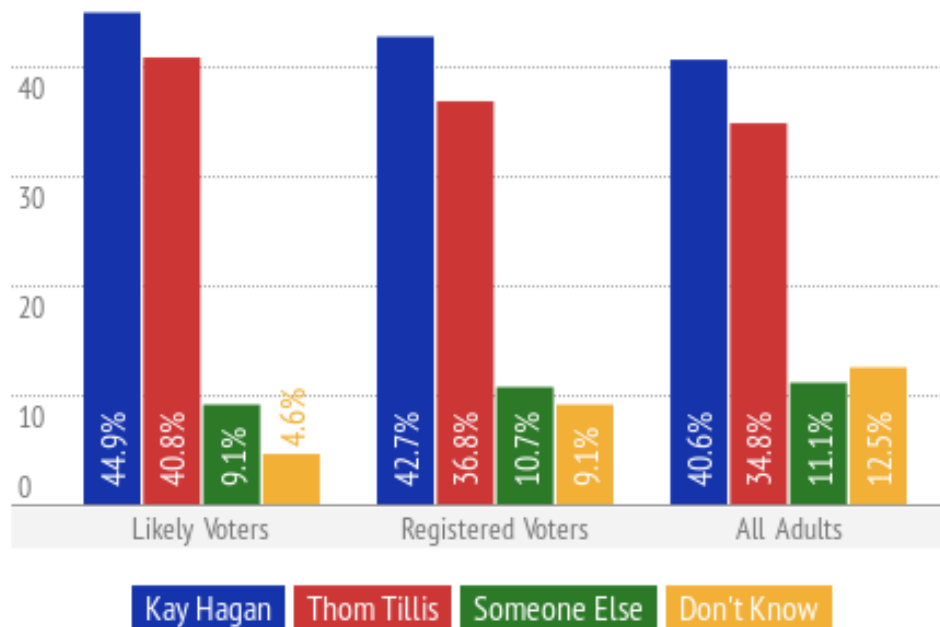


Midterm Election Survey 2014 September 5-9

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



Sept 5-9, 2014. Full results at www.elon.edu/elonpoll

Adults n=1078 (±2.98) || Registered n=983 (±3.13) || Likely n=629 (±3.91)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

MIDTERM ELECTION SURVEY

The Elon University Poll conducted a live-caller, dual frame (landline and cell phone) survey of 1078 residents of North Carolina between September 5-9, 2014. Of these respondents 983 said they were registered to vote in North Carolina. Of these registered voters 629 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, +/- 3.13 for registered voters and +/- 3.91 for likely voters.

U.S. SENATE RACE

Incumbent Kay Hagan leads Republican Thom Tillis by 4 percentage points among likely voters (45% to 41%). That lead grows to 6% when looking at registered voters. In 2010, turnout among registered voters was 44%, in 2006 it was 37%. The highest turnout for a midterm election in recent decades was in 1990 with 62% turnout. That year incumbent Senator Jesse Helms defeated his Democratic challenger Harvey Gantt. The 2014 midterm election in North Carolina will likely see higher than average turnout given the amount of attention the race is receiving across the state and the country.

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. In addition, some undecided voters are often leaning toward one candidate. Initially 7.5% of likely voters said they were undecided. We then asked those 7.5% a follow-up question: “If you had to choose between the U.S. Senate candidates who would you choose, Kay Hagan, Thom Tillis, or someone else?” Almost half (49%) still said they were undecided, leaving 4.6% of likely voters in play for the November election. 27% of undecided voters said they would vote for Tillis and 12% said they would vote for

Hagan. The 45% to 41% split between Hagan and Tillis includes these “undecided leaners”. If not included, Hagan’s lead would be larger, but likely exaggerated.

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 9% of likely voters made this choice. These respondents were then asked a follow-up question: “who is that someone else?” Only 4 respondents mentioned the Libertarian Party or Sean Haugh’s name (less than 1%). 9 respondents mentioned some other person or party (15%) while 42 respondents said they were unsure or undecided (73%). This suggests that a third party candidate is not likely to have a large influence on the election outcome. In 2010 Michael Beitler ran for U.S. Senate in North Carolina as a Libertarian and received approximately 2% of the vote. Just by being on the ballot a candidate is guaranteed to receive some votes. Yet, generally, election surveys which list third party candidates often heavily exaggerate the proportion of the electorate that will actually vote for such a candidate. We feel our question wording best gets at the true level of interest in a third party candidate.

THE GENDER GAP

While some national polls have shown the Democratic Party’s advantage in attracting women voters is shrinking, the Elon Poll found that the gender gap in the North Carolina U.S. Senate race is quite wide. 52% of women said they plan to vote for Democrat Kay Hagan, while 33% said they plan to vote for Republican Thom Tillis. Single women are especially likely to vote for Hagan (65% compared to 18% voting for Tillis). Tillis is doing much better with men, with 50% supporting the Republican candidate and 38% supporting Hagan.

CANDIDATES, ISSUES AND LIKELY VOTERS

Voter turnout is driven by high quality candidates in competitive races, but it is also driven by political issues. We asked respondents about their opinions on a number of issues to see how supporters of the two major party candidates differ.

Right Track – Wrong Track: Country

71% of likely voters feel the nation is on the wrong track compared to 24% who felt it is on the right track. Likely voters who felt the country is on the right track are far more likely to vote for Kay Hagan (83%). Over half (54%) of those who said the country is on the wrong track said they plan on voting for Thom Tillis.

Most Important Issue

When asked “what is the most important issue in the United States?” many likely voters mentioned something related to international affairs or national defense. Not since 2007 has the Elon Poll found foreign affairs to be a top issue on the minds of North Carolinians. Tillis and Hagan supporters tend to differ on what is the most important issue. Hagan supporters seem to see education as the most important issue, while Tillis supporters were more likely to mention international affairs and national defense.

Gay Marriage

More likely voters said they supported (45%) same-sex marriage than opposed (43%). These numbers changed only slightly when looking at registered voters or residents. This is a reversal from previous polls which found stronger opposition against gay marriage. This change in opinion may be due to a number of important court decisions across the country, including the case in our neighboring state Virginia where a federal appeals court ruled the state’s ban on same-sex marriage was unconstitutional. Likely voters who oppose gay marriage are much more likely to vote for Tillis (61%) than for Hagan (26%).

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 72% of registered voters and 68% of likely voters support such a requirement. Opponents of the VoterID law are clearly backing Hagan (89%) while only 3% said they would vote for Tillis.

Immigration

47% of registered voters believe immigrants are a benefit to North Carolina because of their hard work, compared to 40% who said immigrants are a burden because they use public services. This is a noticeable change since April of this year where 54% said immigrants were a benefit to the state and 35% said they were a burden. This change in attitudes toward immigrants may have been caused by the increased attention to the issue this summer, specifically the thousands of unaccompanied children attempting to cross the border from Central America. Likely voters who see immigrants as a burden are more likely to vote for Tillis (60%) while only 20% said they planned on voting for Hagan.

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 less restrictions on abortion (44% to 40%). Now in September our findings seem to confirm this shift with almost identical numbers (44% wanting fewer restrictions on abortion; 40% wanting more restrictions). Generally, the survey data suggests we are not seeing an increase in support for abortion, but rather a decrease in opposition, and an increase among Democrats, Independents, and Republicans who say they are unsure about the issue. Likely voters who are supportive of fewer restrictions on abortions are much more likely to vote for Hagan (67%) than Tillis (20%).

Obamacare/ACA

The Elon Poll found almost half of registered voters (48%) think the ACA will make the health care situation in North Carolina worse. This is an increase in pessimism toward Obamacare since a poll in April (44%). Only 31% believe Obamacare will make the health care system better, while 15% think it probably won't make much of a difference. Likely voters who are optimistic about the ACA's impact on health care tend to represent the president's strongest supporters and are much more likely to vote for Hagan as well (86%) while only 6% plan to vote for Tillis.

APPROVAL RATINGS

Senator Kay Hagan

More respondents disapprove of Democrat Kay Hagan's job performance than approve, but the senator's numbers have been slowly improving. In April of this year Hagan saw a small improvement in her approval rating (35% approve/47% disapprove) and this recent survey seems to find continued improvement (41% approve/45% disapprove). It is not surprising to find that most likely voters who disapprove of Hagan's job performance are also planning to vote for Tillis (73%), while 91% of likely voters who approve of Hagan said they would vote for the incumbent if the election were held today.

President Barack Obama

The president's approval numbers declined slightly since April. In April 41% of registered voters approved of the job Barack Obama was doing and 49% disapproved. This recent survey found only 38% of registered voters approved of the president's job performance, while just over 50% disapproved. 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. 89% 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. 72% of likely voters who disapprove of the president's performance said they plan to vote for Tillis, compared to 14% for Hagan.

Governor Pat McCrory

The governor's approval rating showed a noticeable improvement since April. In April only 35% approved of McCrory's job performance and 45% disapproved. This month we found 41% approved of the governor, while 40% disapproved. Approval for the governor is a good predictor of how a likely voter will vote in this coming election. 72% of likely voters who disapprove of the Republican governor's job performance said they plan to vote for Hagan. 67% 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 improved slightly since April of this year. In the previous poll approximately 27% of registered voters approved of the job the state legislature is doing in Raleigh. In this survey 32% approved of the NCGA. Disapproval has remained steady at approximately 50%. Approval of the General Assembly seems to be a good predictor of how a likely voter will vote in the November Election. 72% of likely voters who approve of the NCGA say they plan to vote for Thom Tillis, the Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representative.

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

Hagan vs Tillis: How Groups are Planning to Vote

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis
Whites	34%	51%
Blacks	85%	5%
Men	38%	50%
Women	52%	33%
Liberals	88%	3%
Moderates	49%	33%
Conservatives	12%	77%
Support VoterID	26%	58%
Approve Obama	88%	2%
Approve NCGA	19%	72%

Sept 5-9, 2014. 629 Likely NC voters. +/- 3.9%.

www.elon.edu/elonpoll

TOPLINE RESULTS

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]. Respondents who lean toward one of the two major party candidates are then added to that candidate's total.

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Kay Hagan	44.9%	282	42.7%	420	40.5%	437
Thom Tillis	40.8%	257	36.7%	361	34.8%	375
Someone Else	9.1%	57	10.7%	105	11.1%	119
Don't Know	4.6%	29	9.2%	90	12.5%	135
Refused	0.6%	4	0.7%	7	1.1%	12
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Approval President

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Approve	38.1%	240	38.2%	376	37.4%	403
Disapprove	54.0%	339	50.4%	496	51.5%	555
Don't know	7.3%	46	10.0%	98	9.7%	105
Refused	0.6%	4	1.4%	13	1.4%	15
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Approval Congress

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Approve	9.9%	62	12.4%	122	13.3%	143
Disapprove	82.6%	520	77.5%	762	76.0%	819
Don't know	7.0%	44	9.7%	95	10.3%	111
Refused	0.5%	3	0.4%	4	0.4%	4
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Approval Governor

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Approve	42.8%	269	40.6%	399	40.0%	431
Disapprove	44.4%	279	40.4%	397	39.7%	428
Don't know	12.2%	77	18.3%	180	19.7%	212
Refused	0.6%	4	0.7%	7	0.6%	7
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

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?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Approve	31.4%	198	32.4%	318	32.9%	355
Disapprove	53.8%	338	49.5%	487	48.0%	518
Don't know	14.0%	88	17.5%	172	18.4%	198
Refused	0.8%	5	0.6%	6	0.6%	7
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Approval Kay Hagan

Do you [approve or disapprove] of the way Kay Hagan is handling her job as US Senator?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Approve	41.0%	258	40.9%	402	41.0%	421
Disapprove	50.7%	319	45.2%	444	44.9%	461
Don't know	8.0%	50	13.2%	130	13.4%	138
Refused	0.3%	2	0.7%	7	0.7%	7
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1027

Approval Richard Burr

Do you [approve or disapprove] of the way Richard Burr is handling his job as US Senator?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Approve	36.9%	232	35.1%	345	35.2%	362
Disapprove	31.8%	200	27.7%	272	27.3%	280
Don't know	29.6%	186	35.6%	350	35.9%	369
Refused	1.7%	11	1.6%	16	1.6%	16
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1027

Right Track – Wrong Track: Country

Do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction or do you think things are off on the wrong track?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Right direction	23.6%	149	22.8%	224	22.5%	243
Wrong Track	70.5%	443	68.4%	672	68.5%	738
Don't Know	5.8%	36	8.7%	86	8.9%	96
Refused	0.1%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	1
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Gay Marriage

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Support	45.1%	284	45.0%	442	45.3%	488
Oppose	42.5%	267	41.9%	412	41.8%	451
Don't Know / No Opinion	11.7%	74	12.7%	125	12.4%	134
Refused	0.7%	4	0.4%	4	0.5%	5
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Most Important Issue

What do you think is the most important issue in the United States?
[OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE]

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
International Affairs/Defense	20.2%	127	18.6%	183	17.4%	188
Economy	17.7%	111	15.4%	151	15.2%	164
Education	9.7%	61	9.4%	92	9.8%	105
Jobs	9.5%	60	10.6%	104	11.3%	122
Government/Politicians	8.9%	56	7.5%	74	7.5%	81
Immigration	7.6%	48	6.4%	63	6.1%	66
Healthcare/ACA	6.7%	42	7.8%	77	7.9%	85
Miscellaneous	6.7%	42	8.4%	83	8.9%	96
Budget/Debt	4.6%	29	4.7%	46	4.7%	51
Poverty/Inequality/Welfare	2.7%	17	3.4%	33	3.3%	36
God/Religion/Morality	2.5%	16	2.6%	26	2.6%	28
Environment/Energy	0.3%	2	0.4%	4	0.5%	5
Don't Know	2.7%	17	4.6%	45	4.4%	47
Refused	0.02	1	0.02	2	0.04	4
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Immigration

Now moving to the issue of immigration.....Please indicate which statement comes closest to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. 1) *Immigrants today are a benefit to North Carolina because of their hard work and job skills* or 2) *Immigrants today are a burden to North Carolina because they use public services.*
[1 and 2 rotate]

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Burden	37.2%	234	39.9%	392	39.7%	428
Benefit	50.4%	317	47.0%	462	47.7%	514
DK/Refused	12.4%	78	13.1%	129	12.6%	136
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Voter Identification

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?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Support	68.3%	429	72.2%	710	71.7%	773
Oppose	29.2%	184	25.4%	250	25.6%	276
Don't Know / No Opinion	2.5%	16	2.4%	23	2.7%	29
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Abortion

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
More difficult	38.6%	243	39.7%	390	40.6%	437
Less difficult	44.7%	281	43.8%	431	43.0%	464
Don't know	14.2%	89	14.4%	142	14.3%	154
Refuse	2.5%	16	2.1%	20	2.1%	23
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Obamacare/ACA

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?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Make Things Better	34.5%	217	30.9%	304	30.0%	323
Not Make Much Difference	10.6%	67	14.9%	146	15.3%	165
Make Things Worse	49.0%	308	48.3%	475	48.7%	525
Don't Know	5.7%	36	5.9%	58	5.9%	64
Refused	0.2%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	1
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

DEMOGRAPHICS

Party Identification

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?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Strong Democrat	25.3%	159	21.6%	212	20.1%	217
Democrat	10.2%	64	13.0%	128	12.7%	136
Independent - Leaning Democrat	11.3%	71	12.9%	127	12.9%	139
Independent	7.9%	50	8.7%	86	10.1%	109
Independent - Leaning Republican	17.3%	109	16.7%	164	17.3%	186
Republican	9.7%	61	11.3%	111	11.1%	119
Strong Republican	17.2%	108	13.6%	134	13.0%	141
Don't Know	0.6%	4	1.4%	14	2.0%	22
Refused	0.5%	3	0.8%	7	0.8%	9
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Ideology

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Liberal	20.7%	130	20.1%	198	19.7%	212
Moderate	28.1%	177	26.7%	262	26.1%	281
Conservative	37.8%	238	34.7%	341	33.0%	356
Not Sure/Don't Know	12.6%	79	18.0%	177	20.5%	221
Refused	0.8%	5	0.50%	5	0.7%	8
Total	100.0%	624	100.0%	978	100.0%	1070

Education

How much school have you completed?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Less than HS	1.5%	9	2.9%	29	3.2%	34
High School / GED	12.0%	75	14.7%	144	16.7%	180
Some College/ AA / Technical	28.6%	180	30.2%	297	30.7%	331
College Graduate	35.0%	220	33.5%	329	31.4%	339
Graduate School	22.4%	141	18.3%	180	17.4%	188
Don't Know	0.4%	3	0.3%	3	0.5%	5
Refused	0.1%	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	1
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Age

How old are you? [Continuous variable] Don't Know/Refused = 9999

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
18-30	14.5%	91	21.5%	211	23.6%	254
31-40	13.2%	83	16.8%	165	16.7%	180
41-50	20.3%	128	18.0%	177	17.8%	192
51-65	31.2%	196	26.8%	264	26.0%	280
65+	20.8%	131	16.9%	166	15.9%	172
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Religion

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Christian	86.5%	544	82.9%	815	82.4%	888
Jewish	0.5%	3	0.4%	4	0.5%	5
Something Else	4.4%	28	5.7%	56	5.8%	63
Not Religious	8.0%	51	9.9%	97	10.3%	111
Don't Know	0.4%	2	0.7%	7	0.6%	7
Refused	0.2%	1	0.2%	2	0.2%	2
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Church Attendance

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?

[If Church Attendance = YES] Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Never	25.1%	158	27.6%	271	27.4%	295
A few times a year	10.0%	63	10.2%	100	10.8%	117
Once or twice a month	14.5%	91	14.8%	145	15.2%	164
Almost every week	17.2%	108	15.5%	153	15.4%	166
Every week	31.9%	201	30.5%	300	29.2%	315
Don't Know	0.8%	5	1.0%	10	1.6%	17
Refused	0.5%	3	0.4%	4	0.4%	4
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

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?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Less than \$25,000	10.0%	63	14.2%	139	15.0%	162
\$25,000 to \$50,000	20.9%	132	21.2%	209	21.9%	236
\$50,000 to \$75,000	19.9%	125	19.4%	191	19.0%	205
More than \$75,000	40.4%	254	35.1%	345	34.0%	366
Don't Know	3.0%	19	5.5%	54	5.7%	61
Refused	5.8%	36	4.6%	45	4.4%	48
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Sex

(Post- Interview) Was the person male or female?

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Male	48.9%	307	47.7%	469	48.0%	517
Female	51.1%	322	52.3%	514	52.0%	561
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

Race

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

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
White	75.5%	475	73.0%	718	72.0%	777
Black	20.5%	129	21.5%	211	20.9%	225
Other	4.0%	25	5.5%	54	7.1%	76
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

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]

	Likely Voters		Registered Voters		All Residents	
Landline only	7.0%	44	7.5%	74	7.7%	83
Dual Use	64.9%	408	58.1%	571	57.0%	614
Cell only	28.1%	177	34.4%	338	35.3%	381
Total	100.0%	629	100.0%	983	100.0%	1078

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.

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

Sample sizes and additional cross-tabs are available from kfernandez@elon.edu and jhusser@elon.edu on request from journalists or academic researchers.

Most Important Issue			
	All Likely Voters	Hagan Voters	Tillis Voters
<i>Issue</i>	%	%	%
International Affairs / Defense	20%	16%	24%
Economy	18%	15%	19%
Education	10%	17%	2%
Jobs	10%	14%	6%
Government / Politicians	9%	13%	6%
Immigration	8%	3%	12%
Healthcare / ACA	7%	8%	7%
Miscellaneous	7%	5%	9%
Budget / Debt	5%	2%	9%
Poverty / Inequality / Welfare	3%	5%	1%
God / Religion / Morality	3%	1%	4%
Don't Know	3%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Obama Approval						
	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	89	2	8	1	100	87
Disapprove	14	72	10	4	100	-58
DK	48	19	11	22	100	29
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

McCrory Approval						
	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	22	67	6	5	100	-45
Disapprove	72	11	13	4	100	61
DK	28	56	8	8	100	-28
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Congress Approval

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	50	39	3	8	100	11
Disapprove	47	40	9	4	100	7
DK	20	57	14	9	100	-37
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

NCGA Approval

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	19	72	6	3	100	-53
Disapprove	64	21	11	4	100	43
DK	32	47	10	11	100	-15
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Burr Approval

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	29	58	10	3	100	-29
Disapprove	65	23	9	3	100	42
DK	44	40	8	8	100	4
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Hagan Approval

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Approve	91	4	2	3	100	87
Disapprove	8	73	15	5	100	-65
DK	47	27	13	13	100	20
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Right Direction / Wrong Track

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Right Direction	83	9	6	3	100	74
Wrong Track	30	54	10	5	100	-24
DK	74	11	8	7	100	63
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Gay Marriage

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Support	67	21	9	3	100	46
Oppose	26	61	8	5	100	-35
DK / No Opinion	33	46	15	6	100	-13
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Voter ID

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Support	26	58	10	6	100	-32
Oppose	89	3	7	1	100	86
DK	53	20	13	14	100	33
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Immigration: Benefit or Burden

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Burden	25	60	11	4	100	-35
Benefit	62	27	8	3	100	35
DK	37	44	9	10	100	-7
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Abortion Access

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
More Difficult	25	64	7	4	100	-39
Less Difficult	67	20	10	3	100	47
DK	37	42	10	11	100	-5
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Ideology

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Liberal	88	3	7	2	100	85
Moderate	49	33	13	4	100	16
Conservative	12	77	6	5	100	-65
DK	66	14	12	8	100	52
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Affordable Care Act/Obamacare

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Make Things Better	86	6	5	3	100	80
Not Make Much Difference	61	15	14	10	100	46
Make Things Worse	11	73	12	4	100	-62
DK	60	26	6	9	100	34
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Religious Tradition

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Christian	40	46	9	5	100	-6
Jewish	50	50	0	0	100	0
Something Else	82	11	4	4	100	71
Not Religious	78	11	11	0	100	67
DK	0	60	40	0	100	-60
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Church Attendance Frequency

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Never	55	34	8	3	100	21
A few times a year	44	36	13	7	100	8
Once or twice a month	37	48	9	7	100	-11
Almost every week	50	37	10	3	100	13
Every week	40	47	9	5	100	-7
DK	47	53	0	0	100	-6
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Race

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
White	35	51	9	5	100	-16
Black	85	5	8	2	100	80
Other	46	38	11	5	100	8
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Age

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
18-30	44	35	14	7	100	9
31-40	55	32	12	1	100	23
41-50	41	46	8	5	100	-5
51-65	44	41	9	7	100	3
65+	45	47	5	3	100	-2
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Party Identification

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Strong Democrat	92	2	5	2	100	90
Democrat	77	8	9	6	100	69
Independent - Leaning Democrat	80	0	12	9	100	80
Independent	38	27	23	12	100	11
Independent - Leaning Republican	5	80	12	3	100	-75
Republican	7	81	9	3	100	-74
Strong Republican	2	89	4	5	100	-87
DK	55	12	34	0	100	43
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Gender & Martial Status

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Female: Single	65	18	12	5	100	47
Female: Married	47	40	9	5	100	7
Female: Divorced/Separated	49	21	16	14	100	28
Female: Widowed	51	46	0	3	100	5
Male: Single	39	43	13	6	100	-4
Male: Married	38	54	6	2	100	-16
Male: Divorced/Separated	38	39	13	10	100	-1
Male: Widowed	59	27	15	0	100	32
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Education

	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
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	Else					
	%	%	%	%	%	
Less than HS	55	26	19	0	100	29
High School / GED	39	41	11	9	100	-2
Some College/ AA / Technical	36	47	12	5	100	-11
College Graduate	45	43	9	4	100	2
Graduate School	60	33	4	3	100	27
DK	65	0	0	35	100	65
Total	45	41	9	5	100	

	Gender					
	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Male	38	50	9	3	100	-12
Female	52	33	10	6	100	19
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

	Phone Ownership					
	Kay Hagan	Thom Tillis	Someone Else	DK	Total	Net Diff.
	%	%	%	%	%	
Landline only	50	43	5	2	100	7
Dual Use	45	44	7	4	100	1
Cell only	45	33	15	7	100	12
Total	45	41	9	5	100	4

Question Ordering

Note: Some questions are rotated individually or in blocks to prevent question order bias

- Likely Voter Questions
 - intro..... Introductory screen / Household Randomizer
 - regist.....Registered to Voter
 - ncrez..... Resident of NC
 - thought..... How much thought given to election
 - senaterace.....Who will you vote for
 - thirdparty..... 3rd 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
 - approvlegis..... General Assembly Approval
 - approvhagan..... Hagan Approval
 - approvburr..... Burr Approval
- Right/Wrong Direction
 - n_direction..... Nation right or wrong direction
 - importissue..... Most Important Issue in US [rotate position]
 - happy..... Taken all together how happy are you
- Policies
 - Gaymarriage..... Support/Oppose Gay Marriage
 - immigrant1&2..... Are immigrants a burden or benefit [Rotated]

- voterid..... Support/oppose Voter ID law
- abortion.....Access to Abortion
- obamacare..... Affordable Care Act good for NC
- 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
 - ageAge
 - hysize Household Size
 - race.....Race
 - zipcodezipcode
 - ncrez..... Resident of NC Registered to Vote
 - ncrez..... Resident of NC Registered to Vote
 - phone.....landline/cell phone
 - internet..... Does your home have internet access
- Post-interview
 - sex..... Gender

Basic Methodological Information

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:	September 5-9, 2014
Likely Voter Sample Size	629
Likely Voter Margin of Error	± 3.91
Registered Voter Sample Size	983
Registered Voter Margin of Error	±3.13
Adult Residents Sample Size	1,078
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.

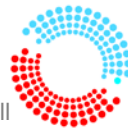
Procedures Used for Conducting the Poll

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 years of age. The Elon University Poll conducted the survey over a five-day period. Live interviewers called from 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. Friday (9/5); 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. on Saturday & Sunday (9/6 & 9/7); and from 4:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. on Monday & Tuesday (9/8 & 9/9).

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 1078 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 983 respondents.



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 877 respondents.

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

- How certain are you that you will vote? Absolutely certain (1 point), fairly certain (1 point), or not certain (0 points).
- There will be a congressional election this November. How much thought have you given to this election? Quite a lot (1 point), some (0 points), or only a little (0 points)?
- How often would you say you vote – always (1 point), nearly always (1 point), part of the time (0 points), or seldom (0 points)?
- 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)
- 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 (1 point), No, I did not vote (0 points)
- Do you happen to know where people who live in your neighborhood go to vote? Yes (1 point), No (0 points)
- Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district? Yes (1 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: 1 =2, 2=4, 3=5, 4=7
- If the respondent was 20 to 21, scores were adjusted: 1 =1 , 2=3, 3=4, 4=6, 5=7

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 voting in their precinct before. New residents were given 1 point for both of the following questions regardless of their answers:

- Do you happen to know where people who live in your neighborhood go to vote?

- Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

Only respondents who received 6 or 7 points were considered likely voters, leaving 629 respondents from the original representative sample of 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, age, and cell phone/land-line phone use. Weighting rarely leads to substantial changes in results. We use iterative raking, adjusting one dimension at a time.

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 answer more than 10% of the questions are labeled 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 and its survey research.
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 interviews.
7. *Do you report non-response rates?*
Yes. We report response rates based on AAPOR guidelines. The response rate for the September 2014 Poll was 11.5%, 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) assists the directors with quality control and monitoring.

For more information on the Elon University Poll, visit www.elon.edu/elonpoll

Or contact:

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