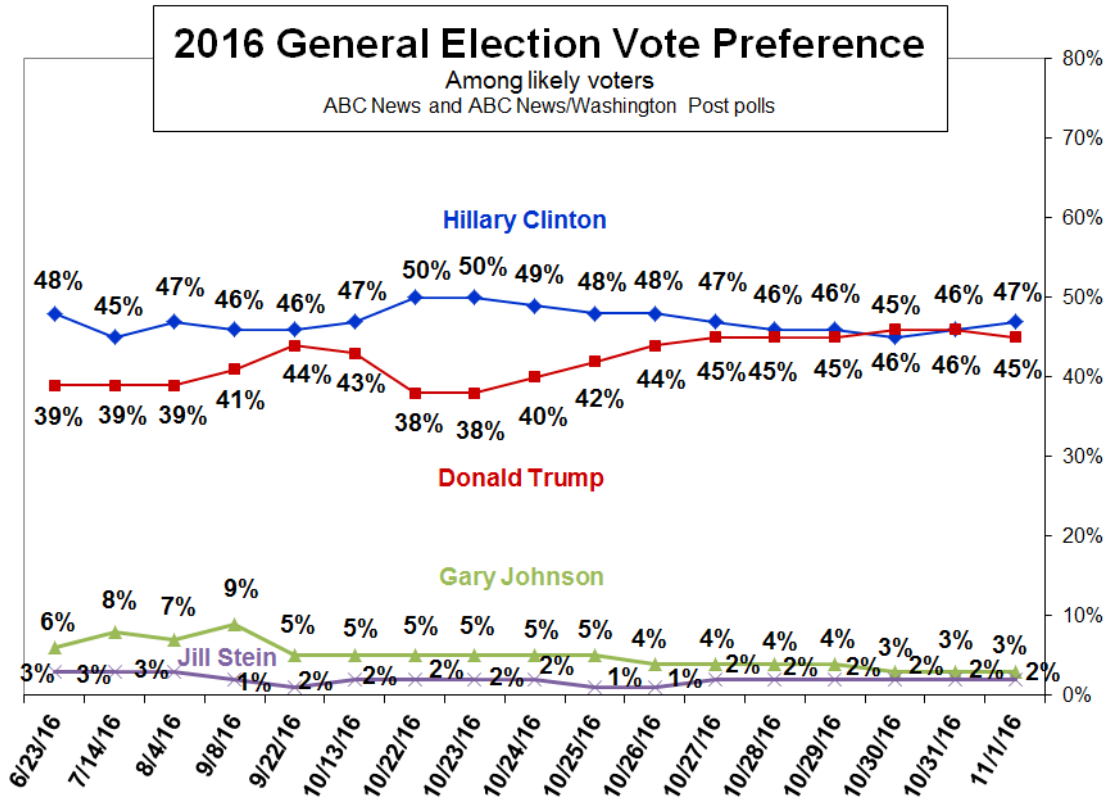


## Beneath a Close Election Contest Lie Deep Rifts among Groups

Profound rifts among groups lie beneath the close presidential contest, underscoring the country's fundamental political divisions not only by race, gender and education but also by factors ranging from religious belief to residential area.

Overall, likely voters divide 47-45 percent between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the latest ABC News/Washington Post tracking poll. Third-party candidates Gary Johnson and Jill Stein have 3 and 2 percent support, respectively.



There's a 22-point gender gap in the contest, nearly double the norm in elections since 1976. And that pales compared with other gaps – 44 points between college- and non-college educated whites, 65 points between whites and nonwhites, 66 points between rural and urban residents and 97 points between white evangelicals and likely voters who don't profess a particular religion.

Overall, numerically the race has gone from +1 Trump to 0 to +2 Clinton in four-night averages in this poll, produced for ABC by [Langer Research Associates](#). These are not significant changes

given the survey's sample size, about 1,100 likely voters. That said, Trump has had a non-significant but numerical advantage just twice in ABC/Post polls, +2 in a two-way test May 19 and +1 Oct. 30.

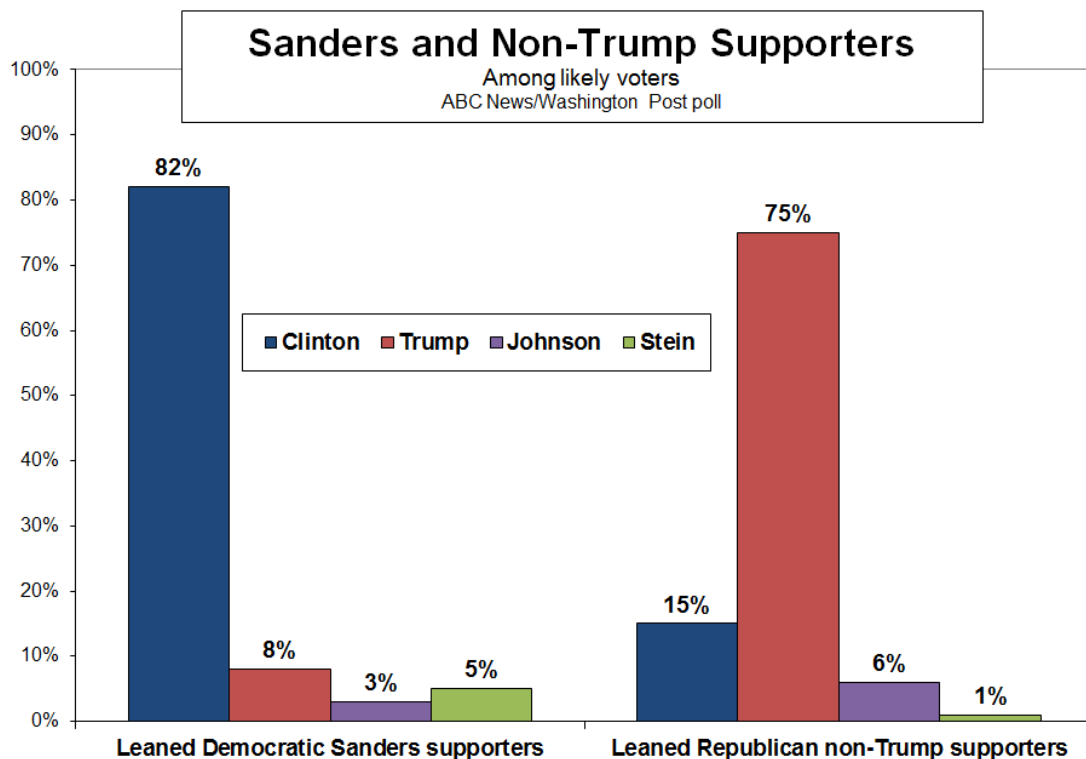
Clinton, for her part, has held significant and even substantial leads, but these have been sensitive to events and propensity to vote, given the lukewarm nature of her (and Trump's) support.

This is reflected in levels of strong enthusiasm for the candidates – tepid overall, with patterns among groups that help identify their strengths and weaknesses. Trump has a 7-point edge in strong enthusiasm, given challenges in enthusiasm for Clinton among independents.

Another factor, early voting, has accelerated, up from 21 percent of likely voters Oct. 30 to 27 percent now. After starting better for Clinton, vote preferences in this group have tightened to 50-45 percent, Clinton-Trump, in the latest four-night average.

**PRIMARY SUPPORT** – Resolving one lingering question from the primaries, Clinton has shored up her support among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents who preferred Bernie Sanders for the nomination – 82 percent of them now support her, up from a low of 70 percent in July. Still, she loses 8 percent of former Sanders supporters to Trump and 7 percent to Stein or Johnson.

Also, unhelpfully for Clinton, there's a hint of some slippage in turnout; while the results don't reach statistical significance, former Sanders supporters appear a bit less likely to vote at all.



Trump is doing less well with Republicans and GOP leaners who wanted someone else to win the nomination; he has 75 percent support in this group, with 15 percent going to Clinton, 7 percent to Johnson or Stein. Two factors mitigate the damage: leaned Republicans have grown more apt to say they supported Trump in the first place (47 percent, up from 40 percent in August; and there's no slippage evident in turnout among leaned Republicans who preferred someone else for the nomination.

**GROUPS** – Differences among groups abound, with one of the largest between evangelical white Protestants – a core Republican constituency – and those who profess no religion. The former back Trump by 77-19 percent; the latter, Clinton by 64-25 percent. The groups are identical in size, each 17 percent of all likely voters. The gap between them is typical.

	Size of group 100%	Vote preference			C-T diff. +2 pts.
		Clinton	Trump	Johnson-Stein	
All		47	45	3- 2%	
Democrats	37	86	8	1- 2	+78
Republicans	30	6	88	3- 1	-82
Independents	29	40	47	7- 2	-7
Leaned Democrats	48	85	8	1- 2	+77
Leaned Republicans	42	7	86	4- *	-79
Liberals	24	81	13	1- 2	+68
Moderates	38	54	36	5- 1	+18
Conservatives	35	14	79	3- 2	-65
Smwt. cons.	19	19	72	3- 2	-53
Very cons.	16	9	87	2- 1	-78
Men	46	40	51	4- 2	-11
Women	54	52	41	2- 2	+11
Whites	75	39	53	3- 2	-14
Nonwhites	25	72	21	3- 2	+51
Blacks*	10	87	6	1- 3	+81
Hispanics*	8	67	27	2- 2	+40
Age 18-29*	11	55	31	8- 3	+24
Age 65+	25	42	53	2- *	-11
No college degree	60	40	52	3- 2	-12
College grads	40	57	36	2- 1	+21
White, no degree	45	30	62	3- 2	-32
White, coll. grad.	30	52	40	3- 1	+12
Among whites:					
Men, no degree	21	26	64	5- 2	-38
Men, coll. grads	15	44	48	4- 1	-4
Women, no degree	24	33	61	2- 1	-28
Women, coll. grads	15	59	32	2- 1	+27
Urban	33	58	33	4- 2	+25
Suburban	48	46	45	3- 2	+1
Rural	18	27	68	1- *	-41
<\$50K	36	49	44	2- 3	+5
\$50-\$100K	35	44	47	4- *	-3

\$100K+	30	51-42- 3- 1	+9
White Catholics	17	39-52- 3- *	-13
Non-evangelical white Protestants	12	34-54- 6- 0	-20
Evangelical white Protestants	17	19-77- 3- 0	-58
No religion	17	64-25- 3- 5	+39
Northeast	17	52-38- 3- 3	+14
Midwest	22	43-50- 2- 1	-7
South	37	46-48- 3- 1	-2
West	24	48-43- 4- 3	+5

\*Six-night samples for adequate sample size. Others are four-night

Also consistent with the 2012 election, Clinton leads by 58-33 percent among urban voters, while Trump has an even larger lead in rural areas, 68-27 percent; they're at an even split in the suburbs. A difference here is that rural dwellers account for just 18 percent of likely voters, while urban residents make up 33 percent.

Those gaps reflect partisanship: Most urban voters, 61 percent, are Democrats or Democratic-leaning independents, while 57 percent of rural voters are Republicans or GOP leaners.

The racial gap, while wide, is narrower than typical. Whites support Trump by 53-39 percent; nonwhites favor Clinton, 72-21 percent. But that 65-point divide is a bit smaller than the average in exit polls since 1976, 73 points, as well as 26 points smaller than the record racial gap, 91 points, in 1984. That's mostly because of lower support for Clinton among nonwhites who are not black or Hispanic; 48 percent back her, vs. 66 percent for Obama in 2012.

In a particularly prominent result in this election, gender and education continue to spell broad differences among whites. College-educated white women, consistently strong for Clinton all year, now back her by 59-32 percent. Across the spectrum, non-college white men, steadily one of Trump's best groups, support him by 26-64 percent, Clinton-Trump.

White men with a college degree continue to divide closely, making them a battleground group. Last are non-college white women – the largest of these groups, at 24 percent of all likely voters. They've wavered in their support, generally for Trump, but by varying margins. Lately, they look more settled on Trump, now by 33-61 percent, Clinton-Trump.

Other notable gaps are between white evangelical Protestants and their non-evangelical counterparts (38 points), college graduates and those without degrees overall (33 points), college and non-college whites in particular (44 points) and as noted, men and women (22 points), compared with an average 13-point gender gap in exit polls since 1976. The previous peak was 22 points, same as now, in 2000.

ENTHUSIASM – Just 46 percent of Clinton's supporters and 53 percent of Trump's express strong enthusiasm about them, including fairly narrow majorities even within their own parties. It's similar for Trump among independents who lean Republican, 45 percent, but drops to 35 percent for Clinton among independents who lean Democratic.

Among pure independents, 28 percent are strongly enthusiastic about Trump, compared with only 10 percent who are similarly excited about Clinton.

As with vote preferences, variation in strong enthusiasm for the candidates illustrates the cultural bases of the two parties, most starkly by residential area and religion. In rural areas, 42 percent are strongly enthusiastic about Trump, vs. 16 percent for Clinton. In urban areas, by contrast, just 17 percent express strong enthusiasm for Trump, vs. 33 percent for Clinton. Suburbanites divide.

Nearly half of white evangelical Protestants are strongly enthusiastic about Trump. Only 10 percent of those who do not identify with a religion feel the same way; instead, 36 percent in this group are very enthusiastic about Clinton.

By race, strong enthusiasm for Clinton peaks at 58 percent among black likely voters and 38 percent among Hispanics, dropping to 21 percent among whites. By contrast, strong enthusiasm for Trump reaches 30 percent of whites overall; it's just 12 percent among nonwhites.

Education, and to a slightly lesser extent gender, are key factors. Strong enthusiasm for Trump reaches 32 percent among likely voters who haven't gone beyond high school, while it peaks at 37 percent for Clinton among postgraduates. By gender, three in 10 women are strongly enthusiastic about Clinton; three in 10 men feel the same about Trump.

Again there's great variation among whites by education and gender. Strong enthusiasm for Trump peaks at 40 percent of white men without a college degree and 34 percent of white women without a degree. This flips among white women who have a college degree; 34 percent are very enthusiastic about Clinton. College-educated white men aren't particularly enthusiastic about either candidate.

Enthusiasm among age groups underlines turnout challenges for Clinton. While Trump's support is low among 18- to 29-year-olds, only 21 percent of young likely voters are very enthusiastic about Clinton; an additional 32 percent support her, but less enthusiastically. By contrast, strong enthusiasm for Trump jumps among those 40 and older, peaking at 33 percent among seniors, a more reliable voting group.

**METHODOLOGY** – This ABC News/Washington Post poll was conducted by landline and cellular telephone Oct. 29-Nov. 1, 2016, in English and Spanish, among a random national sample of 1,167 likely voters. Results have a margin of [sampling error](#) of 3 points, including the design effect. Partisan divisions are 37-30-29 percent, Democrats-Republicans-independents.

The survey was produced for ABC News by [Langer Research Associates](#) of New York, N.Y., with sampling, data collection and tabulation by Abt-SRBI of New York, N.Y. See details on the survey's methodology [here](#).

Analysis by Gary Langer, with Sofi Sinozich, Chad Kiewiet de Jonge and Gregory Holyk.

ABC News polls can be found at ABCNEWS.com at <http://abcnews.com/pollingunit>.

Media contacts: [Heather Riley](#) or [Julie Townsend](#).

Full results follow.

\*= less than 0.5 percent

1. (ASKED OF REGISTERED VOTERS) How closely are you following the 2016 presidential race: very closely, somewhat closely, not so closely, or not closely at all?

		---- Closely ----			---- Not closely ----			No
		NET	Very	Smwt	NET	Not so	At all	opinion
11/1/16	LV	94	67	27	6	3	2	*
10/31/16	LV	94	66	28	5	3	2	*
10/30/16	LV	94	66	28	6	3	2	*
10/29/16	LV	95	68	27	5	3	2	*
10/28/16	LV	94	66	29	5	3	2	*
10/27/16	LV	94	66	28	6	3	3	*
10/26/16	LV	93	64	29	7	4	3	*
10/25/16	LV	92	62	30	7	5	3	*
10/24/16	LV	93	65	28	7	4	2	*
10/23/16	LV	94	66	28	6	4	2	*
10/22/16	LV	94	71	23	6	4	2	*
10/13/16	LV	94	66	28	5	4	1	1
9/22/16	LV	92	60	32	8	5	3	*
9/8/16	LV	92	59	33	8	5	3	*
1/24/16	RV	84	39	45	16	10	6	*
11/19/15		75	30	45	25	13	12	*

Call for full trend.

2. (ASKED OF REGISTERED VOTERS) I'd like you to rate the chances that you will vote in the presidential election in November: Are you absolutely certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or less than that?

		Certain to vote	Probably vote	Chances 50/50	Less than that	Don't think will vote (vol.)	Already voted (vol.)	No op.
11/1/16	RV	69	4	5	2	1	19	0
10/31/16	RV	72	4	4	3	1	16	0
10/30/16	RV	72	5	4	3	1	15	0
10/29/16	RV	73	6	4	3	1	14	0
10/28/16	RV	76	5	4	3	1	11	0
10/27/16	RV	77	6	4	3	1	9	*
10/26/16	RV	78	6	4	3	*	8	*
10/25/16	RV	79	6	5	3	*	6	*
10/24/16	RV	78	7	5	4	1	5	*
10/23/16	RV	79	7	5	3	1	5	*
10/22/16	RV	80	7	5	2	1	5	*
10/13/16	RV	85	6	5	3	1	1	0
9/22/16	RV	83	7	6	3	*	0	*
9/8/16	RV	81	8	6	5	1	NA	*
8/4/16	RV	81	8	6	4	1	NA	*
7/14/16	RV	79	10	5	3	1	NA	1
6/23/16	RV	79	8	7	4	2	NA	*
5/19/16	RV	80	9	5	3	2	NA	*

Call for full trend.

2a. (IF CERTAIN TO VOTE) Do you think you'll (vote in person at your polling place on Election Day), or (vote before Election Day by early voting or mail-in ballot)?\*

		Vote in person	Early voting/ mail-in ballot	Already voted (vol.)	No opinion
11/1/16	LV	52	20	27	1
10/31/16	LV	54	22	23	1
10/30/16	LV**	53	24	21	1

\*Includes those who volunteered they already voted in Q2.

\*\*Numbers for this date corrected from a previous report.

3. (IF CERTAIN TO VOTE) If the presidential election were being held today and the candidates were [(Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine, the Democrats), (Donald Trump and Mike Pence, the Republicans)], [(Gary Johnson and Bill Weld of the Libertarian Party) and (Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka of the Green Party)], for whom would you vote? Would you lean toward [(Clinton and Kaine), (Trump and Pence)], [(Johnson and Weld) or (Stein and Baraka)]? (IF ALREADY VOTED) Confidentially and for statistical purposes only, did you vote for...?

NET LEANED VOTE PREFERENCE - LIKELY VOTERS

	Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump	Gary Johnson	Jill Stein	Other (vol.)	None of these (vol.)	Would not vote (vol.)	No opinion
11/1/16	47	45	3	2	*	1	0	2
10/31/16	46	46	3	2	*	1	0	2
10/30/16	45	46	3	2	*	2	0	2
10/29/16	46	45	4	2	1	1	0	2
10/28/16	46	45	4	2	1	1	0	2
10/27/16	47	45	4	2	1	1	0	2
10/26/16	48	44	4	1	*	1	0	2
10/25/16	48	42	5	1	*	1	0	2
10/24/16	49	40	5	2	*	2	0	2
10/23/16	50	38	5	2	1	2	0	2
10/22/16	50	38	5	2	1	2	0	2
10/13/16	47	43	5	2	*	1	0	2
9/22/16	46	44	5	1	*	1	0	3
9/8/16	46	41	9	2	1	1	0	1
8/4/16	47	39	7	3	1	1	*	2
7/14/16	45	39	8	3	1	1	*	2
6/23/16	48	39	6	3	1	1	*	2

4. (IF NAMED CLINTON OR TRUMP) Would you say you are very enthusiastic about supporting (Clinton/Trump), somewhat enthusiastic, not so enthusiastic, or not enthusiastic at all?

		--- Enthusiastic ---			--- Not enthusiastic ----			No opinion
		NET	Very	Somewhat	NET	Not so	Not at all	
Clinton:								
11/1/16	LV	82	46	35	18	11	7	1
10/31/16	LV	82	46	36	18	11	7	*
10/30/16	LV	82	45	37	18	11	7	*
10/24/16	LV	85	48	37	14	8	6	*
10/23/16	LV	86	49	37	14	8	6	*
10/22/16	LV	87	52	35	13	7	5	*
10/13/16	LV	83	43	40	16	9	7	1
9/22/16	LV	81	46	35	18	10	8	1
9/8/16	LV	82	36	46	18	12	6	0
Trump:								
11/1/16	LV	86	53	33	13	8	5	1
10/31/16	LV	85	52	33	15	9	5	1
10/30/16	LV	85	53	32	15	10	5	*
10/24/16	LV	83	50	33	17	9	7	*

10/23/16	LV	83	50	33	16	10	6	*
10/22/16	LV	83	49	34	17	11	6	0
10/13/16	LV	79	47	32	21	12	9	*
9/22/16	LV	91	55	36	8	5	3	1
9/8/16	LV	85	48	37	15	10	4	*

Call for full trend.

5. (IF NOT CLINTON OR TRUMP) If the only candidates were (Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine, the Democrats) and (Donald Trump and Mike Pence, the Republicans), for whom would you vote? Would you lean toward (Clinton and Kaine) or toward (Trump and Pence)?

NET LEANED VOTE PREFERENCE - LIKELY VOTERS

	Clinton	Trump	Other (vol.)	Neither (vol.)	Would not vote (vol.)	No opinion
11/1/16	49	47	1	1	1	2
10/31/16	48	47	1	1	1	1
10/30/16	48	47	1	1	1	1
10/29/16	49	47	1	1	1	1
10/28/16	49	46	1	2	1	1
10/27/16	49	46	1	2	1	1
10/26/16	50	45	1	1	1	2
10/25/16	51	44	1	2	1	1
10/24/16	51	43	*	2	2	1
10/23/16	53	41	1	3	2	1
10/22/16	53	42	1	3	1	1
10/13/16	50	46	*	2	1	1
9/22/16	49	47	*	1	2	1
9/8/16*	51	43	*	3	1	1
8/4/16**	51	44	1	2	0	1
7/14/16***	50	43	1	5	0	2
6/23/16	52	41	2	4	0	1
5/19/16	46	49	2	3	0	*

\*9/8/16 and later Results based on total sample. Respondents who named Clinton or Trump in Q3 assigned to initial preference.

\*\*8/4/16 and earlier: If the presidential election were being held today and the candidates were (Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine, the Democrats) and (Donald Trump and Mike Pence, the Republicans), for whom would you vote? Would you lean toward (Clinton and Kaine) or toward (Trump and Pence)?

\*\*\*7/14/16 and prior: "Hillary Clinton, the Democrat" and "Donald Trump, the Republican."

6. (ASKED OF REGISTERED LEANED REPUBLICANS) Out of the candidates who ran, who did you want to see win the Republican nomination for president this year? (IF NEEDED) Was it Trump or one of the other candidates?

	Trump	Other	No opinion	
11/1/16	LV	47	49	4
8/4/16	LV	40	53	7
7/14/16	LV	40	56	4
6/23/16	LV	43	54	3

7. (ASKED OF REGISTERED LEANED DEMOCRATS) Out of the candidates who ran, who did you want to see win the Democratic nomination for president this year? (IF NEEDED) Was it Hillary Clinton, Bernie Sanders or someone else?

	Clinton	Sanders	Someone else (vol.)	No opinion	
11/1/16	LV	56	32	8	4



8/4/16	LV	54	34	8	4
7/14/16	LV	50	40	6	4
6/23/16	LV	56	33	6	5

\*\*\* END \*\*\*