40	43
Just a few people at top get ahead	58	47	70	56	54
Don't know/No answer	4	4	3	4	3

Q36. When it comes to the availability of good jobs for American workers, some say that America's best years are behind us. Others say the best times are yet to come. What do you think?

					May15c
Best behind	47	52	42	47	46
Yet to come	47	41	54	46	48
Don't know/No answer	6	7	4	7	6

Q37. Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States today? 1. The U.S. is the greatest country in the world, OR 2. The U.S. is ONE OF the greatest countries in the world, OR 3. The U.S. is NOT one of the greatest countries in the world.

\*\*\* REGISTERED VOTERS \*\*\*

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
US is greatest country	45	59	37	42
US is one of greatest countries	48	38	55	49
US is not one of greatest countries	6	4	7	7
Don't know/No answer	1	*	1	2

Q42. Which comes closest to your view about ILLEGAL immigrants who are living in the U.S.? 1. They should be allowed to stay in the U.S and eventually apply for citizenship, 2. They should be allowed to stay in the U.S. legally, but not be allowed to apply for citizenship or 3. They should be required to leave the U.S.

					Jan16a
Stay & apply for citizenship	60	41	80	56	52
Stay but not apply	12	13	8	15	14
Required to leave the U.S.	24	40	10	24	30
Don't know/No answer	4	5	2	5	4

Q43. Do you think ILLEGAL immigrants coming to this country today take jobs away from American citizens, or do they mostly take jobs Americans don't want?

					Jul15e
Take jobs away	30	36	20	33	29
Take jobs Americans don't want	61	52	74	57	62
Both	5	6	3	6	5
Don't know/No answer	4	6	3	4	4

Q44. Would you favor or oppose building a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border to try to stop illegal immigration?

					Jan16a
Favor	39	68	15	39	47
Oppose	57	27	83	56	48
Don't know/No answer	4	5	2	5	5

Q45. Do you think the U.S. should temporarily ban Muslims from other countries from entering the United States, or not?

					Jun16d
Should ban	35	56	15	38	32
Should not ban	59	38	80	57	61
Don't know/No answer	6	6	5	6	7

Q46. In recent years, do you think too much has been made of the problems facing racial minorities, too little has been made, or is it about right?

\*\*\* REGISTERED VOTERS \*\*\*

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Too much	32	49	15	35
Too little	32	16	48	29
About right	32	29	34	31
Don't know/No answer	5	6	3	6

Q47. Some experts predict that within the next 30 years, non-white Americans will make up the majority of the population in this country. Do you think this will be a good thing for the country, a bad thing, or won't it make much difference?

Good thing	14	6	25	11
Bad thing	16	26	9	16
No difference	65	6	3	4

Q48. How would you say things are going for the U.S. in its fight against the militant group ISIS? Would you say things are going very well, somewhat well, somewhat badly, or very badly?

					Jan16a
Very well	2	*	4	3	2
Somewhat well	26	16	39	23	24
Somewhat badly	30	31	31	28	32
Very badly	36	48	21	40	37
Don't know/No answer	5	4	5	6	5

Q66. When you think about your own personal finances over the next few months, do you feel very confident, somewhat confident, somewhat uneasy, or very uneasy?

					May15c
Very confident	24	23	24	24	23
Somewhat confident	36	33	41	35	34
Somewhat uneasy	26	28	25	25	27
Very uneasy	13	16	9	14	15
Don't know/No answer	1	1	1	1	1

	<u>Unweighted</u>	<u>Weighted</u>
Total Respondents	1,600	
Total Registered Voters	1,358	1,250
Republican Registered Voters	393	342
Democratic Registered Voters	441	418
Independent Registered Voters	524	490