



PollerCoaster 12 - Virginia Survey

METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1653 likely voters in Virginia from August 17-21. We used some or all of the following sources to recruit respondents:

- targeted advertisements on Facebook
- targeted advertisements on Instagram
- targeted advertisements on individual websites via Google and/or Facebook's ad platform
- text messages sent, via the echo19 platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted all adults in Virginia. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented and raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented, so that the final sample was roughly representative of the population across different groups. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was administered on behalf of Crooked Media, and conducted online by Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, 2020 presidential vote, region within the state, and education. Weighting parameters were based on demographic breakdowns from the voter file. That is, if a given age bracket or gender group represented x% of all registered voters, then that same group would be weighted to x% in this survey. 2020 presidential results were based on numbers released by the Virginia Secretary of State.

The modeled margin of error* for this survey is 3.6%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting.

* We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"⁽¹⁾ (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.

** The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents, and is calculated using Kish's approximation ⁽²⁾.

(1) <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.

For more information, contact Ben Greenfield at ben@changeresearch.com.

REPORTED QUESTIONS

1. Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female

2. In what year were you born? [TEXT BOX]

3. In what ZIP code do you currently live? [TEXT BOX]

4. What is your race?

- White / Caucasian
- Hispanic or Latino/a
- Black or African American
- Asian / Pacific Islander
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Other (please specify): [text box]

4a. Are you from a Hispanic, Latino/a or Spanish-speaking background?

- Yes
- No

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- High school diploma or less
- Some college, but no degree
- Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
- Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
- Graduate degree

6. Are you registered to vote in Virginia?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

7. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: [RANDOMIZE]

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent/Other

[IF INDEPENDENT/ NO PARTY AFFILIATION]

7a. Do you consider yourself closer to:

- The Democrats
- The Republicans
- Neither

[IF DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN]

7b. Do you consider yourself a:

- Strong [Democrat/Republican]
- Not so strong [Democrat/Republican]

8. Do you plan to vote in the November 2021 election for Governor and other offices?

- Yes, definitely
- Yes, probably
- Maybe (50-50)
- No, probably not [TERMINATE]
- No, definitely not [TERMINATE]

9 How much attention have you paid to the race for Governor of Virginia?

- A lot
- A decent amount
- A little bit
- None at all

10 How motivated are you to vote in the November 2 election on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means you are not motivated at all and 10 means you are extremely motivated?

(1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10)

11 What is the most important issue to you when choosing which candidates to vote for in the race for Governor?

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| • Jobs and the economy | • Roads and infrastructure |
| • Cost of college | • Drug and opioid abuse |
| • K-12 education | • Ending corruption |
| • Taxes | • Environmental issues |
| • Illegal immigration | • Health care |
| • Reproductive rights | • Getting COVID under control |
| • Ending abortion | • Crime and public safety |
| • Gun rights | • Cost of housing |
| • Gun control | • Cost of living |
| • Voting rights | • Something else (please specify) |
| • Civil rights | |

12 How would you say things in Virginia are going? Are they going in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

- Right direction
- Wrong track

13 How favorable are your feelings about each of the following public officials and organizations? [RANDOMIZE]

[Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Neutral | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | Never heard of them]

- Terry McAuliffe
- Glenn Youngkin
- Ralph Northam
- Joe Biden
- Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez
- Kamala Harris
- Mark Warner
- Tim Kaine
- Joe Biden
- Amanda Chase
- Donald Trump
- The Republican Party
- The Democratic Party

14 If the general election for Governor were held today, who would you vote for? [RANDOMIZE]

- Terry McAuliffe, the Democrat
- Glenn Youngkin, the Republican
- Princess Blanding, the Liberation Party
- Not sure

14b [IF ^=NOT SURE] If you had to choose, who would you vote for?

- Terry McAuliffe, the Democrat
- Glenn Youngkin, the Republican
- Princess Blanding, the Liberation Party
- Not sure
- Would not vote

14c [IF MCAULIFFE] Which of the following best explains why you are planning to vote for Terry McAuliffe?

- His record as Governor
- His plans for the future
- He's a Democrat and I always vote for Democrats
- I'm mostly voting against Youngkin

14d [IF YOUNGKIN] Which of the following best explains why you are planning to vote for Glenn Youngkin?

- His record
- His plans for the future
- Because Trump endorsed him
- He's a Republican and I always vote for Republicans
- I'm mostly voting against McAuliffe

15 How would you rate the job that Ralph Northam is doing as Governor?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

16 How would you rate the job that Terry McAuliffe did as Governor from 2014 to 2018?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

17 How would you rate the job that Joe Biden is doing as President?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure

18 Who do you think would do a better job with the following issues?

[FOR EACH: McAuliffe much better | McAuliffe somewhat better | Youngkin somewhat better | Youngkin much better | Not sure]

- Helping businesses recover from the pandemic
- Solving income inequality
- Abortion policy
- Gun policy
- Education
- Addressing rising housing costs
- Addressing the needs of rural Virginians
- Climate change

19 Which of the following do you agree with more:

- We need to make it easier for people to vote
- We need more restrictions to make it harder for people to commit voter fraud

20 Do you think each of the following political parties is heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?

[FOR EACH: Strongly in the right direction | Somewhat in the right direction | Somewhat in the wrong direction | Strongly in the wrong direction | Not sure]

- Republican Party
- Democratic Party

21 How big of a threat do you think each of the following pose to Virginia?

[FOR EACH: Very big threat | Medium-sized threat | Small threat | Not a threat]

- Voter suppression
- Voter fraud
- The teaching of critical race theory in schools
- Violent crime
- Illegal immigration
- White supremacy
- Socialism
- Climate change

22 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

[SPLIT SAMPLE]

- 50% SEE: "Republicans want to ban our schools from teaching our children about difficult issues like slavery or racism. But denying the uglier parts of our history also denies the heroism of Americans of all races who fought to right those wrongs. America is a great country not because we're perfect, but because each generation has fought to perfect it."
- 50% SEE: "Republican politicians want the federal government to decide what's being taught in local schools, but teachers should have the freedom to teach all of American history without Congress dictating lesson plans."
- Strongly agree
- Somewhat agree
- Somewhat disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Not sure

23 Which of the following statements comes closest to your position on abortion?

- Abortion should be legal in all cases
- Abortion should be legal in most cases but with some restrictions
- Abortion should not be legal except in limited cases, such as rape, incest and when the woman's life is endangered
- Abortion should be illegal in all cases
- Not sure

24 Would you support or oppose requiring masks to be worn in stores, workplaces, and other indoor public spaces in Virginia?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

25 Which of the following do you agree with more, even if you don't fully agree with either?

- The new school mask mandate is an attempt to take away parents' ability to decide what's best for their kids. It's the first step towards returning to a full shutdown of our economy.
- We have to do everything we can to keep our children safe when they return to school in person, and that means following CDC guidelines, by wearing masks and getting vaccinated. It's the only way we're going to end this pandemic and keep our economy strong.

Next are some reasons people have given to support a candidate running for Governor.

AFTER EACH:

Is this a:

- Very convincing reason to support this candidate
- Somewhat convincing reason to support this candidate
- Doesn't make a difference
- Somewhat convincing reason to oppose this candidate
- Very convincing reason to oppose this candidate

26 "Thanks to the leadership of Terry McAuliffe, Ralph Northam, and the Democratic-controlled state legislature, Virginia's economy has twice been ranked #1 in the country. We need another McAuliffe term to keep Virginia thriving."

27 "Joe Biden and Democrats passed the American Rescue Plan, which kept thousands of businesses and families afloat, cut child poverty in half, and delivered the COVID vaccine to millions of Americans remarkably quickly. Virginia needs to elect Terry McAuliffe to continue rebuilding a stronger, more equitable post-COVID economy."

28 "Terry McAuliffe will rebuild Virginia's network of small businesses, especially Black and Brown-owned businesses, that have been hit the hardest. His plan will raise the minimum wage to \$15/hour by 2024, support caregivers, make childcare more affordable and ensure that every worker has access to paid sick, family and medical leave.

29 "Glenn Youngkin believes that the status quo is failing Virginia families and workers. His top priority is making Virginia the best place in America to live and work and raise a family, and as Governor he will be laser focused on delivering real results for all Virginians."

30 "Glenn Youngkin believes that our schools should teach children how to think, not what to think. Democrats like Terry McAuliffe want to teach children to be ashamed of America. Glenn Youngkin will not allow Critical Race Theory in our schools."

Next are some reasons people have given to oppose a candidate running for Governor.

AFTER EACH:

Is this a:

- Very convincing reason to support this candidate
- Somewhat convincing reason to support this candidate
- Doesn't make a difference
- Somewhat convincing reason to oppose this candidate
- Very convincing reason to oppose this candidate

31 "In a leaked video, Glenn Youngkin admitted that he can't talk about his real plans for abortion, because they'd make him lose the election. Youngkin's plans to defund Planned Parenthood and ban abortion are out of step with Virginians, and we can't let his radical views be enacted in our commonwealth."

32 "Throughout the primary, Glenn Youngkin would not admit that the American people elected Joe Biden, and is set to appear at a rally held by someone who was at the Capitol on January 6. His support for Donald Trump's Big Lie should be disqualifying."

33 "As Governor, Terry McAuliffe failed to fight for our students and teachers, and a new report found that teacher pay is lower in Virginia than anywhere else in the country. Glenn Youngkin will invest in our teachers and fight for our students."

34 "Terry McAuliffe recently said he was proud to be endorsed by a far left group that supports defunding police and abolishing prisons. These ideas are too radical for Virginia -- but they're apparently not too radical for Terry McAuliffe."

35 "The American Rescue Plan sent \$1400 checks to most Americans, funded COVID vaccines, and gave schools the resources they needed to reopen safely. And yet, Glenn Youngkin called the whole bill "unnecessary." Youngkin seems to think the only "necessary" policies are the ones that make him and his wealthy friends even richer."

36 "Glenn Youngkin wants to Trumpify Virginia. He spoke at a January 6 insurrectionist's rally, and has supported Trump's Big Lie about the election being stolen. Even Trump himself knows it -- he called Youngkin a "highly respected person" who would "truly make Virginia great again."

37 "Under Glenn Youngkin's leadership, Carlyle Group bought private businesses, then outsourced the jobs from America to foreign countries, or simply laid off employees so that wealthy investors like him would profit. If he's Governor, he'll do the same thing: take care of himself and his wealthy friends at the expense of you and your family."

38 Once again, if the November 2 election for Governor were held today, who would you vote for? [RANDOMIZE]

- Terry McAuliffe, the Democrat
- Glenn Youngkin, the Republican
- Princess Blanding, the Liberation Party
- Not sure

38b If you had to choose, who would you vote for? [RANDOMIZE]

- Terry McAuliffe, the Democrat
- Glenn Youngkin, the Republican
- Princess Blanding, the Liberation Party
- Not sure
- Would not vote

39 Would you describe yourself as:

- Very liberal
- Somewhat liberal
- Moderate
- Somewhat conservative
- Very conservative

40 How did you vote in the 2020 election for President or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
- Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
- Did not vote

41 In the 2018 race for US House of Representatives in your district, did you vote for:

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Another candidate
- Did not vote
- Not registered/Too young/Ineligible

42 In the 2017 race for Governor of Virginia, did you vote for:

- Ralph Northam, the Democrat
- Ed Gillespie, the Republican
- Cliff Hyra, the Libertarian
- Don't remember
- Did not vote
- Not registered/Too young/Ineligible

43 For statistical purposes, what is your household income?

- Less than \$20,000
- \$20,000 to \$34,999
- \$35,000 to \$49,999
- \$50,000 to \$74,999
- \$75,000 to \$99,999
- \$100,000 to \$249,999
- \$250,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

44 Which of the following are your main sources of news about politics and current events? Select up to three.

- Local television
- Broadcast television news (CBS, NBC or ABC)
- CNN
- Fox News
- MSNBC
- One America News Network (OAN)
- Newsmax
- National newspapers (such as NYT, WSJ, or Washington Post)
- Local newspapers
- Online news websites
- Radio
- Podcasts
- Magazines
- Facebook
- Twitter
- YouTube

45 Have you received or do you plan to receive the coronavirus vaccine?

- I have already been fully vaccinated
- I am partially vaccinated or have an appointment to receive the vaccine
- I definitely plan to receive the vaccine
- I probably will receive the vaccine
- I probably will not receive the vaccine
- I definitely will not receive the vaccine

46 Which of the following best matches your feelings on businesses requiring employees to get vaccinated if they're working in an office or other indoor workplace?

- All businesses should require their employees to be vaccinated if they're working together indoors
- Businesses should be allowed to require vaccinations if employees are working together indoors, but it's up to each business
- Businesses should not be allowed to require their employees to be vaccinated, even if they're working together indoors
- Not sure

47 Below are a couple of different approaches that some elected officials have taken regarding vaccinations. Please indicate whether you approve or disapprove of each:

[FOR EACH: Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove]

- A Governor who banned businesses, including cruise lines, from requiring proof of vaccination from their customers
- A Governor who required all state workers and teachers to either provide proof of vaccination or be regularly tested for COVID-19
- A Mayor who required proof of vaccination for indoor dining, indoor performances, and at gyms

48 How much blame do you think each of the following deserves for the rise in the Delta variant?

[FOR EACH: All of the blame | Most of the blame | A small amount of the blame | None of the blame]

- People who choose not to be vaccinated
- Confusing directives from federal and state government
- Reopening the economy too quickly
- Political leaders who have not taken a hard stance on vaccination requirements

49 If a school experienced a COVID-19 outbreak this fall, which of the following do you think would be the best course of action?

- Return to at-home learning for one week
- Return to at-home learning for two weeks
- Return to at-home learning until there are many fewer COVID cases in the community
- Keep the school open, but with masks, social distancing, and other safety measures
- Keep the school open without any additional safety measures

50 If the FDA approves vaccinations for children under 12, would you support or oppose requiring students to be vaccinated in order to attend school in person?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure

51 Do you support or oppose requiring unvaccinated students to wear masks in schools?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Not sure