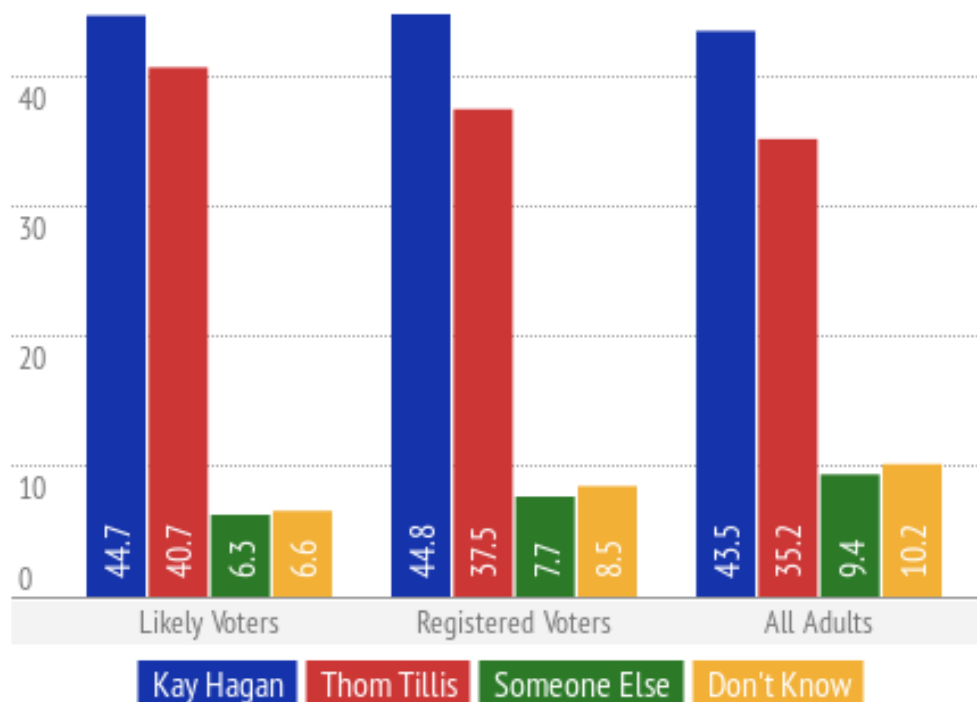


# 2014 U.S. Senate Election Survey October 21-25, 2014

**If the election for U.S. Senate were held today would you vote for Thom Tillis, Kay Hagan, or someone else?**



Elon Poll: Oct. 21-25, 2014.

687 likely ( $\pm 3.74$ ) || 996 Registered ( $\pm 3.11$ ) || 1084 Adults ( $\pm 2.98$ )

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

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# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Elon University Poll conducted a live-caller, dual frame (landline and cell phone) survey of 1084 **residents** of North Carolina between October 21-25, 2014. Of these respondents 996 said they were **registered to vote** in North Carolina. Of these registered voters 687 were identified as **likely voters** using the method described in the methodology section near the end of this report. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.98 percentage points for residents, +/- 3.11 for registered voters and +/- 3.74 for likely voters.

## **U.S. SENATE RACE**

Incumbent Kay Hagan leads Republican Thom Tillis by 4 percentage points among likely voters (44.7% to 40.7%). That lead grows to 7% when looking at all respondents who said they were registered to vote in North Carolina. The results mirror the findings of the Elon Poll conducted early last month (September 5-9).

## **UNDECIDED VOTERS**

In a close race undecided voters can help determine an election, but the size of the “undecided” voting population is often difficult to determine. “True” undecided respondents are, on average, less likely to actually turnout to vote in a midterm election. Of the 6.6% of likely voters who said they were undecided, most were independents (52%), and most were moderates (35%). Republicans were less likely to say they were undecided (13%) than Democrats (28%). Very few liberals said they were undecided (8.5% of undecided respondents). 34 percent of those who stated they were undecided were black, compared to 61% white.

## **THIRD PARTY CANDIDATES**

Sean Haugh will be on the ballot representing the Libertarian Party in the race for U.S. Senate. Our survey item did not mention him by name, nor did we mention any of the certified write-in candidates. Instead, we offered respondents the option of choosing “someone else”. Approximately 6% of likely voters made this choice. These respondents were then asked a follow-up question: “who is that someone else?” Only 6 likely voters mentioned the Libertarian Party or Sean Haugh’s name (less than 1% of all likely voters). Not a single Republican likely voter mentioned Haugh or the Libertarian Party. Twenty respondents mentioned some other

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person or party while 40 likely voters said they were unsure or undecided. Most likely voters who said they were going to vote for someone else identified as Independents.

## **INDEPENDENT VOTERS**

Most likely voters in the sample identify as Independents (35%), and these voters are almost evenly split between Hagan (37%) and Tillis (38%). Yet only about 10% of likely voters are “true” Independents; those who neither lean Democrat or Republican. Of these “true” Independents, Hagan is performing slightly better (32%) than Tillis (27%). Independents make up a sizable proportion of likely voters, and because this population is evenly split between the two candidates, it is the shifts in this group’s level of support that will likely determine the outcome of the election.

## **THE GENDER GAP**

Hagan continues to do much better among women than Tillis. 52% of women said they plan to vote for Hagan, while 34% said they plan to vote for Republican Thom Tillis. This is almost exactly the same gap as was found in the September Elon Poll (52%-33%). Single women are especially likely to vote for Hagan (80% compared to 12% voting for Tillis). Tillis is doing much better with men, with 48% supporting the Republican candidate and 38% supporting Hagan.

## **POLICY ISSUES**

### *Gay Marriage*

In September the Elon Poll found, *for the first time*, more respondents supported same-sex marriage than opposed. Now, after a U.S. District judge found the state’s ban on gay marriage was unconstitutional on October 10<sup>th</sup>, opinions on the subject have changed once more. The federal judge’s ruling seems to have increased opposition to same-sex marriage. This recent poll found 50% of likely voters opposing gay marriage, while only 38% supported it. This is a remarkable change from the 45% support and 43% opposition found in September. Likely voters who oppose gay marriage are much more likely to vote for Tillis (57%) than for Hagan (28%).

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## Voter Identification

The Elon Poll has consistently found substantial support for requiring voters to show some type of official photo identification before being allowed to vote. Over 69% of registered voters and likely voters support such a requirement. This level of support has been consistent for the last couple of years the Elon Poll has been asking this question. Opponents of the VoterID law are clearly backing Hagan (91%) while only 1 likely voter in the survey who opposed the VoterID said they would vote for Tillis (less than 1%).

## Abortion

In April of this year the Elon Poll observed a shift in support for access to an abortion and for the first time found a higher proportion of respondents supporting *fewer* restrictions on abortion (44% to 40%). The September poll seemed to confirm this shift with almost identical numbers (44% wanting fewer restrictions on abortion; 40% wanting more restrictions). Now in October, we again find similar numbers, with 46% preferring state laws to make access to an abortion less difficult, compared to 41% who prefer access to an abortion be made more difficult. The abortion issue seems to clearly favor Hagan with likely voters who are supportive of fewer restrictions on abortions much more likely to support Hagan (71%) than Tillis (16%).

## Obamacare/Affordable Care Act

The Elon Poll found almost half of likely voters (48%) think the ACA will make the healthcare situation in North Carolina worse. Only 35% believe Obamacare will make the healthcare system better, while 11% think it probably won't make much of a difference. These numbers almost mirror the Elon Poll's findings last month (49% worse, 35% better, 11% no difference). Likely voters who are optimistic about the ACA's impact on healthcare tend to represent the president's strongest supporters and are much more likely to vote for Hagan as well (88%) while only 3% plan to vote for Tillis.

## The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

Respondents were given three policy options regarding military action against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. 43% of likely voters said the U.S. should use both air strikes and ground troops, while 33% said they preferred air strikes only, and 15% said no military action should be

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taken. Almost 9% said they were unsure. Voters who prefer a more aggressive campaign against ISIS are more likely to vote for Tillis (64%) than Hagan (23%). While voters who support only air strikes against ISIS or support no military action are more likely to support Hagan.

## Ebola

Respondents were asked to assess the risk of a wide-spread Ebola outbreak in the U.S. The survey presented respondents with the following question: “From zero percent to 100 percent, what percent chance do you think a widespread outbreak of Ebola will occur and infect 100 or more people in the United States?” Thirteen percent said zero percent and over half of respondents said there was a 20% chance or less, suggesting that most residents of North Carolina are cautious about the virus, but not panicked. However, approximately 8% of those surveyed said there was a 100% chance of a wide-spread outbreak. On average Hagan supporters perceived a smaller risk (23% average) than Tillis supporters (38% average). College educated respondents perceived a smaller risk (23%) than those with only a high school degree (46%).

## **APPROVAL RATINGS**

### President Barack Obama

Over half of likely voters disapprove of the job the president is doing (52%), while only 40% approve of the president’s performance. This is similar to what the Elon Poll found last month when approval was 38% for likely voters and disapproval was 54%. Approval and disapproval of the president is a pretty good predictor of how a likely voter plans to vote in the U.S. Senate race. 90% of likely voters who approve of Obama’s job performance said they would vote for Hagan, while only 2% said they would vote for Tillis. 75% of likely voters who disapprove of the president’s performance said they plan to vote for Tillis, compared to 8% for Hagan.

### Congress

Approval for congress remains low among residents, registered voters, and likely voters in North Carolina. Less than 12% of likely voters approve of the job Congress is doing. Approval for Congress has hovered near single digits for almost two years now. The few respondents who

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approve of Congress tend to be less educated and have given the upcoming midterm election less thought.

## Governor Pat McCrory

Only 37% of likely voters approve of the job the governor is doing, compared to 47% who disapprove. The governor's approval rating has declined since September when the Elon Poll found 43% of likely voters approved of McCrory's performance and 44% disapproved. Approval for the governor is a good predictor of how a likely voter will vote in this coming election. 71% of likely voters who disapprove of the Republican governor's job performance said they plan to vote for Hagan. 72% of likely voters who approve of McCrory say they plan to vote for Tillis.

## North Carolina General Assembly

The approval rating for the North Carolina General Assembly remained relatively stable since September. 30% of likely voters approve of the job the General Assembly is doing, compared to 55% who disapprove. This is only a 1% change since the September Elon Poll. Approval of the General Assembly seems to be a good predictor of how a likely voter will vote in the November election. 66% of likely voters who approve of the NCGA say they plan to vote for Thom Tillis.

-Dr. Kenneth E. Fernandez and Dr. Jason A. Husser

## FREQUENCIES

### U.S. Senate Race

If the election for U.S. Senate was held today would you vote for [Republican Thom Tillis, Democrat Kay Hagan, or someone else]? [Rotate names]

[If someone else] Who is that someone else? [If don't know] If you had to choose between the U.S. Senate candidates who would you choose, Kay Hagan, Thom Tillis, or someone else? [Rotate names].

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Kay Hagan	44.7%	307	44.8%	446	43.5%	471
Thom Tillis	40.7%	280	37.5%	374	35.2%	382
Someone Else	6.3%	44	7.7%	77	9.4%	102
Don't Know	6.6%	45	8.5%	85	10.2%	111
Refused	1.6%	11	1.4%	14	1.7%	18
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

### Approval President

Do you [approve or disapprove] of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Obama						
Approve	39.7%	272	38.0%	378	37.6%	408
Disapprove	52.1%	358	50.7%	505	50.6%	549
Don't know	7.0%	48	10.0%	100	10.5%	114
Refused	1.3%	9	1.3%	13	1.2%	13
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

### Approval Governor

Do you [approve or disapprove] of the way Pat McCrory is handling his job as governor?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Approve	37.4%	257	37.3%	372	35.5%	385
Disapprove	46.6%	320	42.1%	419	42.2%	457
Don't know	14.8%	102	19.7%	196	21.5%	233
Refused	1.2%	8	0.9%	9	0.8%	9
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084



## Approval Congress

Do you [approve or disapprove] of the way Congress is doing its job?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Congress is doing its job?						
Approve	11.2%	77	14.0%	140	15.3%	166
Disapprove	79.4%	545	75.5%	752	73.9%	801
Don't know	8.5%	58	9.8%	98	10.2%	110
Refused	1.0%	7	0.6%	6	0.6%	7
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Approval General Assembly

What about the state legislature in Raleigh? Do you [approve or disapprove] of the way the North Carolina General Assembly is doing its job?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Approve	30.3%	208	30.2%	300	30.2%	327
Disapprove	54.7%	376	50.6%	504	49.0%	532
Don't know	14.4%	99	18.4%	183	19.8%	215
Refused	0.6%	4	0.9%	9	0.9%	10
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## **[POLICY QUESTIONS BELOW WERE ROTATED]**

### Voter ID Support

Recently, North Carolina passed a law requiring voters to show some sort of government approved photo identification before they are allowed to vote... do you [support or oppose] this law?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Support	69.4%	477	69.8%	695	70.7%	766
Oppose	28.0%	192	26.3%	262	25.1%	272
Don't Know / No Opinion	2.6%	18	3.9%	39	4.2%	46
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Gay Marriage

Do you support or oppose gay [same-sex] marriage?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Support	38.7%	266	41.7%	415	42.6%	462
Oppose	49.8%	342	47.0%	468	46.5%	504
Don't Know / No Opinion	10.8%	74	10.6%	106	10.2%	111
Refused	0.7%	5	0.7%	7	0.7%	7
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Abortion

Now, thinking more generally, do you think state laws in North Carolina should make access to an abortion more difficult or less difficult?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
More difficult	40.6%	279	41.0%	408	40.5%	439
Less difficult	45.9%	315	45.4%	452	45.5%	493
Don't know	11.2%	77	11.5%	115	11.8%	128
Refuse	2.3%	16	2.1%	21	2.2%	24
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## ISIS

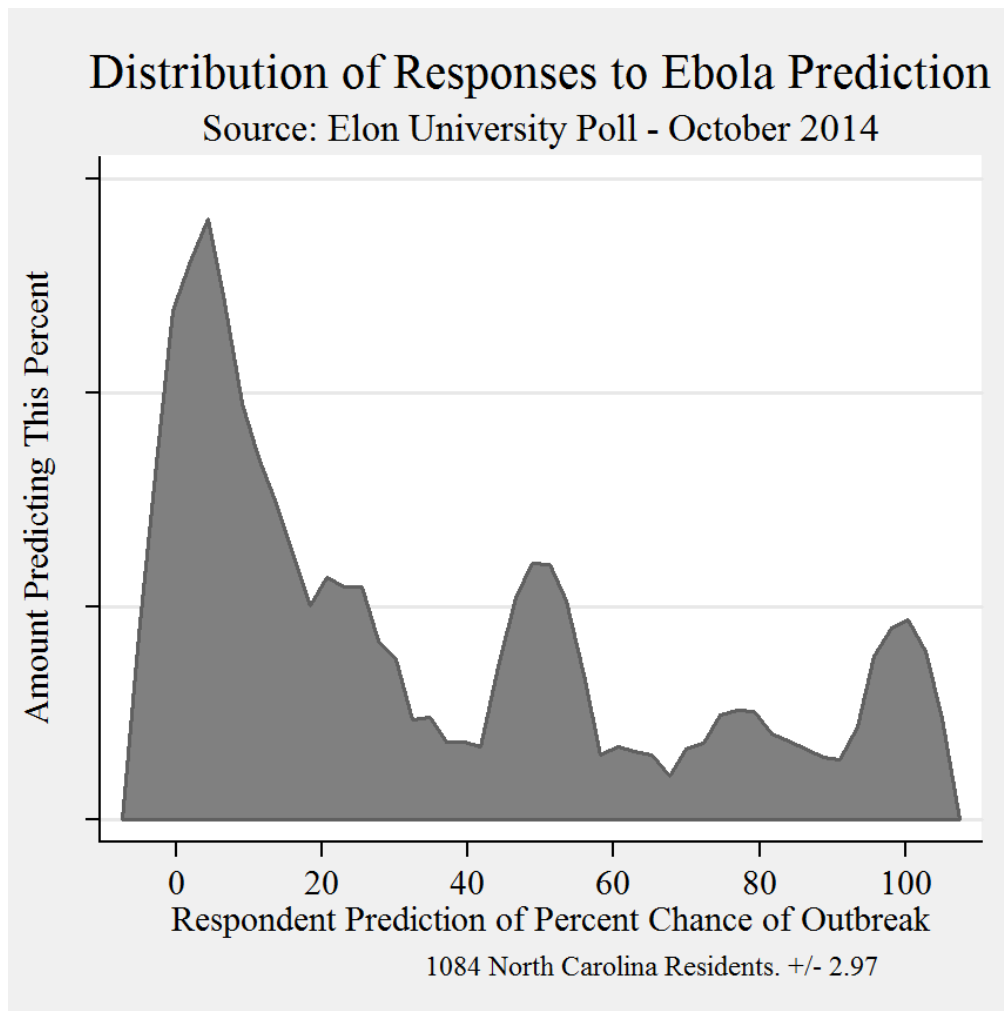
Thinking about the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, also known as ISIS, should U.S. military action against ISIS be limited to only air strikes, should it include both air strikes AND American combat troops on the ground, or should U.S. military action not be taken at all?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Air strikes only	32.8%	225	29.5%	294	29.2%	317
Air strikes + ground troops	42.5%	292	40.5%	403	40.5%	439
No military action	15.1%	104	19.5%	194	20.1%	218
Don't Know	8.6%	59	9.4%	94	9.1%	99
Refused	1.0%	7	1.1%	11	1.0%	11
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Ebola

From zero percent to 100 percent, what percent chance do you think a widespread outbreak of Ebola will occur and infect 100 or more people in the United States? [0 – 100]

	<u>Average</u>
Residents	33.7%
Registered Voters	33.0%
All Likely Voters	31.3%
Tillis Likely Voters	37.6%
Hagan Likely Voters	23.4%



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## Obamacare

In the long run, how do you think the Affordable Care Act, often referred to as Obamacare, will affect the healthcare situation in North Carolina as a whole? Will it make things better, not make much difference, or will it make things worse?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Make Things Better	34.5%	237	33.3%	332	32.5%	353
Not Make Much Difference	11.2%	77	13.2%	131	13.6%	147
Make Things Worse	48.0%	330	47.3%	471	47.7%	517
Don't Know	6.0%	41	6.1%	60	6.0%	65
Refused	0.3%	2	0.2%	2	0.2%	2
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## DEMOGRAPHICS

### PartyID

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

(If Party ID=1)

Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a strong Democrat?

(If Party ID = 2)

Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a strong Republican?

(If Party ID = 3, 4, or 8)

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Strong Democrat	26.2%	180	21.0%	209	19.8%	215
Democrat	8.1%	56	12.3%	122	12.6%	136
Independent - Leaning Democrat	11.4%	78	12.7%	126	13.8%	149
Independent	9.6%	66	10.9%	109	11.8%	128
Independent - Leaning Republican	14.0%	96	13.3%	133	13.3%	144
Republican	9.6%	66	11.0%	110	11.0%	119
Strong Republican	19.4%	134	16.2%	161	15.1%	164
Don't Know	1.2%	8	1.6%	16	1.8%	19
Refused	0.5%	3	1.0%	10	0.9%	10
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

## Ideology

When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as liberal, moderate, conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Liberal	18.1%	124	18.4%	183	19.0%	205
Moderate	23.7%	163	24.0%	239	23.2%	252
Conservative	41.5%	285	36.5%	364	35.1%	381
Don't Know	16.4%	113	20.5%	204	22.1%	239
Refused	0.3%	2	0.6%	6	0.6%	7
N=	100.0%	684	100.0%	996	100.0%	1078

## Education

How much school have you completed?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Less than High School	2.3%	16	4.0%	40	4.7%	51
High School Diploma or GED	14.3%	98	16.3%	162	18.4%	199
Vocational or Technical School	2.6%	18	1.9%	19	2.0%	22
Some College	20.4%	140	22.6%	225	22.1%	240
Associates Degree	6.0%	41	6.6%	66	6.4%	70
College Graduate	33.5%	230	31.2%	311	30.0%	325
Graduate School	20.4%	140	16.7%	166	15.6%	169
Don't Know	0.2%	1	0.3%	3	0.4%	4
Refused	0.4%	3	0.4%	4	0.4%	4
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Race

For statistical purposes only, could you please tell me your race or ethnic background?]

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
White	75.6%	520	72.5%	723	72.0%	781
Black	20.3%	139	21.9%	218	20.9%	227
Other	4.1%	28	5.5%	55	7.1%	76
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

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## Income

Is your annual household income more or less than \$50,000? (If = Under \$50,000) Is it more or less than \$25,000? (If = Over \$50,000) Is it more or less than \$75,000?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Less than \$25,000	13.2%	91	17.4%	173	18.3%	198
\$25,000 to \$50,000	19.4%	133	20.0%	199	20.7%	225
\$50,000 to \$75,000	16.2%	111	16.4%	163	16.0%	174
More than \$75,000	42.8%	294	36.9%	367	35.3%	382
Don't Know	2.5%	17	4.1%	41	4.3%	47
Refused	6.0%	41	5.3%	53	5.4%	58
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Age

How old are you? [Continuous variable collapsed]

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
18-30	7.6%	53	18.7%	186	21.2%	230
31-40	15.6%	107	16.2%	161	16.0%	173
41-50	24.8%	170	23.6%	235	22.9%	248
51-65	27.4%	189	22.7%	226	22.0%	239
65+	24.5%	168	18.9%	188	17.9%	194
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Phone

Do you have a land line phone? [asked to cell phones only]

Do you have a cell phone? [asked to land line phones only]

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	n	%	n	%	n
Landline only	7.5%	51	7.8%	78	7.7%	83
Dual Use	69.0%	474	58.7%	585	57.0%	618
Cell only	23.5%	162	33.4%	333	35.3%	383
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

## Religion

Do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, something else, or not religious?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Christian	86.3%	593	83.4%	831	82.0%	889
Jewish	0.4%	3	0.4%	4	0.4%	4
Muslim	0.2%	1	0.8%	8	0.8%	9
Something Else	4.4%	30	5.1%	51	5.4%	59
Not Religious	6.8%	47	8.7%	87	9.7%	105
Don't Know	1.0%	7	0.9%	9	1.1%	12
Refused	0.9%	6	0.6%	6	0.6%	6
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Church Attendance & Frequency

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals? Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Never	18.6%	128	23.6%	235	25.2%	273
A few times a year	11.9%	82	12.8%	127	12.2%	132
Once or twice a month	17.8%	122	17.6%	175	17.4%	189
Almost every week	16.5%	113	16.8%	168	16.0%	173
Every week	33.6%	231	28.0%	279	28.0%	304
Don't Know	0.9%	6	0.7%	7	0.7%	8
Refused	0.7%	5	0.5%	5	0.5%	5
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## Sex/Gender [post-interview question]

Was the person male or female?

	<u>Likely</u>		<u>Registered</u>		<u>Residents</u>	
	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>
Male	48.2%	331	47.3%	471	48.0%	520
Female	51.8%	356	52.7%	525	52.0%	564
N=	100.0%	687	100.0%	996	100.0%	1084

## CROSS-TABULATIONS

Net difference is percent within row support Hagan minus percent within row supporting Tillis. Positive numbers indicate a net advantage for Hagan. Negative numbers indicate a net advantage for Tillis. Data are for likely voters.

Refused removed for presentation purposes and due to low cell sizes.

Sample sizes and additional cross-tabs are available from [kfernandez@elon.edu](mailto:kfernandez@elon.edu) and [jhusser@elon.edu](mailto:jhusser@elon.edu) on request from journalists or academic researchers.

<b>Obama Approval</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Approve	90%	2%	2%	5%	1%	100%	88%
Disapprove	8%	75%	10%	6%	2%	100%	-67%
Don't know	61%	12%	7%	18%	2%	100%	49%

<b>McCrary Approval</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Approve	15%	72%	4%	7%	2%	100%	-57%
Disapprove	71%	15%	8%	5%	1%	100%	56%
Don't know	35%	46%	7%	9%	3%	100%	-11%

<b>Congress Approval</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Approve	46%	36%	4%	10%	4%	100%	10%
Disapprove	45%	42%	6%	6%	1%	100%	3%
Don't know	48%	31%	11%	11%	0%	100%	17%

<b>NCGA Approval</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Approve	21%	66%	4%	6%	3%	100%	-45%
Disapprove	60%	26%	8%	5%	1%	100%	34%
Don't know	34%	45%	6%	13%	2%	100%	-11%

<b>2012 Vote</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Barack Obama	87%	2%	4%	6%	0%	100%	85%
Mitt Romney	4%	81%	8%	6%	0%	100%	-77%
Someone else	22%	41%	17%	19%	0%	100%	-19%
Don't know/Don't Remember	52%	48%	0%	0%	0%	100%	4%



# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

<b>Gay Marriage</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Support	66%	22%	6%	6%	1%	100%	44%
Oppose	28%	57%	7%	6%	2%	100%	-29%
Don't Know	42%	38%	8%	10%	2%	100%	4%

<b>Voter ID</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Support	25%	58%	7%	8%	2%	100%	-33%
Oppose	91%	0%	4%	3%	2%	100%	91%
Don't Know	75%	12%	0%	14%	0%	100%	63%

<b>ISIS Opinion</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Air strikes only	64%	26%	5%	5%	0%	100%	38%
Air strikes + ground troops	23%	64%	7%	4%	2%	100%	-41%
No military action	63%	17%	8%	10%	2%	100%	46%
Don't Know	46%	30%	4%	16%	4%	100%	16%

<b>Abortion Laws</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
More difficult	21%	63%	6%	8%	2%	100%	-42%
Less difficult	71%	16%	6%	5%	1%	100%	55%
Don't know	25%	59%	9%	6%	1%	100%	-34%

<b>ACA Opinion</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Make Things Better	88%	3%	3%	6%	1%	100%	85%
Not Make Much Difference	65%	23%	6%	6%	0%	100%	42%
Make Things Worse	9%	75%	8%	6%	2%	100%	-66%
Don't Know	46%	19%	12%	15%	8%	100%	27%

<b>Education</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Less than HS	24%	51%	13%	12%	0%	100%	-27%
High School / GED	43%	49%	4%	2%	1%	100%	-6%
Some College/ AA / Technical	42%	40%	7%	11%	1%	100%	2%
College Graduate	45%	41%	6%	7%	2%	100%	4%
Graduate School	54%	35%	7%	3%	2%	100%	19%

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

<b>Religious Tradition</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Christian	40%	45%	6%	7%	1%	100%	-5%
Jewish	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Muslim	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Something Else	81%	14%	0%	5%	0%	100%	67%
Not Religious	72%	15%	5%	5%	3%	100%	57%
Don't Know	73%	0%	27%	0%	0%	100%	73%

<b>Party ID</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Strong Democrat	93%	3%	1%	3%	0%	100%	90%
Democrat	72%	9%	5%	13%	1%	100%	63%
Independent - Leaning Democrat	83%	3%	6%	8%	0%	100%	80%
Independent	32%	27%	17%	17%	8%	100%	5%
Independent - Leaning Republican	4%	75%	12%	6%	2%	100%	-71%
Republican	9%	77%	9%	5%	0%	100%	-68%
Strong Republican	3%	91%	3%	2%	1%	100%	-88%
Don't Know	26%	53%	0%	21%	0%	100%	-27%

<b>Ideology</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Liberal	87%	4%	5%	3%	1%	100%	83%
Moderate	52%	29%	6%	10%	3%	100%	23%
Conservative	15%	72%	6%	5%	1%	100%	-57%
Don't Know	64%	20%	6%	9%	1%	100%	44%

<b>Age</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
18-30	60%	25%	2%	13%	0%	100%	35%
31-40	53%	29%	9%	8%	2%	100%	24%
41-50	37%	46%	12%	4%	1%	100%	-9%
51-65	46%	42%	4%	6%	2%	100%	4%
65+	42%	48%	2%	6%	2%	100%	-6%

<b>Race</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
White	35%	51%	7%	5%	1%	100%	-16%
Black	81%	4%	3%	11%	1%	100%	77%
Other	47%	33%	6%	8%	6%	100%	14%

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

<b>Income</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Less than \$25,000	53%	28%	6%	12%	1%	100%	25%
\$25,000 to \$50,000	58%	30%	5%	6%	1%	100%	28%
\$50,000 to \$75,000	51%	35%	8%	6%	1%	100%	16%
More than \$75,000	37%	50%	6%	6%	1%	100%	-13%

<b>Urban / Rural</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Urban	48%	38%	6%	6%	2%	100%	10%
Rural	41%	43%	7%	8%	2%	100%	-2%

<b>Gender</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Male	38%	48%	6%	6%	2%	100%	-10%
Female	52%	34%	7%	7%	1%	100%	18%

<b>Gender &amp; Marital Status</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Female: Single	80%	12%	3%	4%	1%	100%	68%
Female: Married	41%	43%	8%	6%	1%	100%	-2%
Female: Divorced/Separated	64%	16%	8%	11%	2%	100%	48%
Female: Widowed	49%	38%	2%	11%	0%	100%	11%
Male: Single	50%	25%	8%	14%	3%	100%	25%
Male: Married	35%	53%	6%	4%	2%	100%	-18%
Male: Divorced/Separated	34%	55%	5%	6%	0%	100%	-21%
Male: Widowed	0%	86%	14%	0%	0%	100%	-86%

<b>Place of Origin</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Non-Southern Native	49%	41%	5%	5%	1%	100%	8%
NC Native	44%	41%	7%	7%	2%	100%	3%
Southern Native	44%	40%	6%	10%	1%	100%	4%

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

<b>Southern Accent</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Strong Southern Accent	32%	50%	5%	10%	2%	100%	-18%
Slight Southern Accent	44%	42%	8%	6%	1%	100%	2%
No Southern Accent	57%	31%	5%	5%	2%	100%	26%

<b>Phone Ownership</b>	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	Don't Know	Refused	Total	<i>Net Diff.</i>
Landline only	51%	41%	3%	5%	0%	100%	10%
Dual Use	42%	44%	6%	7%	2%	100%	-2%
Cell only	53%	32%	8%	6%	1%	100%	21%

## QUESTION ORDERING

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- Likely Voter Questions
  - intro..... Introductory screen / Household Randomizer
  - regist ..... Registered to Voter
  - ncrez..... Resident of NC
  - voted ..... Already voted
  - thought ..... How much thought given to election
  - senaterace..... Who will you vote for
  - thirdparty..... 3<sup>rd</sup> party follow up question
  - undecided..... leaning toward which candidate
  - voteoften ..... How often do you vote
  - plan2vote..... Do you plan to vote this November
  - certain..... How certain are you that you will vote
  - pastvote1 ..... Did you vote in the 2012 election
  - pastvote2 ..... Who did you vote for in 2012
  - pastvote3 ..... Did you vote in 2010
  - *The following three questions are asked at the end of the survey after zip code?*
  - precinct1..... Do you know where your precinct is?
  - precinct2..... Have you ever voted in your precinct?
  - lengthres..... How long have you lived at your current residence?
- Approval
  - approvpres..... President Approval
  - approvcong..... Congress Approval
  - approvgov ..... Governor Approval
  - approvga..... General Assembly Approval
- Policies [Questions Rotated]
  - importissue..... Most Important Issue in US [rotate position]
  - gaymarriage ..... Support/Oppose Gay Marriage
  - voterid ..... Support/oppose Voter ID law
  - abortion ..... Access to Abortion
  - obamacare ..... Affordable Care Act good for NC
  - ebola..... likelihood of ebola outbreak
  - isis ..... Military response to ISIS

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

- Partisanship
  - partyid ..... Party Identification
  - partyidrep ..... Party ID Branch GOP
  - partyiddem ..... Party ID Branch DEM
  - partyidind ..... Party ID Branch IND
- Ideology
  - ideo ..... Ideology
  - ideocon ..... Ideology Branch CON
  - ideolib ..... Ideology Branch LIB
  - ideomod ..... Ideology Branch MOD
  - ideodk ..... Ideology Branch DK
- Demographics
  - married ..... Married, Single, Divorced, Widowed
  - educ ..... Education
  - attend ..... Church Attendance
  - attendfreq ..... Church Attendance Probe
  - relig ..... Religion
  - inc ..... Income
  - inc\_high ..... Income High Probe
  - inc\_low ..... Income Low Probe
  - ncorigin ..... originally from NC
  - southorig ..... originally from the South
  - age ..... Age
  - hhsiz ..... Household Size
  - race ..... Race
  - zipcode ..... zipcode
  - phone ..... landline/cell phone
  - internet ..... Does your home have internet access
- Post-interview
  - sex ..... Gender
  - accent ..... Southern Accent

## Basic Methodological Information

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Mode:	Live Interviewer RDD Telephone Interviews (Dual Frame: Cell Phone and Landlines)
Population & Sample Area	North Carolina; Adults, Registered Voters, and Likely Voters
Dates in the field:	October 21-25, 2014
Likely Voter Sample Size	687
Likely Voter Margin of Error	± 3.74
Registered Voter Sample Size	996
Registered Voter Margin of Error	±3.11
Adult Residents Sample Size	1,084
Adult Residents Margin of Error	±2.98
Confidence Level	95%
Weighting Variables	Age , Race, Gender, & Phone Ownership

The Elon University Poll uses a stratified random sample of households with telephones and wireless (cell) telephone numbers. Please direct questions about the Elon University Poll's methodology to the Director of the Elon University Poll, Dr. Kenneth Fernandez at 336-278-6438 or [kfernandez@elon.edu](mailto:kfernandez@elon.edu).

### Procedures Used for Conducting the Poll

The Elon University Poll uses CATI system software (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) for the administration of surveys. We attempt to reach each working telephone number in the sample up to five times. We only interview residents of North Carolina who are over 18. The Elon University Poll conducted the survey over a five-day period. Live interviewers called from 4:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. Tuesday 10/21, Wednesday 10/22, and Thursday 10/23; 3:00 to 8:00 on Friday 10/24; and 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. on Saturday 10/25.

### Procedure for Identifying Likely Voters

A representative sample of North Carolina residents was obtained using a dual frame RDD/Wireless telephone survey. That sample was weighted to approximate U.S. Census figures on age, race, gender, and cell phone/land-line use. From that representative sample of 1084 residents, likely voters were identified using the following method:

Respondents who said they were not registered to vote in North Carolina were excluded. This left 996 respondents.

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

Respondents who did not answer yes to the following question, “Do you, yourself, plan to vote in the election this November, or not?” were excluded. This left 842 respondents.

The remaining respondents were used to identify likely voter by assigning points for responses from following questions:

- Q1. There will be a congressional election this November. How much thought have you given to this election? Quite a lot (2 point), some (1 points), or only a little (0 points)?
- Q2. How certain are you that you will vote? Absolutely certain (2 point), fairly certain (1 point), or not certain (0 points).
- Q3. How often would you say you vote – always (2 point), nearly always (1 point), part of the time (0 points), or seldom (0 points)?
- Q4. Thinking back to the presidential election in 2012, did you happen to vote or did something come up that kept you from voting? Yes, I voted (1 point), No, I did not vote (0 points )
- Q5. Thinking back to the elections held for Congress in 2010, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote? Yes, I voted (2 point), No, I did not vote (0 points)
- Q6. Do you happen to know where people who live in your neighborhood go to vote? Yes (1 point), No (0 points)
- Q7. Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district? Yes (2 point), No (0 points)

Scores were adjusted for respondents under the age of 22:

- If the respondent was 18 to 19, scores were adjusted as follows: Q4 = 1; Q5 = 2;
- If the respondent was 20 to 21, scores were adjusted as follows: Q5 = 2

In addition, new residents who had lived at their current residence for two years or less were not penalized for not knowing where their precinct was or for not have voted in their precinct before. New residents were given 1 point for both of the following questions regardless of their answers:

- Q6. Do you happen to know where people who live in your neighborhood go to vote?
- Q7. Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

Furthermore, respondents who said they have already voted via absentee ballot or early voting were given an automatic score of 12.

Only respondents who received 10, 11 or 12 points were considered likely voters, leaving 687 respondents from the original representative sample of adult North Carolinians.



## **Additional Methodological Decisions**

### Branching Questions

For many questions with multiple response options, we program our surveys to branch into a secondary probing question.

### “Don’t Know” & “Refused” Response Options

All questions include an option for respondents to volunteer “don’t know” or to refuse. In the vast majority of questions, interviewers do not prompt “don’t know” responses.

### Weighting

We typically weight results from the Elon University Poll on multiple demographic characteristics: race, gender, phone use/type and age. Weighting rarely leads to substantial changes in results. We use iterative raking, adjusting one dimension at a time. We include detailed information about weighting of survey samples for each poll on both the Elon University Poll website and within released reports.

### Within Household Randomization

For landlines, we use the common “oldest-youngest” technique to ensure within household randomization. We assume cellphones belong to an individual rather than a household. Thus, we do not conduct within-household randomization within our cellphone sample.

### Completion Criteria

An interview is a complete only if a respondent progresses through the entire survey. Respondents who hang up before completing the last question or who refuse to more than 10 % of the questions are incompletes.

### Support for Transparency

The Elon University Poll supports transparency in survey research and is a supporter of the American Association for Public Opinion Research Transparency Initiative, which is a program promoting openness and transparency about survey research methods and operations among survey research professionals and the industry. All information about the Elon University Poll that we released to the public conforms to reporting conventions recommended by the American Association for Public Opinion Research and the National Council on Public Polls.

### Question Construction and Question Order

In releasing survey results, the Elon University Poll provides the questions as worded and the order in which respondents receive these questions. In some cases question ordering rotates to avoid biases. In an effort to provide neutral, non-biased questions, we attempt to observe conventional question wording and question order protocols in all of our polls. In order to avoid recency or primacy effects, we randomize candidate names and directional response options (e.g. support / oppose) within the text of each question. We pretest every questionnaire multiple times before entering the field.

## **Sampling**

Survey Sampling International, LLC, provide samples of telephone numbers. To equalize the probability of telephone selection, sample telephone numbers are systematically stratified according to subpopulation strata (e.g., a zip code, a county, etc.), which yields a sample from telephone exchanges in proportion to each exchange's share of telephone households in the population of interest. Estimates of telephone households in the population of interest are generally obtained from several databases. Samples of household telephone numbers are distributed across all eligible blocks of numbers in proportion to the density of listed households assigned in the population of interest according to a specified subpopulation stratum. Upon determining the projected (or preferred) sample size, a sampling interval is calculated by summing the number of listed residential numbers in each eligible block within the population of interest and dividing that sum by the number of sampling points assigned to the population. From a random start between zero and the sampling interval, blocks are selected systematically in proportion to the density of listed household "working blocks."

A block (also known as a bank) is a set of contiguous numbers identified by the first two digits of the last four digits of a telephone number. A working block contains three or more working telephone numbers. Exchanges are assigned to a population on the basis of all eligible blocks in proportion to the density of working telephone households. Once each population's proportion of telephone households is determined, then a sampling interval, based on that proportion, is calculated and specific exchanges and numbers are randomly selected.

The wireless component of the study sample starts with determining which area code-exchange combinations in North Carolina are included in the wireless or shared Telcordia types. Similar to the process for selecting household telephone numbers, wireless numbers involve a multi-step process in which blocks of numbers are determined for each area code-exchange combination in the Telcordia types. From a random start within the first sampling interval, a systematic nth selection of each block of numbers is performed and a two-digit random number between 00 and 99 is appended to each selected nth block stem. The intent is to provide a stratification that will yield a sample that is representative both geographically and by large and small carrier. From these, a random sample is generated.

Because exchanges and numbers are randomly selected, unlisted as well as listed numbers are included in the sample. Thus, the sample of numbers generated for the population of interest constitutes a random sample of telephone households and wireless numbers of the population.

## **Frequently Asked Questions about our Methodology**

1. *Who pays for the Elon University Poll?*  
Elon University fully funds the Elon University Poll.
2. *Does the Elon University Poll favor a certain party?*  
The Elon University Poll is an academic, non-partisan survey. We do not engage or work with any political candidates or parties. We employ best practices to ensure the results are not biased.

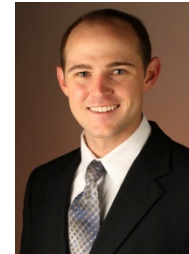
3. *Where do you get your numbers?*  
We obtain samples of randomized phone numbers from Survey Sample International.
4. *How many times do you call a number before giving up?*  
We will attempt to call each working number up to five times before removing it from the sample.
5. *Do you call both cell phones and land lines?*  
Yes. We use a mixed sample of both cell phones and landlines. We weight on phone ownership to adjust for the higher probability of selection of those who own both cell phones and landline phones.
6. *Does the Elon University Poll do IVR surveys or automated “robopolls”?*  
No. Well-trained students at Elon University conduct all our interviewers.
7. *Do you report non-response rates?*  
Yes. We report non-response rates based on AAPOR guidelines. The response rate for the October 2014 poll was 12.3 which approximates the national average response rates of other high quality survey organizations. The response rate is calculated using the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) formula RR4.
8. *Do you weight the data?*  
Yes. We apply weights to the data. An iterative proportional fitting algorithm generates weights based on Census and CDC population parameters of residents in North Carolina. Registered voter screens sometimes cause final weighted variables to not match those parameters exactly- which is intended.
9. *Do you randomize response options?*  
Yes. We rotate the order of candidate names in all applicable questions. We also rotate order of text for other questions, such as those that include response options such as “more” and “less.” Furthermore, we rotate the order of some questions themselves if we suspect the order of a question could bias results.
10. *Do you conduct within-household randomization?*  
Yes. For landlines, we use the common “oldest-youngest” rotation to ensure within household randomization. We assume cellphones belong to an individual rather than a household. Thus, we do not conduct within-household randomization within our cellphone sample.

## The Elon University Poll Team

- Dr. Kenneth Fernandez is the Director of the Elon University Poll. Dr. Fernandez holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from University of California – Riverside. Dr. Fernandez is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Elon University. He has published numerous articles in peer-reviewed social science journals.
- Dr. Jason Husser is the Assistant director. Dr. Husser is also Assistant Professor of Political Science at Elon University and Faculty Fellow for Civic Engagement. Dr. Husser holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Vanderbilt University.
- John Robinson serves as Director of Communications for the Poll. He is a former newspaper editor, veteran journalist, and North Carolina native.
- Daniel Anderson is Vice President of Elon University Communications.
- Eric Townsend is Director of the Elon University News Bureau. Both work very closely with the directors in communicating results of the poll.



Fernandez



Husser



Robinson

Faculty members in the Department of Political Science are also involved in advising the directors. The poll operates under the auspices of the College of Arts and Sciences at Elon University, led by Interim Dean Gabie Smith.

The Elon University administration, led by Dr. Leo Lambert, president of the university, fully supports the Elon University Poll as part of its service commitment to state, regional, and national constituents. Elon University fully funds the Elon University Poll. Because of this generous support, the Elon University poll does not engage in any contract work. This permits the Elon University Poll to operate as a neutral, non-biased, non-partisan resource.

Elon University students administer the survey as part of the University's commitment to civic engagement and experiential learning where "students learn through doing." Student interviewers receive extensive training prior to engaging in interviewing. A team of student supervisors (led by Mary Young '15 and Matt Albers '15) assists the directors with quality control and monitoring.

# ELON UNIVERSITY POLL

For more information on the Elon University Poll and previous results, visit <http://www.elon.edu/elonpoll>

To learn more about the survey research techniques used in this poll, see <http://www.youtube.com/users/elonpoll>

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