

**Rutgers-Eagleton Poll #176**  
**October 6-9, 2011**  
**Sample: 900 New Jersey ADULTS**

**Questions are presented in the order they were administered. Numbering may not necessarily be sequential and question numbers may be missing due to cuts prior to fielding and numbering convention.**

**Introduction**

**[LANDLINE INTRO]**

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. I'm conducting an Eagleton Poll for **RUTGERS** University. I'd like to ask a few questions of the **YOUNGEST MALE** age 18 or older, who is now at home.

**(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW:** Then, may I speak with the **OLDEST FEMALE** age 18 or older, who is now at home?)

**WHEN RESPONDENT ON PHONE:** Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. We are talking to New Jersey residents to conduct a research study on public policy issues. Your participation is important as only 900 people will be selected to take part in this study. This should take about 14 minutes and your answers are confidential and will only be reported in combination with others. Your participation is voluntary, you may end at any time, and you may skip questions you do not want to answer. May I ask the first question? [IF YES] Thanks!

**[CELL PHONE INTRO]**

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_. I'm conducting an Eagleton Poll for **RUTGERS** University.

**[VERIFY RESPONDENT IS NOT DRIVING OR DISTRACTED]**

We are talking to New Jersey residents to conduct a research study on public policy issues. Your participation is important as only 900 people will be selected to take part in this study. This should take about 14 minutes and your answers are confidential and will only be reported in combination with others. Your participation is voluntary, you may end at any time, and you may skip questions you do not want to answer. May I ask the first question? [IF YES] Thanks!

**IF NECESSARY: We are not selling anything, not asking for money, and all your answers will be**

**IF RESPONDENT DECLINES TO PARTICIPATE, POSSIBLE PROBES:**

--Your participation is very important because only 900 people have been randomly selected for this survey and your views will represent many people throughout the state.

**IF "DON'T KNOW ENOUGH":**

-- There are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your opinions. They are just as important as anybody else's.

**IF NOT INTERESTED, DON'T WANT TO:**

-- Please help me; we could really use your cooperation and we are interested in what you think.

Q1 Are you NOW registered to vote where you live or haven't you been able to register so far?

- 1 Now registered to vote
- 2 Haven't been able to register so far
- 8 Don't know (VOL)
- 9 Refused (VOL)

Q2 And what is your zip code?

\_\_\_\_\_ Enter Zipcode → **IF NOT NJ ZIP CODE:** Thanks, we're only talking to NJ residents today. Thanks for your time. **TERMINATE.**

- 8 Don't know → **TERMINATE**
- 9 Refused → **TERMINATE**

**Eagleton Poll 40th Anniversary**

Q3 What, in your opinion, are the two or three most important problems facing the State of New Jersey ?

[record open-ended]

**Gay Marriage Part One - List Experiment**

[SPLIT SAMPLE 1/4 to VERSION A, 1/4 to VERSION B, 1/4 to VERSION C, 1/4 to VERSION D]

[Version A]

Q4A Next, I am going to read four policies. I would like to know how MANY of these policies you OPPOSE. I am not interested in WHICH ONES you oppose, only HOW MANY. Are you

ready?

**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF STATEMENTS; READ ALL BEFORE RESPONSE]**

Merging small school districts.  
Increasing the gasoline tax.  
Cutting state government services.  
Legalizing marriage for lesbian women.

Now, how many do you OPPOSE? Just give me a number from 0 to 4.

**RESPONSE – KEY NUMBER FROM 0 to 4**

**9 Refused**

**[Version B]**

Q4B Next, I am going to read four policies. I would like to know how MANY of these policies you OPPOSE. I am not interested in WHICH ONES you oppose, only HOW MANY. Are you ready?

**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF STATEMENTS; READ ALL BEFORE RESPONSE]**

Merging small school districts.  
Increasing the gasoline tax.  
Cutting state government services.  
Legalizing marriage for gay men.

Now, how many do you OPPOSE? Just give me a number from 0 to 4.

**RESPONSE – KEY NUMBER FROM 0 to 4**

**9 Refused**

**[Version C]**

Q4C Next, I am going to read four policies. I would like to know how MANY of these policies you OPPOSE. I am not interested in WHICH ONES you oppose, only HOW MANY. Are you ready?

**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF STATEMENTS; READ ALL BEFORE RESPONSE]**

Merging small school districts.  
Increasing the gasoline tax.  
Cutting state government services.  
Legalizing gay marriage.

Now, how many do you OPPOSE? Just give me a number from 0 to 4.

**RESPONSE – KEY NUMBER FROM 0 to 4**

**9 Refused**

**[Version D]**

Q4D Next, I am going to read three policies. I would like to know how MANY of these policies you OPPOSE. I am not interested in WHICH ONES you oppose, only HOW MANY. Are you ready?

**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF STATEMENTS; READ ALL BEFORE RESPONSE]**

Merging small school districts.  
Increasing the gasoline tax.  
Cutting state government services.

Now, how many do you OPPOSE? Just give me a number from 0 to 3.

**RESPONSE – KEY NUMBER FROM 0 to 4**

**9 Refused**

**[END SPLIT SAMPLE]**

<b>LEADERSHIP PERCEPTION</b>
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Q5 Would you say the state of New Jersey is currently going in the right direction or has it gone off on the wrong track?

- 1 Right Direction
- 2 Wrong Track
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Q6 I'd like to ask about some people and groups. Please tell me if your general impression of each one is favorable or unfavorable, or if you do not have an opinion. First,

**[ROTATE]**

- Q6A President Barack Obama.
- Q6B The United States Congress.
- Q6C Governor Chris Christie.
- Q6D The Tea Party Movement.
- Q6F Democrats in the State Legislature.
- Q6G Republicans in the State Legislature.

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable
- 3 No Opinion
- 8 Don't Know Person (VOL)
- 9 Refused

**[ROTATE ORDER OF Q7 AND Q8]**

Q7 Please rate how Barack Obama is handling his job as President, using a grading scale from A to F. You can give him any full letter grade, A, B, C, D, or F.

- 1 A
- 2 B
- 3 C
- 4 D
- 5 F
- 8 Don't know (VOL)
- 9 Refused (VOL)

Q8 Please rate how Chris Christie is handling his job as governor, using a grading scale from A to F. You can give him any full letter grade, A, B, C, D, or F.

- 1 A
- 2 B
- 3 C
- 4 D
- 5 F
- 8 Don't know (VOL)
- 9 Refused (VOL)

Q9 For the following, tell me if you agree or disagree. First,

**[ROTATE]**

Q9A I get angry thinking about the New Jersey state government in Trenton.

Q9B The New Jersey state government in Trenton no longer works.

**[Response Options]**

- 1 Agree
- 2 Disagree
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Q10 In politics today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

- 1 Democrat → **SKIP TO Q12**
- 2 Republican → **SKIP TO Q12**
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something Else / Other
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Q11 Would you say that you lean toward the Democrats, the Republicans, or neither party?

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Neither
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Q12 Thinking about the 2012 Presidential election, does President Obama deserve to be re-elected to another term?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

**IF NOT REPUBLICAN (Q10=2) OR R LEANER (Q11=2), → SKIP TO Q14A**

**[REPUBLICANS AND R LEANERS ONLY]**

Q13 In the Presidential election, which Republican would you prefer as the nominee to run against President Obama? Just tell me the name; if you don't know that's ok, just say so.

**[Do Not Read List; Code to list]**

- 1 Michelle Bachman
- 2 Michael Bloomberg
- 3 John Bolton
- 4 Scott Brown
- 5 Jeb Bush
- 6 Chris Christie
- 7 Newt Gingrich
- 8 Rudy Guilliani
- 9 Mike Huckabee
- 10 John Huntsman

- 11 Sarah Palin
- 12 Ron Paul
- 13 Tim Pawlenty
- 14 Rick Perry
- 15 David Petraeus
- 16 Mitt Romney
- 17 Rick Santorum
- 96 Other [**Record Name**]
- 97 None/Not support any Republican
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

**[REPUBLICANS AND R LEANERS ONLY]**

Q14 Given the Republicans who now say they are running for president in 2012, how satisfied are you with your choices? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied or not satisfied?

- 1 Very Satisfied
- 2 Somewhat Satisfied
- 3 Not Satisfied
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

<b>CHRISTIE President</b>
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Q14A Governor Chris Christie has announced he is not going to run for president in 2012. Are you very happy, somewhat happy, somewhat unhappy or very unhappy that Governor Christie will NOT be a candidate for president?

- 1 Very happy
- 2 Somewhat happy
- 3 Somewhat unhappy
- 4 Very unhappy
- 8 Don't Know/Don't Care
- 9 Refused

Q14B How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: Governor Christie's personality would help him be a successful president.

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree
- 4 Strongly Disagree
- 8 Don't Know

**CHRISTIE Traits, Emotions**

Q15 Now I am going to list some words that might describe Governor Chris Christie. For each word, tell me how well it describes him. Is it very well, somewhat well, or not at all?

**[ROTATE]  
[FOR EACH READ THE WORD AND PROMPT FOR ANSWER AS NEEDED]**

- Q15A Bully
- Q15B Strong Leader
- Q15C Stubborn
- Q15D Reformer
- Q15E Independent
- Q15F Arrogant
- Q15G Smart
- Q15H Trustworthy
- Q15I Self-centered
- Q15J Vindictive

**[Response Options]**

- 1 Very well
- 2 Somewhat well
- 3 Not at all
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Q16 How does reading or hearing about the Governor make you feel? Please tell me yes or no for each of the following:

**[ROTATE; PROMPT AS NEEDED: DOES READING ABOUT GOVERNOR CHRISTIE MAKE YOU FEEL...]**

- Q16A Proud
- Q16B Angry
- Q16C Enthusiastic
- Q16D Worried

**[RESPONSE OPTIONS]**

- 0 No
- 1 Yes



- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

**Likely Voter Screen**

Q17 There will be elections for the state legislature in November. But for many reasons people often do not vote in elections. How likely is it that you will vote in November's election? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or are you certain you will not vote?

- 1 Very likely
- 2 Somewhat likely
- 3 Not very likely
- 4 Will not vote → **SKIP TO Q22**
- 8 Don't know → **SKIP TO Q22**
- 9 Refused → **SKIP TO Q22**

**IF NOT REGISTERED VOTER (Q1 <> 1) → SKIP TO Q22**

**2011 Legislative Elections**

Q18 Now, please think about the election for your representatives to the General Assembly. Do you plan to vote for **[ROTATE: Democrats or Republicans]** for the New Jersey Assembly or do you plan to skip the election this time?

- 1 Republicans
- 2 Democrats
- 3 Other (vol)
- 4 A Democrat and a Republican (vol)
- 5 Skip the election
- 8 Don't know/Not sure
- 9 Refused

**[ASK ONLY IF DK/NOT SURE]**

Q18A Are you leaning toward voting for Democrats for the New Jersey Assembly or for Republicans? **[ROTATE PARTIES; same order as Q18]**

- 1 Republicans
- 2 Democrats
- 3 Other (vol)
- 4 A Democrat and a Republican (vol)
- 5 Skip the election
- 8 Don't know/ not sure
- 9 Refused

Q19 Now think about the election for your representative to the State Senate. Do you plan to vote for **[ROTATE: the Democrat or the Republican]** for the New Jersey Senate or do you plan to skip the election this time?

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Other (vol)
- 5 Skip the election
- 8 Don't know/ not sure
- 9 Refused

**[ASK ONLY IF DK/NOT SURE]**

Q19A Are you leaning toward voting for the Democrat for the New Jersey State Senate or for the Republican? **[ROTATE PARTIES; same order as Q19]**

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Other (vol)
- 5 Skip the Election
- 8 Don't know/ not sure
- 9 Refused

Q20 Republicans say they need to win in November so that the governor's plans for change will not be blocked. Democrats say they need to win so they can continue to act as a check on Governor Christie's plans. Thinking about this, would you prefer that the Democrats or the Republicans win control of the legislature this coming fall?

- 1 Republicans
- 2 Democrats
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Q 21 Some people say they will vote this fall because they want to demonstrate **[ROTATE: support for, or opposition to]** Governor Christie. What about you? Would you say you are turning out to vote to demonstrate support for Christie, opposition to Christie, or would you say your vote has nothing to do with the Governor?

- 1 Support for Christie
- 2 Opposition to Christie
- 3 Christie has nothing to do with my vote
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

**Gambling**

Q22 There will be a constitutional amendment on the ballot in November that, if passed, will allow gambling on sporting events in Atlantic City casinos and at race tracks. Do you support or oppose allowing betting on sporting events in New Jersey?

- 1 Support
- 2 Oppose
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

### **Gay Marriage Part Two**

**[Split sample, Q23. Randomly Assign 1/2 to Version A and 1/2 to Version B]**

**[Version A]**

Q23A On another topic, some people say gay marriage should be legal in New Jersey. Others oppose legalizing gay marriage. What is your position? Do you:

**[READ options 1-2]**

- 1 Support gay marriage or
- 2 Oppose gay marriage.
- 3 Support civil unions and oppose gay marriage (VOL)
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

**[Version B]**

Q23B On another topic, some people support marriage equality in New Jersey. Others oppose marriage equality. What is your position? Do you:

**[READ options 1-2]**

- 1 Support marriage equality, or
- 2 Oppose marriage equality.
- 3 Support civil unions and oppose same-sex marriage (Vol)
- 4 Not familiar with term "marriage equality" (Vol)
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

**[END SPLIT SAMPLE]**

Do either of the following apply to you?

Q24 You have someone in your family who is gay or lesbian.

Q25 You have a friend or close acquaintance who is gay or lesbian.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

## Demographics

We're almost finished. Now we have some questions to help us understand our results.

Q26 Thinking of politics, do you consider yourself to be liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Conservative
- 3 Somewhere in between
- 4 Other (Vol)
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Q27 What was the last grade in school you completed? **[CODE TO LIST]**

- 1 8th Grade Or Less
- 2 High School Incomplete (Grades 9, 10 and 11)
- 3 High School Complete (Grade 12)
- 4 Vocational/Technical School
- 5 Some College
- 6 Junior College Graduate (2 Year, Associates Degree)
- 7 4 Year College Graduate (Bachelor's Degree)
- 8 Graduate Work (Masters, Law/Medical School, Etc.)
- 9 Refused

Q28 And what is your age?

\_\_\_\_ (ENTER AGE: 98=98+, 99 = REFUSED)

**[IF Don't Know/REFUSED IN Q29, ASK:]**

Q29 Is it between...?

- 1 18 - 20
- 2 21 - 24
- 3 25 - 29
- 4 THIRTIES (30 - 39)

- 5 FORTIES (40 - 49)
- 6 FIFTIES (50 - 59)
- 7 60 - 64
- 8 65 OR OVER
- 9 Refused

Q30 What is your primary employment status? Are you:

- 1 Employed full time
- 2 Employed part time
- 3 Laid off from a job
- 4 A homemaker or stay at home parent
- 5 Retired
- 7 Otherwise Not Employed
- 8 Disabled
- 9 Refused

Q31 Are you Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion, Atheist or agnostic?

- 1 Catholic
- 2 Protestant
- 3 Jewish → **SKIP TO Q35**
- 4 Muslim → **SKIP TO Q35**
- 5 Some other religion → **SKIP TO Q35**
- 6 Atheist → **SKIP TO Q35**
- 7 Agnostic → **SKIP TO Q35**
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Q32 Would you describe yourself as a born again or evangelical Christian?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Q33 How often do you attend church, synagogue, or other worship services: at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom or never?

- 1 At least once a week
- 2 Almost every week
- 3 About once a month
- 4 Seldom
- 5 Never
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Q34 Do you or any member of your household belong to labor union?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No → **SKIP TO Q36**
- 8 Don't Know → **SKIP TO Q36**
- 9 Refuse → **SKIP TO Q36**

Q35 Is the union a public employee union?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refuse

Q36 Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or other Spanish background?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Q37 Are you white, Black or of Asian origin, or are you some other race, or multi-racial?

- 1 White
- 2 Black (accept African-American)
- 3 Asian
- 4 Hispanic / Latino / Spanish (Vol)
- 5 OTHER, SPECIFY: \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 Multi-racial
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Q38 Last year, that is in 2010, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes?  
Just stop me when I get to the right category. **[READ LIST]**

- 1 Less than \$25,000
- 2 25 to under \$50,000
- 3 50 to under \$100,000
- 4 100 to under \$150,000
- 5 \$150,000 or more
- 8 Don't know [VOL. – DO NOT READ]
- 9 Refused [VOL. – DO NOT READ]

Q39 How many telephone NUMBERS, including all cell phone numbers and non-cell phone

numbers (often called landline numbers), does your household currently have?

**[Record Number]**

98 Don't know/not sure

99 Refused

Q40 Of those telephone numbers, how many are for cell phones?

**[Record Number]**

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

**[IF ANSWER IS ONE OR MORE, AND R REACHED ON LANDLINE ASK Q41]**

Q41 Which type of phone do you currently place and receive the most phone calls from? Is it a cell phone or a land line phone?

1 Cell phone

2 Landline phone

3 Both Equally (Vol)

8 Don't Know

9 Refused

Q42 We are looking for survey participants willing to be contacted in the future for other surveys. Your opinions are of great value to us and can provide guidance to policy makers. Would you be willing to be contacted for future surveys?

0 No → **SKIP TO Q49**

1 Yes

Q43 In order to keep in touch in the future I need to confirm your phone number. Is **[current number]** the best number to reach you?

0 No

1 Yes - best number/correct number → **SKIP TO Q46**

9 Refused → **SKIP TO Q49**

Q44 What number should we use?

**[ENTER NUMBER]**

Q45 Is this a cell phone?

0 No

1 Yes

9 Refused

Q46 Would you mind telling me your full name so we can ask to speak with you when we call?

[record name]

9 Refused

Q47 The Rutgers-Eagleton Poll sometimes works with other universities to conduct academic surveys. We're working to find of people who might participate in some of this research by occasionally completing surveys on the internet.

If you are willing to help, we will ask for your email address. We will only use this email to contact you about academic projects and we will not share it with anyone other than our partner universities. Of course, you are not obligated to participate in any study that you don't want to and we will remove your email from our list upon request.

Are you willing to receive email invitations to participate in future projects? There may be incentives offered for participation in some of these studies.

0 No → **SKIP TO Q49**

1 Yes

Q48 Great; we appreciate your help. Could I please have your email address?

**[INTERVIEWER: VERIFY EMAIL ADDRESS LETTER BY LETTER]**

Q49 Gender (BY OBSERVATION)

1 Male

2 Female

### **Closing and Additional Informed Consent Language**

That completes our survey. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. If you have any questions, you may contact Dr. David Redlawsk (*pronounced RED-losk*) at 732-932-9384. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the administrator of the Rutgers Institutional Review Board at: 732-932-0150, ext. 2104. Have a good day/evening.

### **Methodology Statement**

#### **Rutgers-Eagleton Poll August 9-15, 2011**

New Jersey Statewide Registered Voters Poll

The Rutgers-Eagleton Poll was conducted by telephone from August 9-15, 2011 with a scientifically selected random sample of 615 New Jersey registered voters. Data are weighted to represent known parameters in the New Jersey population, using gender, age, race, and Hispanic ethnicity matching to



US Census Bureau data. Data are also weighted to the current NJ voter registration records by party. All results are reported with these weighted data. This telephone poll included 574 landline respondents supplemented with 41 cell phone respondents, acquired through random digit dialing.

All surveys are subject to sampling error, which is the expected probable difference between interviewing everyone in a population versus a scientific sampling drawn from that population. The sampling error for 615 registered voters is +/-3.9 percent, at a 95 percent confidence interval. Thus if 50 percent of New Jersey voters favored a particular position, one would be 95 percent sure that the true figure would be between 53.9 and 46.1 percent ( $50 \pm 3.9$ ) had all New Jersey voters been interviewed, rather than just a sample. Sampling error increases as the sample size decreases, so statements based on various population subgroups are subject to more error than are statements based on the total sample. Sampling error does not take into account other sources of variation inherent in public opinion studies, such as non-response, question wording or context effects.

This Rutgers-Eagleton Poll was fielded by the Eagleton Institute of Politics Center for Public Interest Polling at Rutgers University using an in-house CATI system. The questionnaire was developed and all data analysis was completed in house. The Rutgers-Eagleton Poll is paid for and sponsored by the Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University, a non-partisan academic center focused on the study and teaching of politics and the political process.