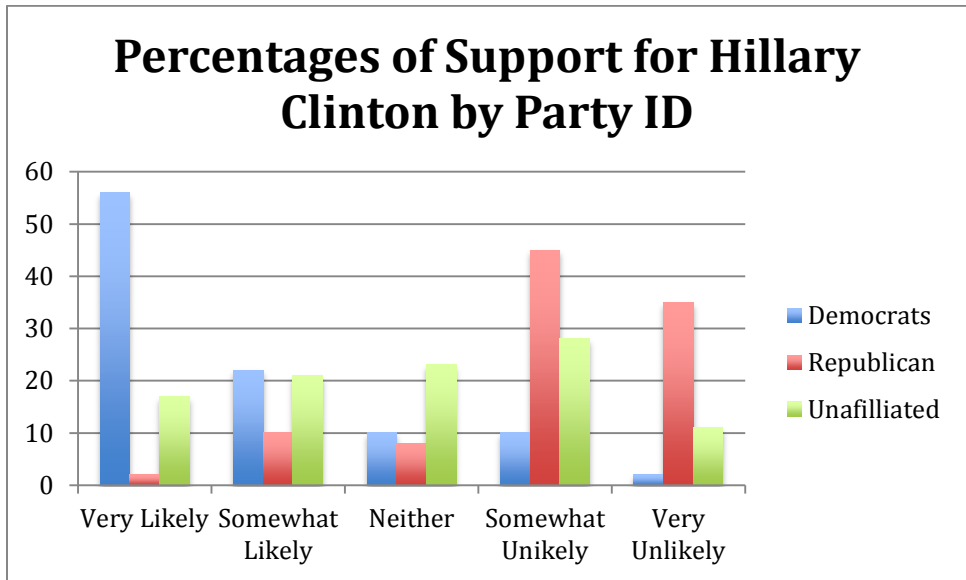


Executive Summary

The Meredith College Poll asked questions about North Carolinians’ views of women as political leaders and whether they would vote for Hillary Clinton if she ran for president. The questions were based on the Pew Research Center’s surveys of Americans from 2008-14 about their views of women political leaders. The survey was conducted using a live-caller, dual frame (landline and cell phone) survey of **347 registered voters** of North Carolina between February 2-9, 2015. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 5.3 percentage points for registered voters. Details regarding the methodology of this 2015 February survey can be found at the end of this report.

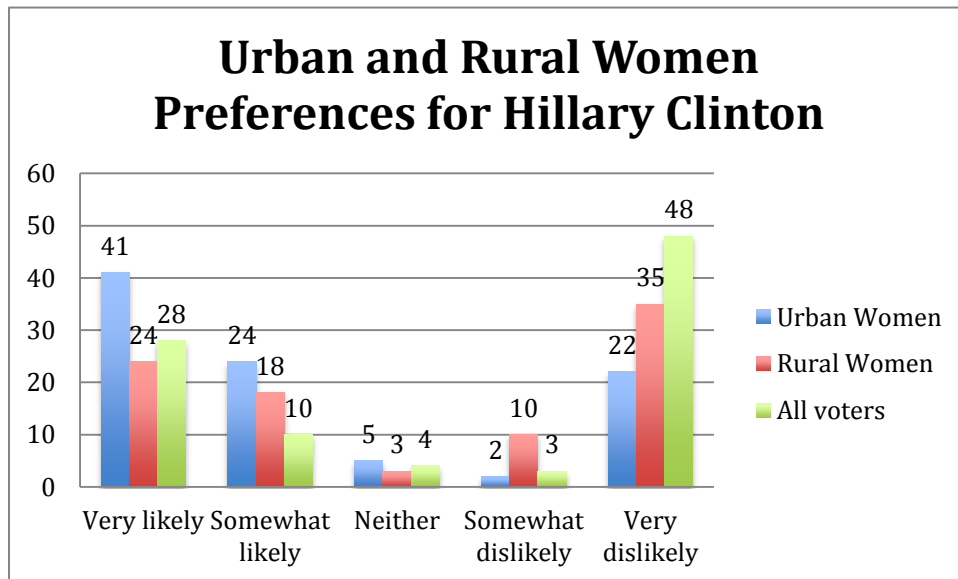
Hillary Clinton and the 2016 Presidential Election

Of all voters we surveyed, fully half (51%) said that they were either somewhat unlikely or very unlikely to vote for her, compared to only 41 percent that stated that they were somewhat likely to very likely to voter for her. Democrats had the greatest support for Clinton with 78 percent of respondents saying they were somewhat likely or very likely to vote for Clinton, as compared to 10 percent of Republicans and 38 percent of those registered as unaffiliated. Clinton’s potential candidacy garners support from about one-third of unaffiliated voters in the state, a real problem for a Democrat hoping to repeat Barack Obama’s 2008 victory in North Carolina.



Men and women were equally supportive of Clinton with no statistical differences between the two groups with 46 percent of the male respondents saying they were very likely or somewhat likely to vote for Clinton and 48 percent of the female respondents indicating the same.

Clinton’s support among women across the state is not consistent. Much of her support comes from urban women with much lower support from women in the rural areas of the state. Almost half the women in these 85 counties of North Carolina indicated that they would be somewhat unlikely or very unlikely to vote for Hillary Clinton for president, as compared to only 24 percent of women in the 15 urban counties of the state. Although Barack Obama’s 2008 victory in North Carolina was based on winning the larger metropolitan areas of the state, he won 35 counties with comfortable margins among women voters in these counties.



Other areas of concern for Clinton should be with women of color and women who lack a college degree.

In the last two presidential elections, African American women supported Barack Obama with almost 95 percent of the vote. Of the African American women respondents in our survey, 78 percent indicated that they were very likely or somewhat likely to support Hillary Clinton.

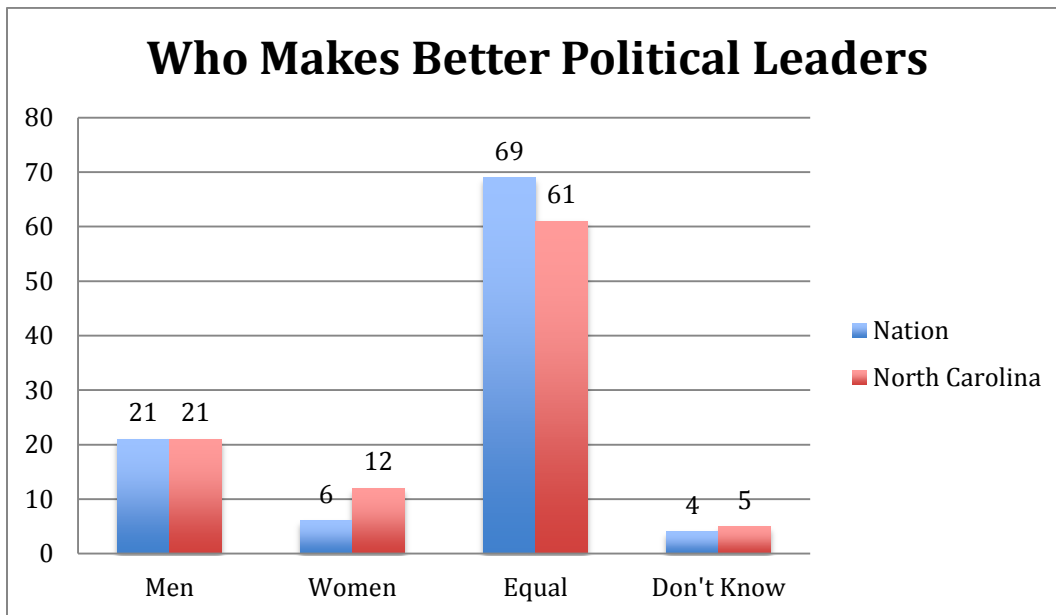
A majority of women with at least a college degree (53%) responded that they were very likely or somewhat likely to support Hillary Clinton, as compared to 38 percent of women with less than a college degree.

Given that North Carolina will continue to be a key state in presidential elections and that the margin of victory for the winning presidential candidate will be slim in the state, Clinton, should she be the Democratic nominee, has a difficult road ahead of her with

voting groups that will be key to her victory. Clinton’s electoral victory will be heavily dependent on the women’s vote, but her support among large blocs of women voters is soft 18 months from Election Day.

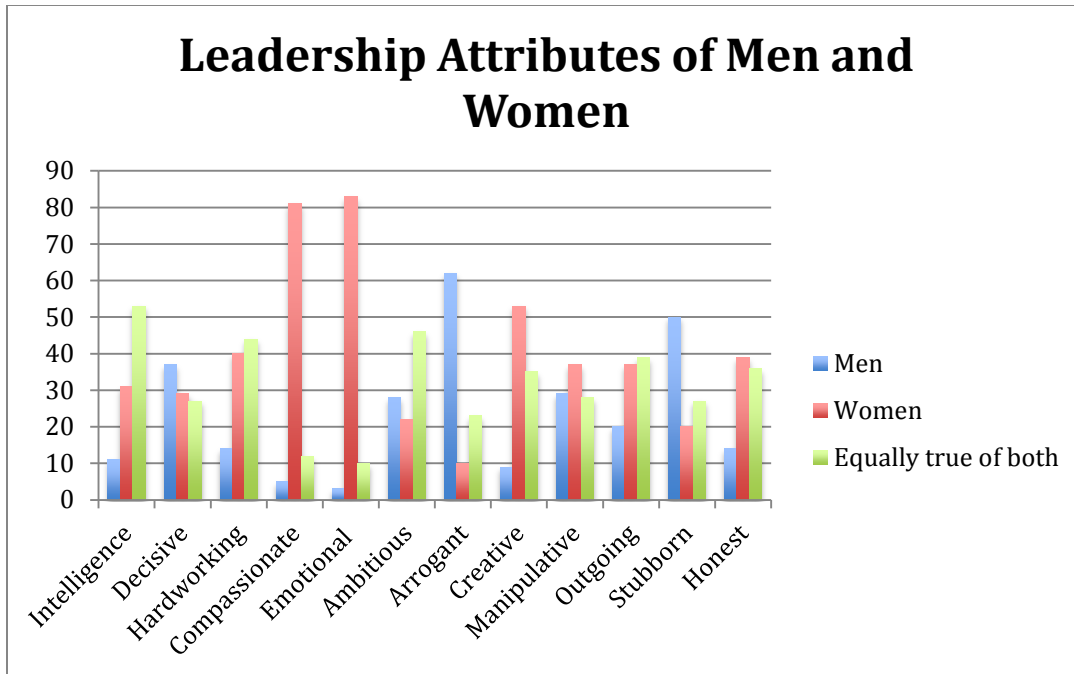
Women as Political Leaders

According to the majority of North Carolinians, men and women make equally good political leaders. In comparing the national results from the Pew Research Center to the Meredith Poll results, there were remarkable similarities between the perceptions of North Carolina citizens and those around the country.



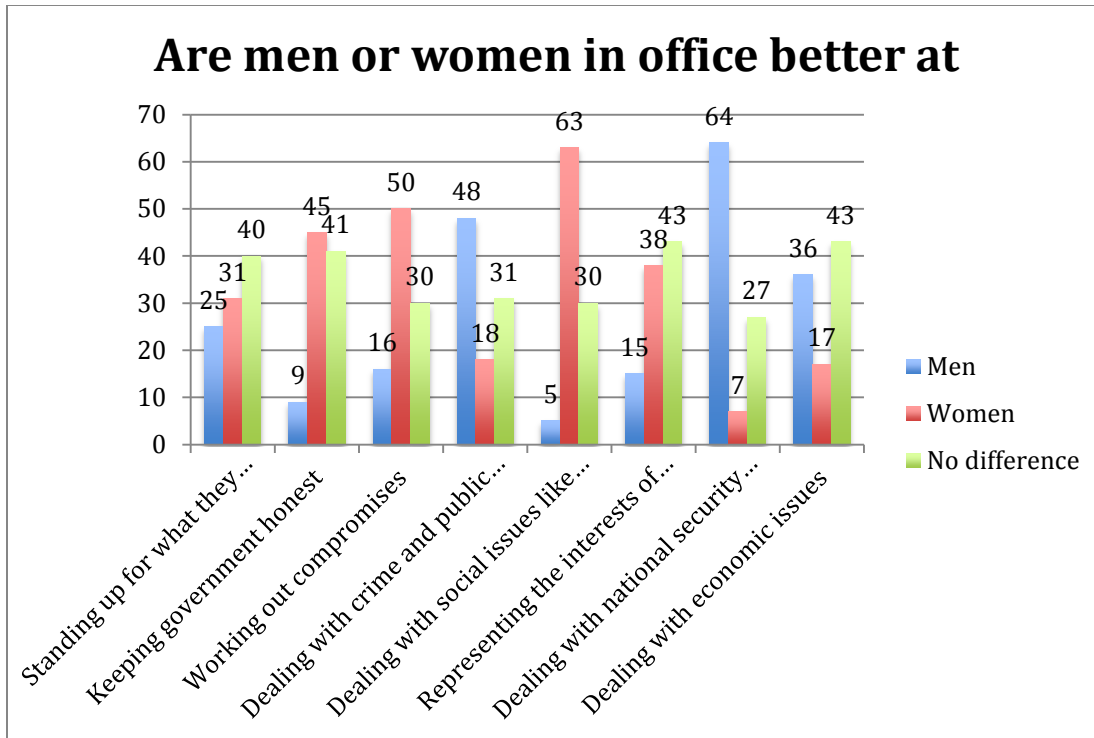
Source: Pew (2014), Meredith Poll (2015)

In terms of leadership qualities, respondents perceive women to possess advantages over men. Our respondents indicated that women possess more of the positive traits often associated with effective political leadership, such as intelligence, compassion, creativity, and honesty. Likewise, respondents indicated that women possessed lesser degrees of traits normally considered to be negative in terms of effective leadership, including arrogance, manipulateness, and stubbornness. On the other hand, North Carolinians perceive that women possess more negative leadership traits, such as being emotional and being more indecisive than men.

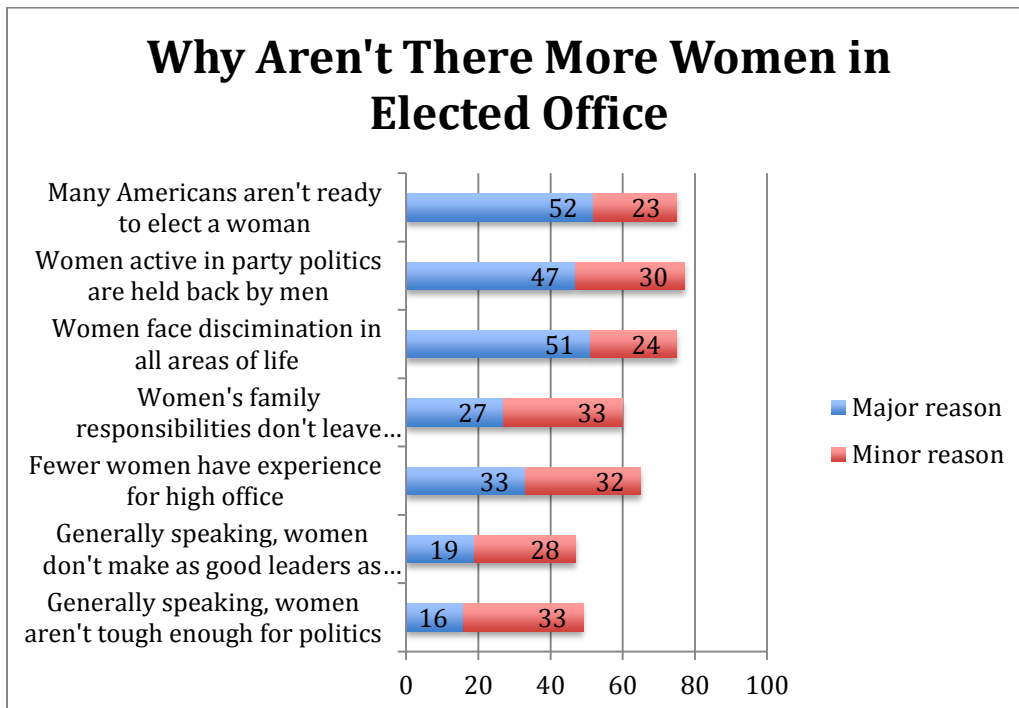


Furthermore, women were perceived by respondents to be better at certain political leadership behaviors than men, including standing up for what they believe, keeping government honest, and using compromise. Half of all respondents indicated that women are better than men at compromise; a behavior that many other surveys indicate that citizens think would improve the political process.

In terms of the ability to handle specific policy areas, our respondents had a very divided view of which gender is preferred. On social policies, like education, North Carolinians believe that women provide better leadership, yet on issues like public safety, national defense, and economic issues, there is still a preference for male leadership. According to the Pew Research Center, these attitudes are national in scope and long-standing ones.



Respondents were asked about why there were so few women in elected office in North Carolina. A majority of respondents felt that many Americans were not ready to elect a woman or that discrimination in all walks of life contributed to women not feeling comfortable to seek office. Large numbers of respondents felt that party politics were biased against women, therefore limiting their opportunities.



The results of this survey indicate some positive and, at times, contradictory findings about North Carolinians’ perceptions of women as political leaders. North Carolinians appreciate women as political leaders, yet feel as though most North Carolinians are not receptive to women leaders. Also, citizens feel that women possess many of the attitudes and behaviors associated with good political leadership, but at the same time, stereotype women in terms of other attitudes and their ability to handle a range of policy issues.

Topline Results

Who has it better?

All things being equal, who has it better in this country—men or women?

Men	213	64%
Women	45	14%
Don’t Know/Refused	75	23%

Men and women as political leaders

Which of the following comes closest to your opinion of men and women as political leaders?

Men generally make better political leaders	71	21%
Women generally make better political leaders	40	12%
In general, men and women make equally good political leaders	204	61%
Don’t Know/Refused	17	5%

More true of men or women—intelligence

Is this more true of men or more true of women (intelligence)?

Men	37	11%
Women	100	31%
Equally true of men and women	172	53%
Depends	13	4%
Don’t know/refused	5	2%

More true of men or women—decisive

Is this more true of men or more true of women (decisive)?

Men	121	37%
Women	94	29%
Equally true of men and women	88	27%
Depends	12	4%
Don't know/refused	11	3%

More true of men or women—hardworking

Is this more true of men or more true of women (hardworking)?

Men	46	14%
Women	131	40%
Equally true of men and women	144	44%
Depends	13	4%
Don't know/refused	5	2%

More true of men or women—compassionate

Is this more true of men or more true of women (compassionate)?

Men	17	5%
Women	264	81%
Equally true of men and women	38	12%
Depends	4	1%
Don't know/refused	3	1%

More true of men or women—emotional

Is this more true of men or more true of women (emotional)?

Men	10	3%
Women	272	83%
Equally true of men and women	33	10%
Depends	3	1%
Don't know/refused	8	2%

More true of men or women—ambitious

Is this more true of men or more true of women (ambitious)?

Men	92	28%
Women	73	22%

Equally true of men and women	150	46%
Depends	8	2%
Don't know/refused	3	1%

More true of men or women—arrogant

Is this more true of men or more true of women (arrogant)?

Men	199	62%
Women	33	10%
Equally true of men and women	74	23%
Depends	5	2%
Don't know/refused	12	4%

More true of men or women—creative

Is this more true of men or more true of women (intelligence)?

Men	28	9%
Women	171	53%
Equally true of men and women	112	35%
Depends	3	1%
Don't know/refused	8	2%

More true of men or women—manipulative

Is this more true of men or more true of women (manipulative)?

Men	95	29%
Women	118	37%
Equally true of men and women	89	28%
Depends	6	2%
Don't know/refused	15	5%

More true of men or women—outgoing

Is this more true of men or more true of women (outgoing)?

Men	63	20%
Women	119	37%
Equally true of men and women	125	39%
Depends	7	2%
Don't know/refused	8	2%

More true of men or women—stubborn

Is this more true of men or more true of women (stubborn)?

Men	162	50%
Women	65	20%
Equally true of men and women	87	27%
Depends	4	1%
Don't know/refused	4	1%

Honesty

Who do you think is more honest—women or men?

Women	126	39%
Men	44	14%
Equally true of men and women	117	36%
Depends	26	8%
Don't know/refused	9	23%

Equal Rights

Which of these two statements come closest to your own views—even if neither is exactly right?

The country has made most of the changes needed to give women equal rights with men.	64	20%
The country needs to continue to make changes to give women equal rights to men.	238	74%
Don't know/refused	19	6%

Standing up for what they believe in

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at standing up for what they believe in, despite political pressure?

Men	80	25%
Women	99	31%
No difference	126	40%
Don't know/refused	11	3%

Keeping government honest

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at keeping government honest?

Men	30	9%
Women	141	45%
No difference	129	41%
Don't know/refused	16	5%

Working out compromises

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at working out compromises?

Men	50	16%
Women	157	50%
No difference	96	30%
Don't know/refused	12	4%

Dealing with crime and public safety

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at dealing with crime and public safety?

Men	151	48%
Women	58	18%
No difference	97	31%
Don't know/refused	9	3%

Dealing with social issues

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at dealing with social issues, such as education and health care?

Men	17	5%
Women	199	63%
No difference	96	30%
Don't know/refused	3	1%

Representing the interests of people

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at representing the interests of people like you?

Men	48	15%
Women	119	38%
No difference	135	43%
Don't know/refused	13	4%

Dealing with national security and defense

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at dealing with national security and defense?

Men	203	64%
Women	22	7%
No difference	85	27%
Don't know/refused	5	2%

Dealing with economic issues

In general, do you think men or women in political office are better at dealing with economic issues, like creating jobs and dealing with budgets?

Men	114	36%
Women	55	17%
No difference	136	43%
Don't know/refused	10	3%

Americans not ready to elect a woman

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Americans are not ready to elect a woman to higher office.

Major reason	164	52%
Minor reason	72	23%
No reason	62	20%
Don't know refused	16	5%

Women don't make good leaders

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Generally speaking, women don't make as good leaders as men.

Major reason	58	19%
Minor reason	87	28%
No reason	156	50%
Don't know refused	12	4%

Women discriminated against

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Women are discriminated against in all areas of life and politics is no exception.

Major reason	160	51%
Minor reason	74	24%
No reason	69	22%
Don't know refused	11	4%

Women have too many responsibilities in the home

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Women’s responsibilities to family don’t leave time for politics.

Major reason	86	27%
Minor reason	105	33%
No reason	106	34%
Don’t know refused	17	5%

Women aren’t tough enough for politics

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Generally speaking, women aren’t tough enough for politics.

Major reason	51	16%
Minor reason	103	33%
No reason	155	49%
Don’t know refused	5	2%

Women don’t have enough experience

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Fewer women have the experience required for higher office.

Major reason	105	33%
Minor reason	100	32%
No reason	97	31%
Don’t know refused	12	4%

The parties hold back women

Is the following a major or minor reason why more women do not serve in political office? Women who are active in party politics get held back by men.

Major reason	147	47%
Minor reason	95	30%
No reason	51	16%
Don’t know refused	21	7%

Should women return to their traditional roles?

Women should return to their traditional roles in society.

Completely agree	29	9%
Mostly agree	22	7%
Neither	12	4%
Mostly disagree	60	19%
Completely disagree	190	61%

Hillary Clinton

If the presidential election was held today, how likely would it be that you would vote for Hillary Clinton?

Very likely	87	28%
Somewhat likely	31	10%
Neither likely nor unlikely	10	3%
Somewhat unlikely	10	3%
Very unlikely	151	48%
Don't know/refused	20	6%

Demographics

Party ID

Democrats	38%
Republicans	33%
Unaffiliated	29%

Sex/Gender

Male	45%
Female	55%

Income

Less than \$25,000	17%
\$25,000 to \$50,000	33%
\$50,000 to \$75,000	25%
More than \$75,000	14%
Unknown	11%

Race

White	72%
Black	20%
Other	8%

Age

18-30	6%
31-40	22%
41-50	24%
51-65	26%
65+	30%

Location¹

Rural	69%
Urban	31%

Education

Less than high school diploma	18%
High school diploma	22%
Some college	23%
College degree or higher	30%
Unknown	7%

Cross Tabulations (Hillary Clinton question only)

Vote for Hillary Clinton (all numbers indicate percentages of respondents)

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Democrats	56	22	10	10	2
Republicans	2	10	8	45	35
Unaffiliated	17	21	23	28	11

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Men	29	17	8	12	33
Women	32	16	8	26	20

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Democratic Women	52	32	8	6	2
Republican Women	4	8	32	25	29
Unaffiliated Women	18	25	23	24	5

¹ The 15 urban counties, as determined by the U.S. Census Bureau, are: Buncombe, Cabarrus, Cumberland, Durham, Forsyth, Gaston, Guilford, Iredell, Johnston, Mecklenburg, New Hanover, Orange, Pitt, Union, and Wake.

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
African American Women	48	30	7	10	5
White Women	29	10	10	34	17

	Very Likely	Somewhat Likely	Neither	Somewhat Unlikely	Very Unlikely
College degree or higher (women)	20	33	5	29	13
Less than a college degree (women)	9	29	10	30	22

Methodological Information

Mode: Live Interviewer RDD Telephone Interviews
(Dual Frame: Cell Phone and Landlines)

Population & Sample Area: North Carolina; Adults (English speaking registered voters)

Dates in the field: February 2-9, 2015

Registered Voter Sample Size: 347
Registered Voter Margin of Error: ±5.3%

Confidence Level: 95%
Weighting Variables: Age, Race, Gender

Procedures Used for Conducting the Poll

The Meredith College Poll uses a stratified random sample of households with telephones and wireless (cell) telephone numbers. Please direct questions about the Meredith College Poll’s methodology to David McLennan (919-760-2287 or dbmclennan@meredith.edu).

The Meredith College 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 Meredith College Poll conducted the survey in English. Live interviewers called from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. Monday 2/2 through Thursday 2/5; and 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. on Monday 2/9.

Additional Methodological Decisions

“Don’t Know” and “Refused” Options

All questions include an option for respondents to volunteer “don’t know” or to refuse. In most questions, callers do not prompt these possible responses.

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 refuse to answer more than 10 percent of the questions are incompletes.

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.” We use SSI because they produce valid samples for many polling organizations, including the Meredith College Poll.

Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting at each of these stages. The margin of sampling error at the 95% confidence level is plus or minus 5.3 percentage points for results based on the full sample (n=347). In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The Meredith College Poll Team

- Dr. David McLennan is a Visiting Professor of Political Science at Meredith College. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin.
- Dr. Whitney Ross Manzo is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Meredith College. She holds a Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Dallas

Faculty members in the History/Political Science program supported the poll and helped recruit students to work as callers. Dr. Dan Fountain is chair of the department and has provided a great deal of support for this project. The poll operates under the auspices of the School of Arts and Humanities, led by Dean Garry Walton, Ph.D.

The Meredith College administration, led by Dr. Jo Allen, president of the College, and Dr. Matthew Poslusny, senior vice president and provost of the College, fully support the Meredith College Poll as part of its service commitment to state, regional, and national constituents. Meredith College fully funds the Meredith College Poll. This permits the Meredith College Poll to operate as a neutral, non-biased, non-partisan resource.

Meredith College students administer the survey as part of the College's commitment to civic engagement and producing strong women.

For more information on the Meredith College Poll and this survey, visit

<http://www.meredith.edu/college-research>

or

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