

## Northam holds 6-point lead over Gillespie, 51\%-45\%, as independents and moderates break for Democrat

## Summary of Key Findings

1. Democrat Ralph Northam shows a 6-point lead over Republican Ed Gillespie, $51 \%$ to $45 \%$, dropping one point in the final tracking poll of likely voters in the Virginia governor's race.
2. Allocating undecided voters to reflect historical voting patterns in Wason Center surveys indicates a Northam victory on Tuesday, $51.3 \%$ to $46.8 \%$.
3. Northam's lead is built on strong support in Northern Virginia and Hampton Roads, and among women, African-Americans and young voters. Northam and Gillespie are statistically tied in two traditionally reliable Republican segments, Southwest-Southside Virginia and voters 45 and older.
4. Independents and ideological moderates break significantly for Northam.
5. For lieutenant governor, Democrat Justin Fairfax leads Republican Jill Vogel, $50 \%$ to $45 \%$, with a projected Election Day victory of $51.9 \%$ to $48.1 \%$.
6. For attorney general, Democrat Mark Herring leads Republican John Adams, $49 \%-45 \%$, with a projected Election Day victory of $51.1 \%$ to $48.9 \%$.

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## Analysis

As Virginia voters prepare to choose their next governor, Democratic Lieutenant Governor Ralph Northam holds a 6-point lead over former Republican National Committee Chair Ed Gillespie, $51 \%$ to $45 \%$, in the Wason Center's final tracking survey of likely voters. Libertarian Cliff Hyra takes $2 \%$ of the vote, with $2 \%$ undecided.

Historical voting patterns in Wason Center surveys in statewide Virginia elections show undecided voters breaking approximately 3 to 1 for the Republican candidate. Allocating the undecided voters in line with that pattern indicates Northam's Election Day vote to be $51.3 \%$ and Gillespie's to be $46.8 \%$.

Northam's lead dropped one point since the October 27 tracking poll, though he has never trailed Gillespie since the benchmark poll released on September 25, as shown in the tracking chart and graphic on page 3.

In the lieutenant governor contest, Democrat Justin Fairfax, a former federal prosecutor, leads Republican state Senator Jill Vogel, 50\% to 45\%. Using the same formula to allocate the $5 \%$ of undecided voters indicates an Election Day vote favoring Fairfax over Vogel, $51.9 \%$ to $48.1 \%$. Seeking a second term as attorney general, Democrat Mark Herring leads former federal prosecutor John Adams, 49\% to 45\%. Allocating the $6 \%$ of undecided voters indicates a vote favoring Herring, $51.1 \%$ to $48.9 \%$.

Northam's lead is demographically and regionally broad. Perhaps most importantly, he leads among independents by 13 points ( $51 \%$ to $38 \%$ ) and moderates by 29 points ( $62 \%$ to $33 \%$ ). He holds significant leads among women, black voters, younger voters, voters with incomes below \$50,000, and in Northern Virginia and Hampton Roads. Gillespie leads among white voters and men, but the candidates are statistically tied among voters 45 and older and voters in Southwest-Southside, two normally Republican segments.

Likely voters are firmly in their partisan and ideological corners, with Northam getting $98 \%$ of Democratic and $91 \%$ of liberal votes and Gillespie taking $95 \%$ of Republican and $86 \%$ of conservative votes.
"While each candidate seems to have locked down his base, Northam appears to be winning the appeal to political independents and ideological moderates," said Quentin Kidd, director of the Wason Center.
"It's hard to see how Gillespie can make up this deficit when he has consistently trailed Northam among independents by more than 10 points," said Rachel Bitecofer, assistant director of the Wason Center. "To put it into perspective, in 2013 the Republican nominee led among independents but still ended up losing the election by 2.6 percent."

The telephone survey polled 839 likely voters, October 29-November 4, with an overall margin of error of $+/-3.5 \%$ at the $95 \%$ level of confidence. The margin of error is higher for subgroups. Likely voters are registered voters who voted in recent statewide elections, who say they are thinking about the upcoming election, are following news about the campaigns, and will definitely or probably vote in the upcoming election.

Q3: If the election for governor were being held today and the candidates were [RANDOMIZE NAMES] for whom would you vote? Which one are you leaning toward right now?
Q4: [If undecided or refused] Do you think by the time Election Day comes you might end up voting for either...

|  | $9 / 25$ | $10 / 9$ | $10 / 17$ | $10 / 27$ | $\mathbf{1 1 / 6}$ | Projected <br> Nov. 7 Vote* |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ed Gillespie | 41 | 42 | 44 | 43 | $\mathbf{4 5}$ | $\mathbf{4 6 . 8}$ |
| Ralph Northam | 47 | 49 | 48 | 50 | $\mathbf{5 1}$ | $\mathbf{5 1 . 3}$ |
| Cliff Hyra | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | $\mathbf{2}$ | $\mathbf{1 . 9}$ |
| Undecided/Dk/ <br> Ref (vol) | 8 | 6 | 5 | 4 | $\mathbf{2}$ |  |

* Projected Nov. 7 vote allocates undecided voters to candidates based upon historical patterns in Wason Center polling that show undecided voters are 3 to 1 more likely to be Republican voters than Democratic voters on Election Day.

| 11/6 | $\frac{3}{2}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ד1 } \\ & \substack{0 \\ 0 \\ 0} \end{aligned}$ |  | $\begin{aligned} & \sum_{i} \\ & \underset{\sim}{2} \end{aligned}$ | $\xrightarrow{+}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\mathrm{H}} \\ & + \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & Z 4 \\ & 0 \\ & \text { d } \end{aligned}$ | تِحْ | 㡀 |  | $\underset{0}{5}$ | 2 | $\begin{aligned} & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 6 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { O } \\ & \text { O } \end{aligned}$ | E | $$ | $1 \wedge$ <br>  <br>  <br> 0 | $\begin{gathered} v \\ \text { 葴 } \\ \hat{X} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ed Gillespie | 51 | 39 | 7 | 55 | 39 | 48 | 42 | 46 | 40 | 49 | 6 | 33 | 86 | 2 | 38 | 95 | 35 | 46 |
| Ralph Northam | 44 | 58 | 91 | 41 | 56 | 49 | 51 | 50 | 57 | 48 | 91 | 62 | 12 | 98 | 51 | 3 | 64 | 49 |
| Cliff Hyra | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | - | 6 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Undecided/Dk/ Ref (vol) | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | 5 | - | - | 2 |



Q5：If the election for lieutenant governor were being held today and the candidates were［RANDOMIZE NAMES］for whom would you vote？Which one are you leaning toward right now？
Q6：［If undecided or refused］Do you think by the time Election Day comes you might end up voting for either．．．

|  | $9 / 25$ | $10 / 9$ | $10 / 27$ | $\mathbf{1 1 / 6}$ | Projected <br> Nov． 7 Vote＊ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Justin Fairfax | 46 | 48 | 47 | $\mathbf{5 0}$ | $\mathbf{5 1 . 9}$ |
| Jill Vogel | 42 | 40 | 44 | $\mathbf{4 5}$ | $\mathbf{4 8 . 1}$ |
| Undecided／Dk／ <br> Ref（vol） | 12 | 12 | 9 | $\mathbf{5}$ |  |

＊Projected Nov． 7 vote allocates undecided voters to candidates based upon historical patterns in Wason Center polling that show undecided voters are 3 to 1 more likely to be Republican voters than Democratic voters on Election Day．

| 11／6 | $\frac{2}{2}$ | 年 |  | $\sum_{i}^{2}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{+}{\infty} \\ & \stackrel{+}{+} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\mathrm{r}} \\ & + \end{aligned}$ |  | : 줄 | $\underset{J}{\pi}$ | $$ | E | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | $\hat{\theta}_{0}^{2}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { O } \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | E | 雨 | $\begin{aligned} & 10 \\ & \text { 会 } \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & V \\ & \text { 菏 } \\ & \text { O } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Justin Fairfax | 46 | 48 | 82 | 36 | 51 | 45 | 52 | 46 | 46 | 44 | 85 | 54 | 12 | 93 | 45 | 1 | 50 | 48 |
| Jill Vogel | 43 | 44 | 12 | 54 | 39 | 46 | 41 | 45 | 42 | 48 | 9 | 37 | 80 | 1 | 41 | 91 | 38 | 43 |
| Undecided／Dk ／Ref（vol） | 11 | 8 | 6 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 14 | 8 | 12 | 9 |

Q7：If the election for attorney general were being held today and the candidates were［RANDOMIZE
NAMES］for whom would you vote？Which one are you leaning toward right now？
Q8：［If undecided or refused］Do you think by the time Election Day comes you might end up voting for either．．．

|  | $9 / 25$ | $10 / 9$ | $10 / 27$ | $\mathbf{1 1 / 6}$ | Projected <br> Nov．7 Vote＊ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| John Adams | 42 | 40 | 44 | $\mathbf{4 5}$ | $\mathbf{4 8 . 9}$ |
| Mark Herring | 47 | 51 | 49 | $\mathbf{4 9}$ | $\mathbf{5 1 . 1}$ |
| Undecided／Dk／ <br> Ref（vol） | 11 | 9 | 7 | $\mathbf{6}$ |  |

＊Projected Nov． 7 vote allocates undecided voters to candidates based upon historical patterns in Wason Center polling that show undecided voters are 3 to 1 more likely to be Republican voters than Democratic voters on Election Day．

| 10／27 | $\frac{3}{2}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { T1 } \\ & \substack{0 \\ 0 \\ 0 \\ 0} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 萢 } \\ & \end{aligned}$ | $\sum_{\underset{i}{2}}^{\substack{0}}$ | $\bullet$ <br> $\substack{+++ \\ \hline}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{e} \\ & + \end{aligned}$ |  | : | $\underset{J}{7}$ | $n$ $\sum$ 0 0 0 | E | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ | $\hat{0}^{0}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { O } \\ & \text { O } \end{aligned}$ | E | \# |  | $\begin{gathered} v \\ \text { 萳 } \\ \hat{X} \end{gathered}$ |
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| John Adams | 42 | 45 | 10 | 54 | 39 | 46 | 41 | 47 | 44 | 51 | 11 | 34 | 81 | 4 | 40 | 88 | 42 | 43 |
| Mark Herring | 50 | 49 | 83 | 39 | 52 | 48 | 54 | 47 | 46 | 42 | 86 | 59 | 13 | 93 | 47 | 6 | 49 | 50 |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Undecided/Dk } \\ & \text { /Ref (vol) } \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | 8 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 13 | 6 | 9 | 7 |

## Demographics

## EDUC:

High school or less 12
Some college 18
Vocational or technical training 3
College graduate 39
Graduate study or more 27
Dk/ref (vol) 1

RACE:
White 72
Black or African American 20
Other 8

HISPANIC:
Yes 3
No 97

MIL OR RETIRED MIL IN HOUSE:
Yes 27
No 73

AGE:
18-24 6
25-34 14
35-44 17
45-54 22
55 \& older 42
PARTYID:
Republican 34
Democrat 36
Independent 28
No preference (vol) 1
Other party (vol) <1
Dk/ref (vol) <1

## [IF OTHER THAN REP OR DEM ABOVE]

## PARTLEAN:

| Republican | 34 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Democratic | 41 |
| Independent | 25 |
|  |  |
| IDEOL: |  |

Strong liberal 8
Liberal 13
Moderate, leaning liberal 23
Moderate, leaning conservative 17
Conservative 22
Strong Conservative 11
Dk/ref (vol) 6
INCOME:
Under \$25,000 3
\$25-\$49,999 11
\$50-\$74,999 15
\$75-\$99,999 17
\$100,000-\$149,999 21
Over \$150,000 19
Dk/ref (vol) 14
REGION (defined by DMA):
Northern Virginia 34
Richmond/Central 21
Hampton Roads 24
South/Southwest 21
SEX (interviewer coded):
Male 49
Female 51

## How the survey was conducted:

The results of this poll are based on 839 interviews of likely Virginia voters in the upcoming November election (registered voters who have voted in recent statewide elections, who also say they are thinking about the upcoming election, are following news about the campaigns, and will definitely or probably vote in the upcoming elections), including 400 on landline and 439 on cell phone, conducted October 29 to November 4, 2017. Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. The margin of error for the likely voter model is $+/-3.5 \%$ at the $95 \%$ level of confidence.
This means that if $\mathbf{5 0 \%}$ of respondents indicate a topline view on an issue, we can be $\mathbf{9 5 \%}$ confident that the population's view on that issue is somewhere between $\mathbf{4 6 . 5 \%}$ and $\mathbf{5 3 . 5 \%}$. The margin of error is higher for subgroups. All error margins have been adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, which is 1.1 in this survey. The design effect is a factor representing the survey's deviation from a simple random sample, and takes into account decreases in precision due to sample design and weighting procedures. Sub samples have a higher margin of error. In addition to sampling error, the other potential sources of error include non-response, question wording, and interviewer error. The response rate (AAPOR RRI Standard Definition) for the survey was $18 \%$. Five callbacks were employed in the fielding process. Live calling was conducted by trained interviewers at the Wason Center for Public Policy Survey Research Lab at Christopher Newport University. The data reported here are weighted using an iterative weighting process on sex, age, race and region of residence to reflect as closely as possible the demographic composition of likely voters in the November 2017 Virginia elections.

