



ROSE INSTITUTE
OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

CMC-ROSE INSTITUTE POLLING REPORT

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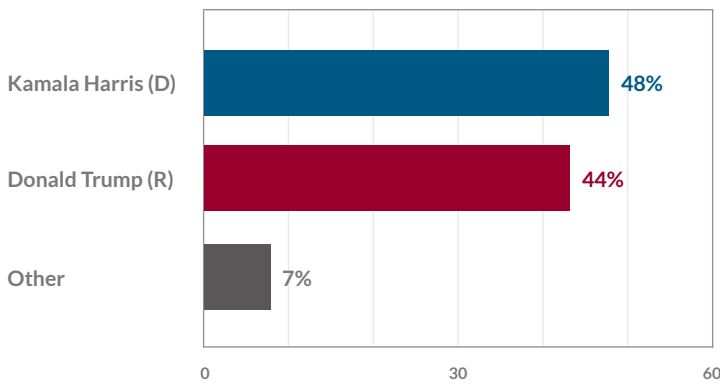
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Narrow Margin and High Stakes in Presidential Election

Harris holds a slight national lead over Trump among registered voters.

Presidential candidate preferences among registered voters (%)



Vice President Kamala Harris leads former President Donald Trump by four points (48%-44%) in our national survey of registered voters, with remaining voters either undecided or supporting a third-party candidate. The poll, designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented by YouGov, was conducted between October 7-17, 2024. The poll includes 1,500 voters in a national sample and oversamples of 1,000 in CA, NY, TX, FL, and PA, for a total of 6,500 respondents. The margin of error for the full national sample is 2.14.

When undecided or third-party voters are asked whether they lean toward either Harris or Trump, Harris retains her advantage, 50%-46%. Restricting the survey to likely voters and using likely voter weights, Harris's advantage is 51%-46% (N=6,359; MoE=2.16).

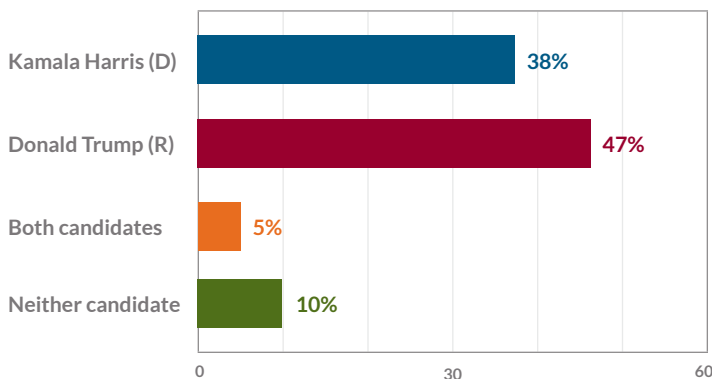
These results are largely in line with other recent surveys showing a highly competitive contest for the national presidential popular vote, with either candidate plausibly winning a majority in the Electoral College.

Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=6,500, includes CA, NY, TX, FL, PA oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±2.14. Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Only 10% of voters view neither Trump nor Harris as a threat to democracy.

“Does either major party’s presidential candidate pose a threat to American democracy? If so, which candidate?”

Responses among registered voters (%)



American voters view the upcoming election with alarm. Nearly half of registered voters (47%) view the election of former President Trump as a threat to democracy, while 38% view Harris the same way—with fears mostly dividing along partisan lines. Voters who see *both* candidates as a threat to democracy (5%) tend to prefer third-party candidates or remain undecided.

Only 10% of respondents view neither candidate as a threat to democracy. This view is more common among Trump supporters than Harris supporters, and partly explains the difference between responses to this question and the question on candidate preference.

Overall, one thing most voters can agree on is that the stakes in this election are high.

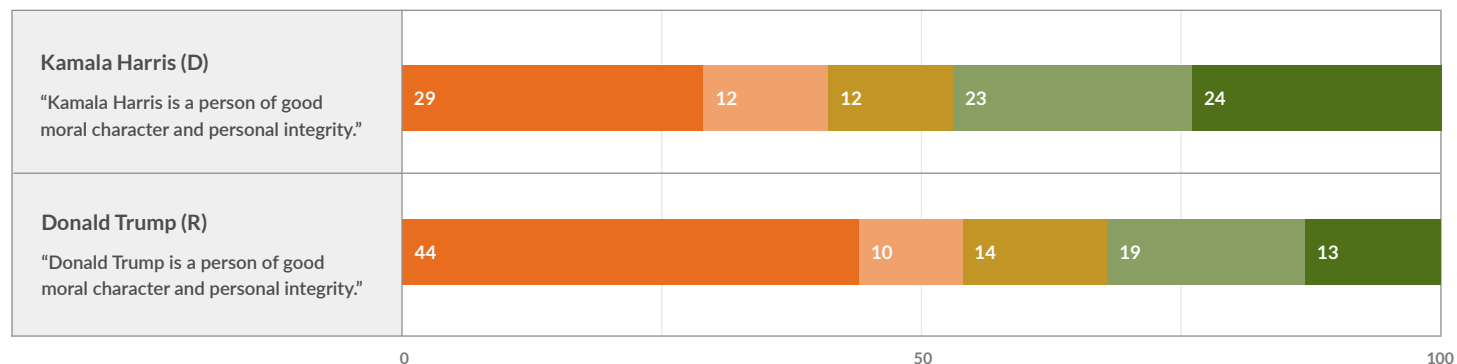
Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=6,500, includes CA, NY, TX, FL, PA oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±2.14.

Voters have a lower view of Trump's character and competence.

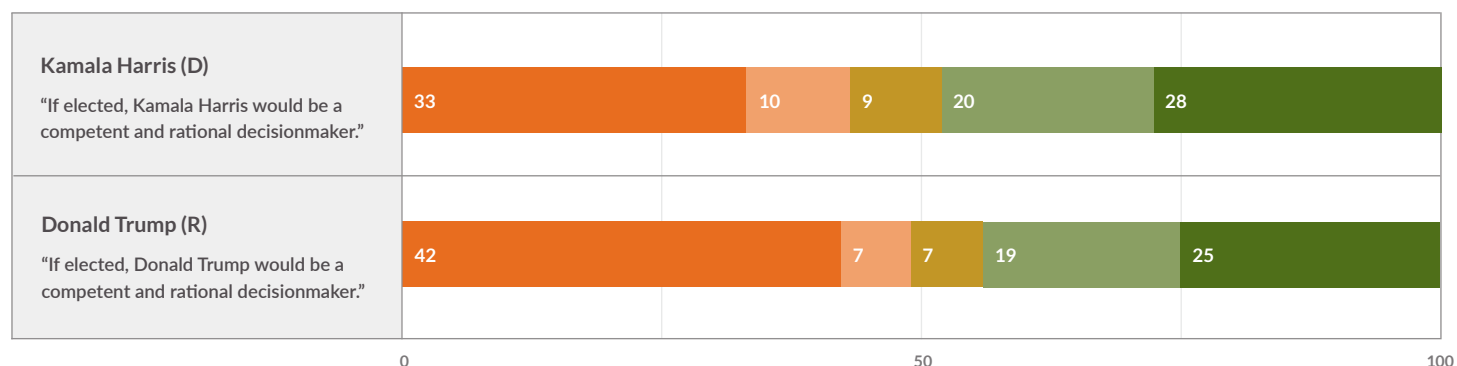
Responses among registered voters (%)

Strongly disagree Disagree Neither agree nor disagree Agree Strongly agree

Moral character and personal integrity



Competence and rational decision making



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024.

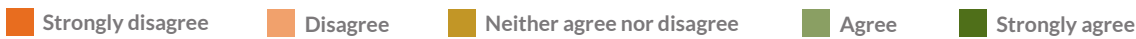
Online interviews: N=6,500, includes CA, NY, TX, FL, PA oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 2.14 .

As the campaigns have emphasized competing narratives about the candidates' character and competence, Americans have come to view former President Trump somewhat more negatively than Vice President Harris on these measures. Nationally, slightly less than half (47%) of respondents agree that Harris is a person of good moral character and personal integrity, while 41% disagree. By comparison, one-third (33%) of respondents agree that Trump possesses these qualities, while a majority (54%) disagree. Meanwhile, nearly half (48%) of respondents say that, if elected, Harris would be a competent and rational decision maker, while a slightly lower percentage (44%) believe Trump would exhibit these traits in a second term.

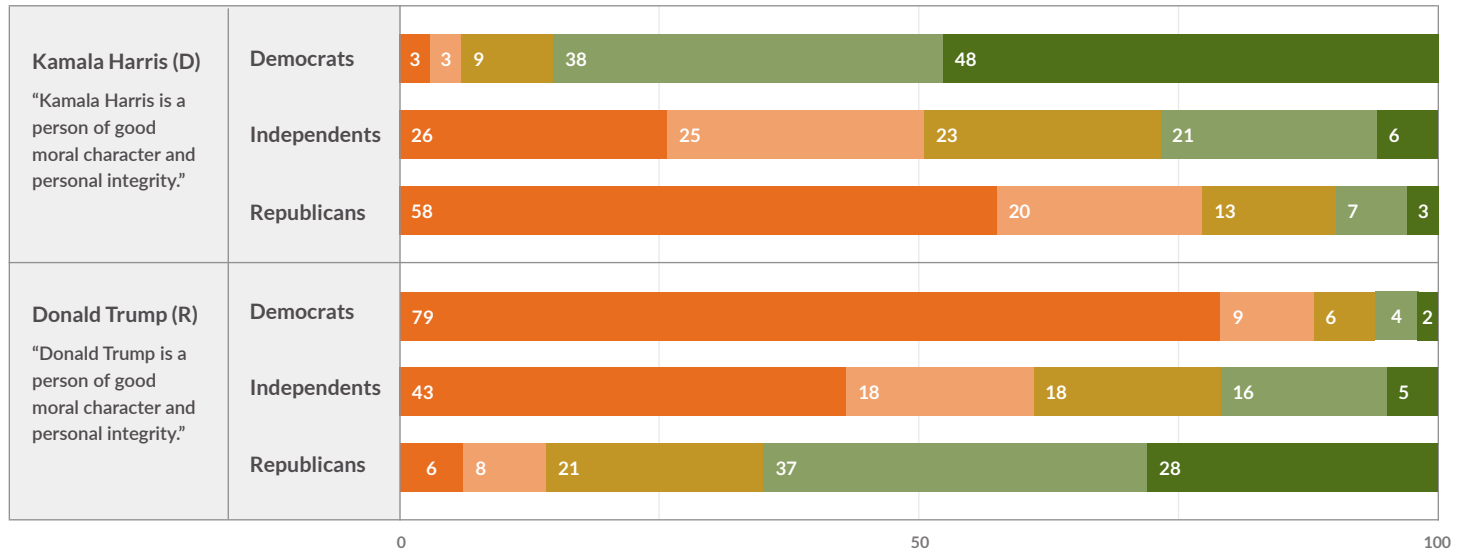
Taken together, these three figures help illustrate broad trends in this election. Trump and Harris remain locked in a highly competitive contest, with voters polarized in their views of the candidates. Nevertheless, Harris seems to have a slight advantage in vote intention, backed in part by a lower assessment of the threat she poses to democracy and fewer intensely negative responses about her character or competence.

Partisanship largely drives assessments of candidates' personal characteristics.

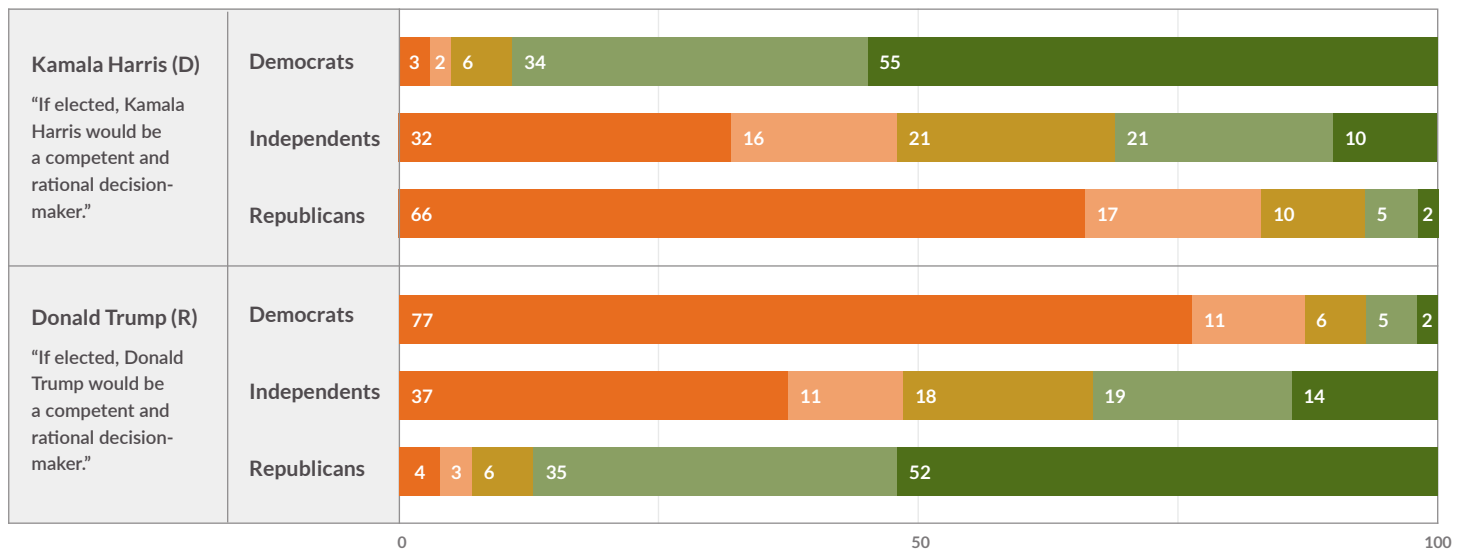
Responses among registered voters by party (%)



Moral character and personal integrity



Competence and rational decision making



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=6,500, includes CA, NY, TX, FL, PA oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±2.14. Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

When respondents' party identification is taken into account, perceptions of the candidates' personal character and competence sharply divide along partisan lines. Democrats overwhelmingly view Harris as a competent person of good character and say Trump lacks these qualities. Most Republicans believe the reverse. Polarization has caused voters in opposing partisan camps to have widely divergent perceptions of the candidates' personal attributes.

Within this overall picture, though, Harris has a slight advantage in two ways. First, among the small proportion of true independents (about 10% of the electorate, with "leaners" included among the partisans), a larger percentage hold strongly negative views of Trump's character than of Harris's (43% to 26%). Second, Democrats have a lower view of Trump's personal characteristics than Republicans have of Harris's. For example, 79% of Democrats strongly disagree that Trump is a person of good moral character and integrity, while only 58% of Republicans strongly disagree that Harris possesses these traits.

Methodology

This data is from the CMC-Rose Institute Fall 2024 Poll. The survey was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented online by YouGov between October 7, 2024 and 17, 2024, with 83% of the data collected between October 10-15. The total sample of 6,500 includes a national sample of 1,500 and state oversamples in CA, NY, TX, FL, and PA of 1,000 additional voters each. YouGov created the “modeled frame” (the target YouGov uses in selecting respondents for inclusion and uses for the survey weights) using the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 Cooperative Election Study (CES) surveys, including demographics and 2020 presidential vote. The registered voter estimates use all 6,500 respondents with post-stratified weights to reflect national population characteristics. The main results use all the registered voter data: likely voter estimates require the additional step of using a turnout-intention question (from our survey) and then reweighting.

The poll’s margin of error is related not only to the sample size but also to the variation in the survey weights. Our poll of 6,500 respondents must reweight the data to account for the state oversamples, so the margin of error (2.2) is larger than it would be in a national survey of 6,500 respondents without oversamples. We collected the oversamples to be able to have high-quality state-level results in the nation’s five most populous states.

Polling is one source of data among many to use to understand elections. Readers should recognize that some voters may change their minds before election day about which candidate to support or whether or not to cast a ballot. While many want to know who will win the election, the nation’s close division means that polls cannot conclusively predict the outcome. The value of polling is connecting the observable election results to other public attitudes that are harder to observe without polling, such as the questions about competence, character, and threats to democracy detailed in this report.

The CMC-Rose Institute 2024 Poll is funded by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont McKenna College Faculty Major Grant Award, and Betsy Sinclair, Washington University in St. Louis.

Crosstabs

Presidential Vote 2024

| | Harris (D) | Trump (R) | Other/Unsure |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Age | | | |
| Age 18-29 | 60 | 30 | 9 |
| Age 30-44 | 53 | 38 | 9 |
| Age 45-64 | 47 | 46 | 7 |
| Age 65 + | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| Total | 48 | 44 | 7 |
| Gender | | | |
| Female* | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| Male | 45 | 50 | 6 |
| Total | 48 | 44 | 7 |
| Race | | | |
| White | 43 | 51 | 7 |
| Black | 76 | 17 | 7 |
| Hispanic** | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| Other | 52 | 36 | 13 |
| Total | 48 | 44 | 7 |
| Education | | | |
| At Most High School | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| Some College | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| College | 53 | 37 | 10 |
| Postgrad | 60 | 34 | 6 |
| Total | 48 | 44 | 7 |
| Subgroups | | | |
| Male/White | 40 | 55 | 5 |
| Male/Black | 71 | 26 | 4 |
| Male/Hispanic | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Female/White | 44 | 49 | 8 |
| Female/Black | 79 | 11 | 10 |
| Female/Hispanic | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| Total | 48 | 44 | 7 |

* The category Female includes respondents who declined to answer or identified as “not male.”

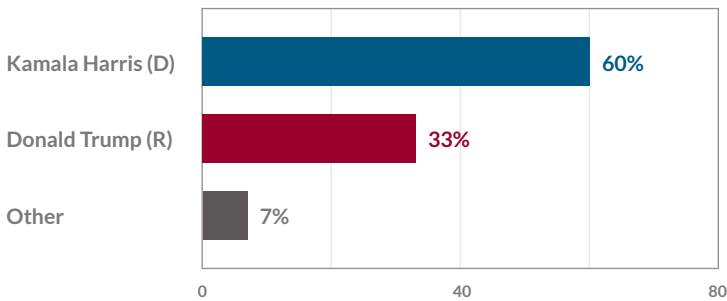
** The categories White and Black do not include respondents who also identify as Hispanic.

Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=6,500, includes CA, NY, TX, FL, PA oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 2.14 . Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Harris and Schiff Cruising to Victory in Deep Blue California

Harris builds huge lead over Trump in her home state.

Presidential candidate preferences among CA registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,139, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.38.

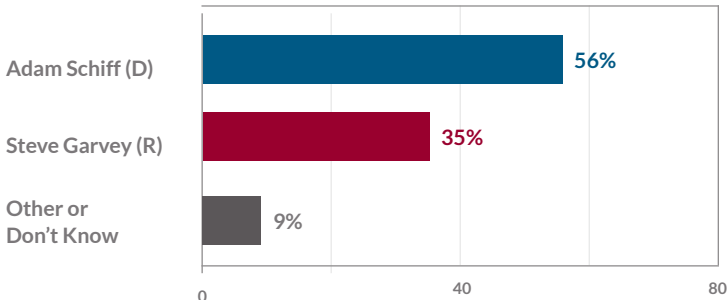
Our poll indicates Democrats will continue their domination of California elections in this year’s presidential and U.S. Senate contests. Vice President Harris leads former President Trump in California by 27 points, 60%-33%. The poll was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented by YouGov, Oct. 7-17. It includes 1,139 California registered voters and has a margin of error of 3.38.

In 2020, the Biden-Harris ticket defeated Trump in California by 64%-34%, a huge 6 million vote victory that accounted for nearly all of its 7 million vote margin in the national popular vote. This year, much attention is focused on whether Harris can run up the score in California enough to win the national popular vote and also help Democrats carry the state’s handful of competitive U.S. House seats. Conversely, the Trump campaign hopes to narrow the margin in California by making inroads among groups such as Hispanics.

In our poll, undecided and third-party voters were asked whether they lean toward Trump or Harris; adding those responses to the candidate totals results in Harris leading Trump 63%-34%—nearly identical to the outcome four years ago. Restricting the analysis to likely voters does not change the percentages.

Democrat Schiff poised to defeat Garvey in Senate race.

State senate candidate preferences among CA registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,139, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.38.

Democratic Rep. Adam Schiff holds a large lead over his Republican rival, former baseball star Steve Garvey. Schiff leads Garvey 56%-35%, with 9% of respondents saying they are undecided. Schiff’s advantage over his Republican opponent is consistent with the Democratic Party’s formidable position in the state. Despite the large number of voters registered as “no party preference,” 58% of California’s registered voters either explicitly identify as Democrats or are independents who lean toward the Democratic Party (counted as Democrats in our reports). That means Democrats only have to win the votes of these Democratic identifiers to win statewide elections.

California Democrats show little sign of dissent or interest in crossing party lines. Our poll finds that, among Democrats: only 8% disapprove or strongly disapprove of the Biden Administration; 3% think Trump was a better president than Biden; 14% disapprove or strongly disapprove of the state’s Democratic governor, Gavin Newsom; 10% disapprove of Democrats in the state legislature; and 12% disapprove of Democrats in Congress.

Crosstabs

California Presidential Vote 2024

| | Harris (D) | Trump (R) | Other/Unsure |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Age | | | |
| Age 18-29 | 59 | 31 | 10 |
| Age 30-44 | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| Age 45-64 | 63 | 32 | 5 |
| Age 65 + | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| Total | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Gender | | | |
| Female* | 65 | 28 | 7 |
| Male | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| Total | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Race | | | |
| White | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| Black | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| Hispanic | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| Other | 63 | 31 | 6 |
| Total | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Education | | | |
| At Most High School | 55 | 40 | 5 |
| Some College | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| College | 72 | 22 | 6 |
| Postgrad | 68 | 25 | 8 |
| Total | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Subgroups | | | |
| Male/White | 53 | 41 | 5 |
| Male/Black | 60 | 37 | 3 |
| Male/Hispanic | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Female/White | 60 | 34 | 6 |
| Female/Black | 86 | 6 | 8 |
| Female/Hispanic | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| Total | 60 | 33 | 7 |

* The category Female includes respondents who declined to answer or identified as "not male."

** The categories White and Black do not include respondents who also identify as Hispanic.

Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,139, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 3.38 . Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Vice President Harris leads former President Trump in California among *all* demographic groups we identified, including both men and women, all age categories, all racial and ethnic groups, and all educational levels. This breadth of support for the Democratic candidate contrasts sharply with our findings elsewhere in the nation, where Trump leads among men, white voters, older voters, and those without college degrees. As an example, our national survey shows that Trump leads Harris among white male respondents by 15 points (55%-40%), whereas in California, this demographic group supports Harris by 12 points (53%-41%). Similarly, Trump leads Harris among voters who have, at most, a high school education by 16 points (55%-39%), but in California these numbers are flipped, with Harris leading Trump among these voters by 15 points, 55%-40%.

Much attention has been paid to Trump's inroads with minority voters, especially Hispanics. Our survey shows Trump gaining the support of 34% of Hispanic voters and 40% of Hispanic men across the nation, with 10% of these groups remaining undecided. In California, by comparison, Trump has had somewhat less success attracting the support of Hispanics. According to our survey, in California, 30% of Hispanic voters and 34% of Hispanic men back Trump, with 7% and 9% of these groups, respectively, undecided. By large margins, the state's Hispanic voters support Harris.

These findings confirm that in deep blue California, demographic groups across the board continue to align with the Democratic Party.

The Survey

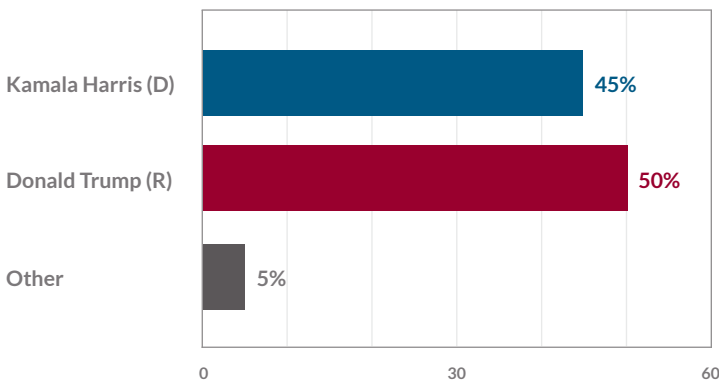
The data for this survey comes from the CMC-Rose Institute Fall 2024 Poll. The survey was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented online by YouGov between October 7, 2024 and October 17, 2024. The total sample of 1,139 registered voters was collected as part of a larger national survey, including respondents from the national sample and an additional 1,000 voters as a California oversample. The data was weighted by gender, age, race, education, and past presidential vote. YouGov created the "modeled frame" (the target YouGov uses in selecting respondents for inclusion and uses to create the survey weights) by using the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 CES surveys, including demographics and the 2020 presidential vote. The survey has a margin of error of 3.38 for the registered voters. To create a likely voter weight, respondents were screened for vote intention, and the data reweighted; the likely voter sample has a margin of error of 3.41.

The CMC-Rose Institute 2024 Poll is funded by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont McKenna College Faculty Major Grant Award, and Betsy Sinclair, Washington University in St. Louis.

Trump, Scott on Track to Win in Florida

Trump poised to defeat Harris in Florida.

Presidential candidate preferences among FL registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,094, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.46.

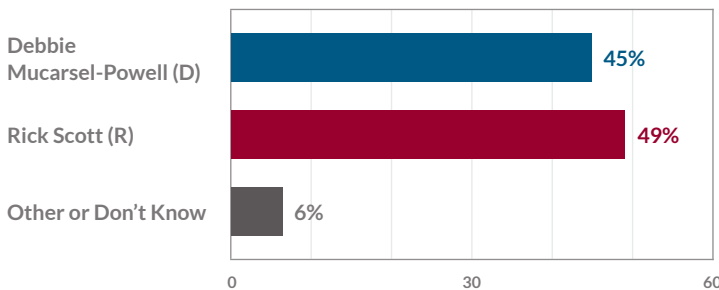
Former President Trump is likely to defeat Vice President Harris in his home state of Florida. Once among the most competitive states in the nation, Florida has drifted toward Republicans in recent years. In 2020, Trump defeated Biden 51%-48% in the state. In our poll of registered Florida voters, Trump leads Harris 50%-45%, with a margin of error of 3.46. About 5% of Florida respondents remain undecided or prefer a third-party candidate. The poll was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented by YouGov. It includes 1,094 voters in Florida as part of a larger national poll.

When Florida’s undecided or third-party voters are asked whether they lean toward either major candidate, Trump maintains his advantage, 51%-46%. Restricting the sample to likely voters and reweighting keeps Trump’s advantage at 51%-46% (N=1,076; MoE=3.49). Polls have consistently shown a Trump advantage in Florida since August. Our results, with 96% of the answers coming in after Oct.9, show that Hurricane Milton, which hit Florida on that day, did not alter the race.

In Florida, our data shows that Harris is the preferred candidate of younger (18-29) registered voters by 54%-41% and Black registered voters by 75%-19%. Unlike in the national data, women break evenly between the candidates (47%-47%), and men prefer Trump (54% to 42% for Harris). Our survey finds Florida’s Hispanic/Latino registered voters prefer Trump over Harris (50% to 44%).

Scott leads his race with similar support as Trump.

State senate candidate preferences among FL registered voters (%)



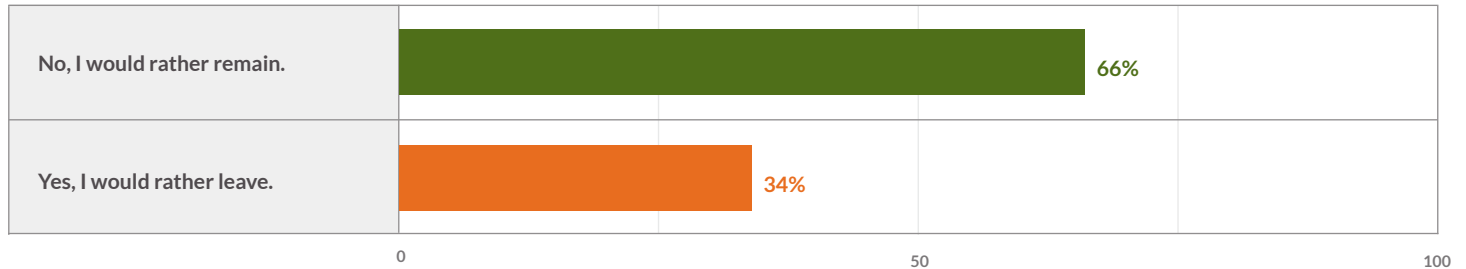
Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,094, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.46.

Incumbent Republican Senator Rick Scott also leads the Florida U.S. Senate race over Debbie Mucarsel-Powell, 49%-45%. The margin of error is 3.46, and about 6% of voters remain undecided. While it is possible Mucarsel-Powell will outperform these estimates, either through polling error or the late movement of undecided voters, our results are largely in line with election forecasts like the Sabato Crystal ball which rate Florida’s U.S. Senate seat as “likely R.”

Partisanship drives roughly one-third of Florida voters to express interest in leaving the state.

“Regardless of whether you will move, if you had the opportunity, would you like to move to another state, or would you rather remain in your current state?”

Responses among FL registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,094, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 3.46 .

The 2022 CMC-Rose Institute Poll¹ included a series of questions asking about whether respondents wished to move to a different state. While many residents may never move, desiring to move is the first step to doing so, and the desire itself serves as a measure of satisfaction with life in the state. In 2022, 33% of Florida registered voters were interested in moving, a statistic which contrasted favorably with California’s 44%. We asked the same question in 2024, with the vast majority of respondents taking the survey in the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Milton.

In 2024, 34% of Florida’s registered voters are interested in moving, mirroring 2022 results. Among respondents who express interest in moving, many fewer took concrete steps to move, again similar to responses in 2022. The difference with California, however, has evaporated as only 33% of Californians are now interested in moving. In both states, partisanship explains interest in moving, as it did in 2022. In Florida in 2024, 48% of Democrats, but only 19% of Republicans, are interested in moving. Given an opportunity to explain their interest, many voters complain about heat, hurricanes, and the cost of living. Democrats are much more likely to also make political comments. One writes: “it’s too Republican and too hot.” Democrats seem to sense the voting trends evident in our poll results as Florida has become increasingly more Republican, and is likely to remain so in the 2024 election.

1 See here: <https://roseinstitute.org/2022-red-vs-blue-states/>

The Survey

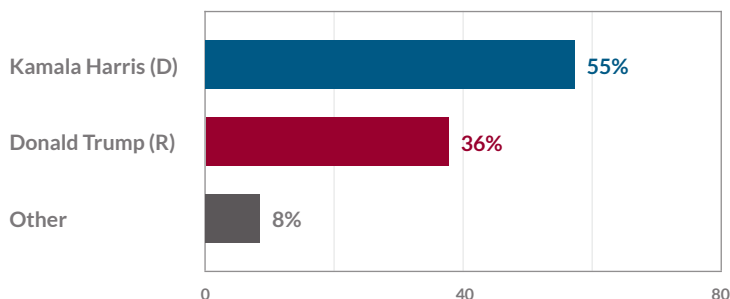
The data for this survey comes from the CMC-Rose Institute Fall 2024 Poll. The survey was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government and implemented online by YouGov between October 7, 2024 and October 17, 2024. The total sample of 1,094 registered voters was collected as part of a larger national survey, including respondents from the national sample and an additional 1,000 voters as a Florida oversample. The data was weighted by gender, age, race, education, past presidential vote, and home ownership. YouGov created the “modeled frame” (the target YouGov uses in selecting respondents for inclusion and uses to create the survey weights) by using the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 Cooperative Election Survey (CES) surveys, including demographics and the 2020 presidential vote. The survey has a margin of error of 3.46 for registered voters. To create a likely voter weight, respondents were screened for vote intention and the data reweighted; the likely voter sample has a margin of error of 3.49.

The CMC-Rose Institute 2024 Poll is funded by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont McKenna College Faculty Major Grant Award, and Betsy Sinclair, Washington University in St. Louis.

New York Poised to Back Harris and Gillibrand

Harris leads Trump in New York presidential contest.

Presidential candidate preferences among NY registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,089, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 3.41 . Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

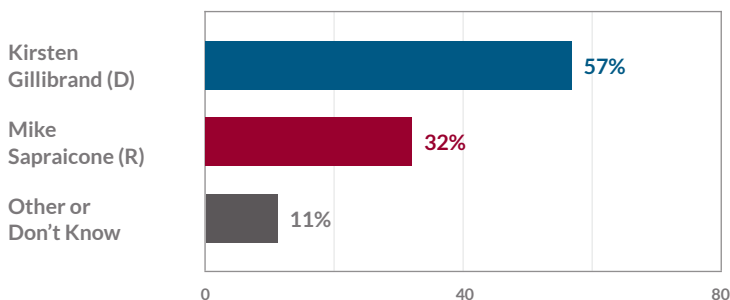
Our poll results indicate that Democrats are highly likely to win the top-of-the-ticket contests in New York. At the presidential level, Vice President Kamala Harris is running well ahead of former President Donald Trump in the state he long called home, leading Trump by a 55%-36% margin. The poll was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented by YouGov, Oct. 7-17. It includes 1,089 New York registered voters and has a margin of error of 3.41.

President Joe Biden won New York's presidential vote over Trump in 2020 by a wide 61%-38% margin. By contrast, Democrat Kathy Hochul won the election as governor two years ago with only 53% of the vote. While Harris is expected to prevail in New York, much of the interest in the top-of-the-ticket contest in this cycle focuses on whether turnout and enthusiasm will be sufficient for Democrats to carry the handful of competitive U.S. House seats across the state. Results closer to New York's 2022 midterm election would help Republicans retain New York's closely contested House seats, while results closer to prior presidential contests would help Democrats flip those seats.

Our survey asked undecided and third-party voters whether they lean toward Trump or Harris; adding those responses to the candidate totals results in Harris leading Trump 58%-38%—close to Biden's 2020 margin. Restricting the analysis to likely voters does not change the percentages.

Gillibrand opens wide lead in U.S. Senate race.

State senate candidate preferences among NY registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,089, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 3.41 .

Incumbent Democratic U.S. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand is also very likely to defeat her Republican challenger Mike Sapaicone. Gillibrand leads in our survey by a wide 57%-32% margin. The race's likely outcome is driven by the fact that New York voters overwhelmingly identify as Democrats rather than as Republicans (55%-34%, counting independents and third-party voters that lean toward a major party).

For Republicans to be competitive in New York, Democrats would have to be more seriously divided than they appear at present. Despite sustained press criticism regarding issues such as congestion pricing and scandals in New York City, Democratic voters still largely approve of Democratic officeholders. Only 18% of New York Democrats disapprove of Governor Hochul. Only 11% of New York Democrats disapprove of the Biden Administration, and only 5% think Trump did a better job as President than Biden. Perhaps more surprisingly, only 9% of New York Democrats disapprove of Democrats in the state legislature in Albany.

Compared to the other states with oversamples in this year's CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Democrats are closer to winning in Florida and Texas than Republicans are to making meaningful inroads in New York.

Crosstabs

New York Presidential Vote 2024

| | Harris (D) | Trump (R) | Other/Unsure |
|---------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Age | | | |
| Age 18-29 | 65 | 26 | 9 |
| Age 30-44 | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| Age 45-64 | 53 | 40 | 6 |
| Age 65 + | 49 | 43 | 9 |
| Total | 55 | 36 | 8 |
| Gender | | | |
| Female* | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| Male | 50 | 42 | 9 |
| Total | 55 | 36 | 8 |
| Race | | | |
| White | 49 | 44 | 6 |
| Black | 79 | 14 | 7 |
| Hispanic** | 59 | 29 | 12 |
| Other | 55 | 25 | 20 |
| Total | 55 | 36 | 8 |
| Education | | | |
| At Most High School | 47 | 44 | 8 |
| Some College | 57 | 38 | 6 |
| College | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| Postgrad | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Total | 55 | 36 | 8 |
| Subgroups | | | |
| Male/White | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| Male/Black | 76 | 16 | 8 |
| Male/Hispanic | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Female/White | 54 | 40 | 6 |
| Female/Black | 81 | 13 | 6 |
| Female/Hispanic | 66 | 21 | 14 |
| Total | 55 | 36 | 8 |

* The category Female includes respondents who declined to answer or identified as “not male.”

** The categories White and Black do not include respondents who also identify as Hispanic.

Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,089, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.41.
 Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Reviewing the cross-tabs for voter presidential preference in New York, Harris outperforms Trump among nearly every demographic group, including both men and women and voters of all ages, races, ethnicities, and education levels. The only exception is white men, who prefer Trump to Harris by a 49%-44% margin.

Beneath Harris’s broad-based support in New York, however, significant and familiar differences emerge. For example, the survey reveals a pronounced gender gap, with women voters supporting Harris at a much higher level (60%-32%) than men do (50%-42%). Similarly, the “diploma gap” is pronounced, as those with a graduate education support Harris more uniformly (63%-27%) than those with at most a high school education (47%-44%).

These results underscore that, even in a deep blue state like New York, underlying demographic differences shape political attitudes.

The Survey

The data for this survey comes from the CMC-Rose Institute Fall 2024 Poll. The survey was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented online by YouGov between October 7, 2024 and October 17, 2024.

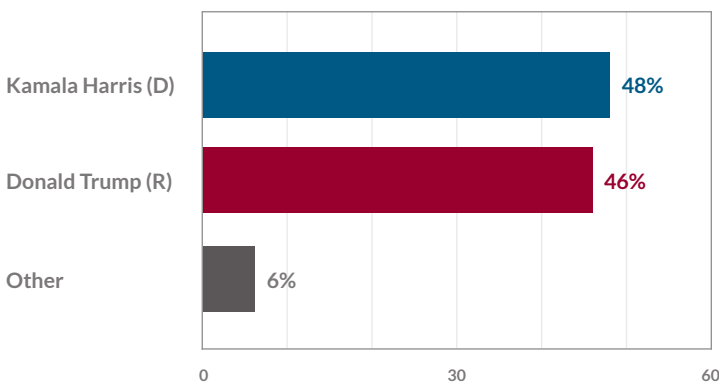
The total sample of 1,089 registered voters was collected as part of a larger national survey, including respondents from the national sample and an additional 1,000 voters as a New York oversample. The data was weighted by gender, age, race, education, and past presidential vote. YouGov created the “modeled frame” (the target YouGov uses in selecting respondents for inclusion and uses to create the survey weights) by using the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 Cooperative Election Survey (CES) surveys, including demographics and the 2020 presidential vote. The survey has a margin of error of 3.41 for the registered voters. To create a likely voter weight, respondents were screened for vote intention, and the data reweighted; the likely voter sample has a margin of error of 3.43.

The CMC-Rose Institute 2024 Poll is funded by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont McKenna College Faculty Major Grant Award, and Betsy Sinclair, Washington University in St. Louis.

Presidential Race Remains Close with Wide Partisan Divide on Confidence in Vote Count

Poll finds roughly equal support for Harris and Trump.

Presidential candidate preferences among PA registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,062, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.40.

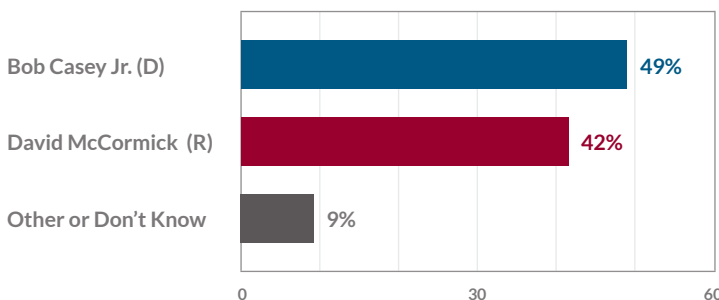
The contest between Vice President Kamala Harris and former President Donald Trump remains very close in Pennsylvania. In our poll of registered voters, Harris leads Trump 48%-46% with a margin of error of 3.40. About 6% of voters are unsure or support third-party candidates. The poll was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented by YouGov. It includes 1,062 voters in Pennsylvania as part of a larger national poll.

When Pennsylvania’s undecided or third-party voters are asked whether they lean toward either Harris or Trump, Harris retains her advantage, 50%-47%. If the sample is restricted to likely voters, using likely voter weights, Harris’s advantage is 50%-48% (N=1,043; MoE=3.44). Taking into account not only the usual sampling error but also late-breaking undecided voters and changes in turnout, these results suggest either candidate could win Pennsylvania.

Our data shows Harris is the preferred candidate of younger (18-29) registered voters by 63%-30%; Black registered voters by 89%-8%; and women by 50-43%. Overall, our results, like most others, show a tight race in the Keystone State.

Incumbent Bob Casey (D) leads U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania.

State senate candidate preferences among PA registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,062, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.40.

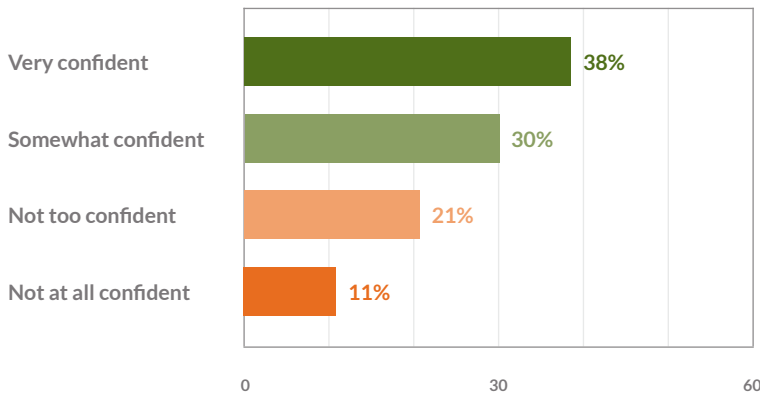
Pennsylvania’s incumbent Democratic U.S. Senator Bob Casey leads Republican challenger Dave McCormick 49%-42%, with the remaining voters either undecided or supporting third-party candidates. First elected to the Senate in 2006, Casey won reelection in 2018 with 56% of the vote. The margin of error for registered voters is 3.40. When the analysis is restricted to likely voters, Casey’s advantage is 50%-42%. (N=1,043, MoE=3.44).

Survey respondents give Casey and Vice President Harris similar levels of support (48%, 49%, respectively), with Trump voters more likely to be undecided in the Senate contest. The strong pull of partisanship in American politics suggests the Senate race may tighten before election day as undecided voters make their final choices.

A majority of Pennsylvania voters believe their ballots will be counted accurately and fairly; however, a wide partisan divide exists regarding confidence in the election.

“How confident are you that ballots in Pennsylvania will be counted accurately and fairly in this November’s election?”

Responses among PA registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,062, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 3.40 .

While overall most Pennsylvania voters (68%) are at least somewhat confident that their votes will be counted fairly and accurately, Democrats and Republicans are deeply divided regarding their confidence in the election.

Only 1% of Democrats are “not at all confident” that their votes will be counted fairly. Nearly two-thirds (65%) are “very confident” in Pennsylvania elections.

By contrast, the majority of Republicans (57%) are either “not at all” confident or “not too” confident that their ballots will be counted fairly and accurately. Few Republicans (9%) are “very” confident.

The Survey

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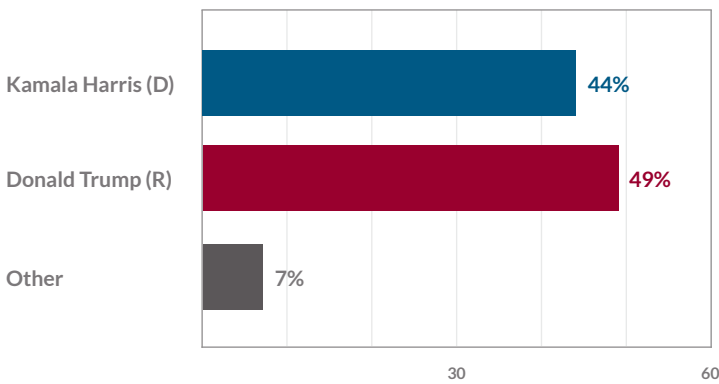
The total sample of 1,062 registered voters was collected as part of a larger national survey, including respondents from the national sample and an additional 1,000 voters as a Pennsylvania oversample. The data is weighted by gender, age, race, education, and past presidential vote. YouGov created the “modeled frame” (the target YouGov uses to select respondents for inclusion and to create the survey weights) by using the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 CES surveys, including demographics and the 2020 presidential vote. The Pennsylvania survey has a margin of error of 3.40 for registered voters. To create a likely voter weight, respondents were screened for vote intention, and the data reweighted; the likely voter sample has a margin of error of 3.44.

The CMC-Rose Institute 2024 Poll is funded by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont McKenna College Faculty Major Grant Award, and Betsy Sinclair, Washington University in St. Louis.

Texas Continues to Lean Red as Trump, Cruz Mantain Narrow Leads

Trump ahead of Harris in Texas, although the race is competitive.

Presidential candidate preferences among TX registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,018, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.49.

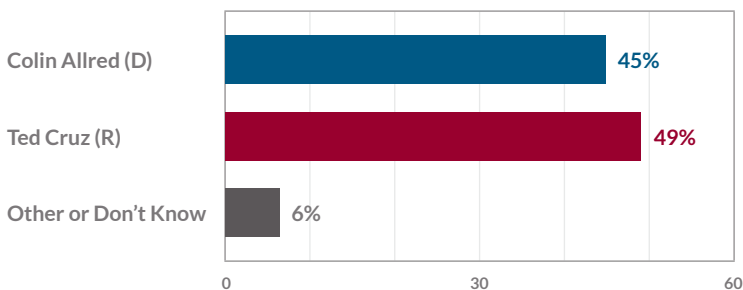
In our poll of registered Texas voters, Trump leads Harris 49%-44% with a margin of error of 3.49. About 7% of respondents remain undecided or prefer a third-party candidate. The poll was designed by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College (CMC) and implemented by YouGov. It includes 1,108 voters in Texas as part of a larger national poll.

When Texas’s undecided or third-party voters are asked whether they lean toward either major candidate, Trump maintains his advantage, 50%-45%. Restricting the sample to likely voters and reweighting puts Trump’s advantage at 51%-46% (N=1,075; MoE=3.53). These results are consistent with other publicly available, large-sample survey results from early- to mid-October.

Our data shows that in Texas Harris is the preferred candidate of younger (18-29) registered voters by 53%-40%; Black voters by 76%-17%; and women by 48%-44%. While Harris leads among these groups in Texas, her margins are not as large as in more competitive states. Most notably, among Texas’s Hispanic/Latino registered voters, Harris’s advantage is negligible (47% for Harris, 45% for Trump).

Cruz narrowly leads Allred for U.S. Senate.

State senate candidate preferences among TX registered voters (%)



Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,018, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ±3.49.

We find nearly identical partisan results in Texas’s U.S. presidential election and its U.S. Senate election, despite recent media reports suggesting a tightening race between incumbent Republican Senator Ted Cruz and Democratic challenger Colin Allred. Our poll shows Cruz holds a 49%-45% lead, with a margin of error of 3.49. The vast majority of respondents (89%) support either the Harris/Allred or Trump/Cruz pairing, with very few split-ticket voters.

Some have contended that Allred can win the race due to Senator Cruz’s alleged personal unlikeability. We asked respondents: “Regardless of whether or not you are going to vote for him, just evaluating him as a person: do you like or dislike Senator Ted Cruz?” Voters split on the question along partisan lines. Seventy-eight percent of Democrats dislike Ted Cruz, while only 8% like him. However, 72% of Republicans like Ted Cruz, while only 12% dislike him. These results help explain the strong correlation in our survey data between support for Cruz and for Trump.

Crosstabs

Texas Senate Vote 2024

| | Allred (D) | Cruz (R) | Other/Unsure |
|---------------------|------------|----------|--------------|
| Age | | | |
| Age 18-29 | 52 | 39 | 8 |
| Age 30-44 | 52 | 41 | 7 |
| Age 45-64 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| Age 65 + | 36 | 60 | 3 |
| Total | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| Gender | | | |
| Female* | 49 | 42 | 9 |
| Male | 41 | 57 | 2 |
| Total | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| Race | | | |
| White | 37 | 58 | 5 |
| Black | 75 | 15 | 10 |
| Hispanic | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| Other | 38 | 54 | 8 |
| Total | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| Education | | | |
| At Most High School | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| Some College | 46 | 46 | 7 |
| College | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| Postgrad | 49 | 49 | 2 |
| Total | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| Subgroups | | | |
| Male/White | 34 | 64 | 1 |
| Male/Black | 70 | 27 | 3 |
| Male/Hispanic | 47 | 50 | 3 |
| Female/White | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| Female/Black | 78 | 6 | 16 |
| Female/Hispanic | 49 | 43 | 9 |
| Total | 45 | 49 | 6 |

* The category Female includes respondents who declined to answer or identified as “not male.”

** The categories White and Black do not include respondents who also identify as Hispanic.

Source: CMC-Rose Institute Poll, Oct. 7-17, 2024. Online interviews: N=1,018, including oversamples. Implemented by YouGov, weighted, with margin of error of ± 3.49 .
Note: Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

Crosstabs of the Texas Senate poll highlight a dilemma for the state’s Democrats: perhaps demography is not destiny after all. Many Democrats have believed that Texas’s fast-changing demographics would cause the state to turn blue through an expanding coalition of racial and ethnic minorities, women, and younger voters. However, this long-expected outcome has not materialized. While Black voters solidly support Democrats such as Allred (75% for Allred - 15% for Cruz), the state’s Hispanic/Latino voters divide almost evenly between the two parties (49% for Allred, 45% for Cruz). More generally, in the Lone Star State, Democrats perform less well among demographic groups they win decisively elsewhere—thereby, for now, keeping Texas red.

The Survey

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The total sample of 1,108 registered voters was collected as part of a larger national survey, including respondents from the national sample and an additional 1,000 voters as a Texas oversample. The data is weighted by gender, age, race, education, past presidential vote, as well as party identification and ideology. YouGov created the “modeled frame” (the target YouGov uses to select respondents for inclusion and to create the survey weights) by using the American Community Survey (ACS) public use microdata file, public voter file records, the 2020 Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplements, the 2020 National Election Pool (NEP) exit poll, and the 2020 Cooperative Election Study (CES) surveys, including demographics and the 2020 presidential vote. The survey has a margin of error of 3.49 for registered voters. To create a likely voter weight, respondents were screened for vote intention, and the data reweighted; the likely voter sample has a margin of error of 3.53.

The CMC-Rose Institute 2024 Poll is funded by the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, Claremont McKenna College Faculty Major Grant Award, and Betsy Sinclair, Washington University in St. Louis.

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Kenneth P. Miller is the Don H. and Edessa Rose Professor of State and Local Government at Claremont McKenna College, where he serves as Director of the Rose Institute of State and Local Government. Miller’s scholarship focuses on state and local politics, constitutional law, and political polarization. His publications include *Texas vs. California: A History of Their Struggle for the Future of America* (Oxford 2020), *Direct Democracy and the Courts* (Cambridge 2009), as well as numerous articles and book chapters on topics including the initiative process, political geography, state constitutionalism, state supreme courts, and voting rights. Miller received a B.A. in government from Pomona College, a J.D. from Harvard Law School, and a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California at Berkeley.

ABOUT THE ROSE INSTITUTE

The Rose Institute of State and Local Government is a leading source of objective, non-partisan information on California state and local governments. Founded at Claremont McKenna College in 1973, the Institute’s mission is to enhance the education of students at CMC, produce high quality research, and promote public understanding on issues of state and local government, politics, and policy, with an emphasis on California.

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