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

Hello, my name is _______________. I'm conducting a Rutgers-Eagleton Poll for New Jersey. I'm not selling anything and just need a few minutes. I'd like to ask a few questions of the YOUNGEST MALE over 18 who is a registered voter and is now at home.

(IF NO MALE AT HOME NOW: Then may I speak with you? Are you a registered voter?)

[REINTRO AS NEEDED]
Hello, my name is _______________. I am conducting a Rutgers-Eagleton Poll for Rutgers University. I am not selling anything, and just need a few minutes. Would you talk with me for a bit?

1 YES, CONTINUE WITH RESPONDENT
0 UNWILLING, END INTERVIEW

Introduction – CELL PHONE

Hello, my name is _______________. I’m conducting a Rutgers-Eagleton Poll of New Jersey. I am not selling anything and just need a few minutes. I know I am reaching you on a cell phone. We need to talk to registered voters with cell phones to ensure we represent all of New Jersey. Are you currently driving, walking, or in any public place that might distract you?

0 DISTRACTED → RESCHEDULE/TERMINATE
1 NOT DISTRACTED, now is a good time to talk

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

IF RESPONDENT DECLINES TO PARTICIPATE, POSSIBLE PROBES:
--Your participation is very important because only 800 people statewide 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:
-- Can you help me; we could really use your cooperation and we are interested in what you think.

SCREENER – REGISTERED VOTER

QD1 First, just to verify, 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 → TERMINATE
8 Don't know (VOL) → TERMINATE
9 Refused (VOL) → TERMINATE

ON TERMINATE: Thank you, we are only talking to registered voters today.

QD7 To ensure we are reaching people of all ages, would you please tell me your age?

_____ (ENTER AGE: 98=98+, 99 = REFUSED)

[IF Don’t Know/REFUSED IN QD7, ASK:]

QD8 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 (VOL)

[IF REFUSED IN BOTH QD7 and QD8 TERMINATE, We must know age. IF UNDER 18, TERMINATE, too young.]

QD5 May I please have your home zip code?

____________________ (RECORD)

8 Don’t Know (VOL)
9 Refused (VOL)

QD5A And what county do you live in?
[Choose from list of NJ Counties]

IF NOT NEW JERSEY BASED ON COUNTY, TERMINATE: Thank you, we are only talking to New Jersey residents today.
[CONSENT]

WHEN RESPONDENT ON PHONE: Great. We are talking to New Jersey registered voters to conduct a research study on public policy issues. Your participation is important as only about 900 people statewide will be selected to take part in this study. This should only take less than 15 minutes. 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!

0 No  →  Attempt Convert
1 YES

[CODE GENDER BY OBSERVATION]

QD26 Respondent Gender

1 Male
2 Female

LEADERSHIP PERCEPTION

Q1 Thanks! First, 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: [RANDOMIZE ORDER Q1A-Q1G]

Q1A President Barack Obama.
Q1B Governor Chris Christie.
Q1C State Senator Barbara Buono (BWO-no).
Q1D Senator-elect and Newark Mayor Cory Booker.
Q1E The New Jersey State Legislature.
Q1F Lieutenant Governor Kim Guadagno [Gwa-DAHN-no].
Q1G Union leader Milly Silva.

1 Favorable
2 Unfavorable
3 No Opinion
8 Don't Know Person
9 Refused

Q3 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
9  Refused

Q4  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
9  Refused

Q5  And overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Chris Christie is handling his job as governor?

1  Approve
2  Disapprove
8  Don’t know
9  Refused

Q6  Now I am going to list some specific areas where I would like you to tell me if you approve or disapprove of the job Chris Christie is doing as Governor. First:

[RANDOMIZE ORDER Q6A-Q6F]

Q6A  New Jersey’s economy and jobs
Q6B  Hurricane Sandy recovery
Q6C  Taxes
Q6D  Education and Schools
Q6E  The state budget
Q6F  Crime and drugs

1  Approve
2  Disapprove
8  Don't know
9  Refused
RIGHT/WRONG TRACK

Q7 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 Going in the right direction  
2 On the wrong track  
8 Don’t Know  
9 Refused

Q8 Of the following, which is the MOST important problem facing New Jersey today? Is it: [RANDOMIZE OPTION ORDER FOR 1-8, READ 1-9]

1 Hurricane Sandy recovery  
2 The economy and jobs  
3 Taxes, including property taxes  
4 Education and Schools  
5 Crime and Drugs  
6 Government spending  
7 Health Care  
8 Legalizing same-sex marriage  
9 Or is it something else? [SPECIFY]  
88 Don’t know (vol)  
99 Refused (vol)

REGISTERED & LIKELY VOTER SCREENING

QD2 In politics today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

1 Democrat \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO QD4  
2 Republican \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO QD4  
3 Independent  
4 Something Else/Other  
8 Don’t know  
9 Refused

QD3 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
QD4  Do you consider yourself to be liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Somewhere in between</th>
<th>Other (VOL)</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Refused</th>
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LV1  And when was the last time you voted in any election? Was it earlier this year, sometime last year, before last year, or have you never voted in the past?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>This year (2013)</th>
<th>Sometime last year (2012)</th>
<th>Before last year (2011 or earlier)</th>
<th>Have never voted</th>
<th>Have already voted by mail in this year’s Gov election (Vol)</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Refused</th>
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</table>

LV6  There will be an election for New Jersey governor soon. How closely have you followed news about the governor’s election so far? Is it very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very closely</th>
<th>Fairly closely</th>
<th>Not too closely</th>
<th>Not at all closely</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Refused</th>
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LV6A Did you watch or listen to any of the debates between Chris Christie and Barbara Buono?

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Don’t Know/Don’t Remember</th>
<th>Refused</th>
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</table>

LV7  And how likely is it that you will vote in the election for governor? Is it very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, are you certain you will not vote, or have you already voted by mail?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very likely [CODE IF SAYS CERTAIN TO VOTE]</th>
<th>Somewhat likely</th>
</tr>
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</table>
2013 Gubernatorial Election

Q9  Let’s talk about the election for governor. If the election for governor was today and the candidates were [ROTATE ORDER: Republican Chris Christie and Democrat Barbara Buono], for whom would you vote?

[NOTE: IF LV7 = 5 ASK THIS INSTEAD:] Thinking about the election for governor, for whom did you vote by mail? Was it [ROTATE ORDER: Republican Chris Christie or Democrat Barbara Buono?]

1  Buono
2  Christie
3  Someone Else (vol)  ➔ SKIP TO Q13
4  Not Vote (vol)  ➔ SKIP TO Q13
8  Don’t Know
9  Refused

[ASK ONLY IF DK (8) FOR Q9]

Q10  Do you lean more toward [CANDIDATE ORDER FROM Q9: Republican Chris Christie or Democrat Barbara Buono?]

1  Buono
2  Christie
3  Someone Else (vol)  ➔ SKIP Q13
8  Don’t Know  ➔ SKIP Q13
9  Refused  ➔ SKIP Q13

Q11  Would you say your vote is more for [Response from Q9 OR Q10: CHRISTIE/BUONO] or more against [other major candidate from Q9 OR Q10: BUONO/CHRISTIE]?

1  More For
2  More Against
8  Don’t know
9  Refused

Q11A  Would you say you are very enthusiastic about supporting [CAND from Q9/Q10], somewhat enthusiastic, not so enthusiastic, or not enthusiastic at all?
Q12 How likely are you to change your mind about who you will support for governor between now and Election Day? Are you:

1 Very likely,
2 Somewhat likely,
3 Not very likely, or
4 Not at all likely?
8 Don’t Know (vol)
9 Refused

Q13 Were you contacted by either candidate or political party during the campaign?

0 No  \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO Q14
1 Yes
8 Don’t know \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO Q14
9 Refused \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO Q14

Q13A Which campaign or campaigns contacted you? Just tell me each one [PROMPT: ANY OTHERS?]

[ALLOW MULTIPLE RESPONSES; DO NOT READ; MARK YES OR NO]

A Governor Christie’s campaign
B The Republican Party
C State Senator Buono’s campaign
D The Democratic Party
E Other candidates of either party (names other than Christie or Buono)
F A non-campaign organization (names a Union, PAC, other non-party group)
G Other [SPECIFY: ____ ]

Q14 For each of the following news sources, please tell me whether or not you have used it to get information about the governor’s race during this past election season.

Q14A Television
Q14B Newspapers
Q14C The Internet
Q14D Radio
Q15 Have you interacted with the candidates or received information about the election on any of the following online sites? For each, just tell me yes or no:

- Q15A Twitter
- Q15B Facebook
- Q15C YouTube
- Q15D Any blog or news site
- Q15E Any candidate website

Q16 Have you seen or heard any of Chris Christie’s ads for governor during the campaign?

Q17 And what about Barbara Buono? Have you seen or heard any of her ads for governor during the campaign?

[VERSION A]

Q21A There has been a lot of speculation about why Barbara Buono has been so far behind Chris Christie in the polls during this entire election season. I am going to read you three possible reasons for it. I would like to know how MANY of these reasons you agree with. Just tell me how many, I do not need to know which ones. Here we go:
[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF STATEMENTS; READ ALL BEFORE RESPONSE]

Her views are too liberal for New Jersey.
She is not well known throughout the state.
She did not receive enough support from the Democratic Party.

RESPONSE – KEY NUMBER FROM 0 to 3
9 Refused

[VERSION B]
Q21B There has been a lot of speculation about why Barbara Buono has been so far behind Chris Christie in the polls during this entire election season. I am going to read you four possible reasons for it. I would like to know how MANY of these reasons you agree with. Just tell me how many, I do not need to know which ones. Here we go:

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF STATEMENTS; READ ALL BEFORE RESPONSE]

Her views are too liberal for New Jersey.
She is not well known throughout the state.
She did not receive enough support from the Democratic Party.
She is a woman.

RESPONSE – KEY NUMBER FROM 0 to 4
9 Refused

[END SPLIT SAMPLE]

2013 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Q22 There will also be elections for the New Jersey state legislature next week. Please think about the election for your representatives to the General Assembly. Do you plan to vote for [ROTATE: Democrats or Republicans] for the General 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 (VOL)
9 Refused

[ASK ONLY IF Q22 = 8 or 9]
Q22A Are you leaning toward voting for Democrats for the New Jersey Assembly or for
Republicans? [ROTATE PARTIES; same order as Q22]

1  Republicans
2  Democrats
3  Other (VOL)
4  A Democrat AND a Republican (VOL)
5  Skip the election
8  Don’t know/not sure (VOL)
9  Refused

Q23  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 (VOL)
9  Refused

[ASK ONLY IF Q23 = 8 or 9]

Q23A  Are you leaning toward voting for the Democrat for the New Jersey State Senate or for the Republican? [ROTATE PARTIES; same order as Q23]

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

Q24  Democrats currently control both houses of the New Jersey legislature. Do you think Democrats should remain in control or is it time to give control of the legislature to the Republicans?

1  Democrats remain
2  Give to control to Republicans
3  Don’t care/doesn’t matter who controls (vol)
8  Don’t know
9  Refused

Q25  New Jersey voters will also vote on an amendment to the state constitution to raise the minimum wage from $7.25 an hour to $8.25 with automatic annual cost of living increases. If the election were today, would you support or oppose this constitutional amendment?
CHRISTIE – PRESIDENT, ATTITUDE

Q26 There is a lot of talk about Governor Christie running for president. Do you think he will run in 2016, or not?

0 No
1 Yes
8 Don’t know
9 Refused

Q28 Does the possibility Governor Christie might run for president in 2016 make you more likely to vote for him for GOVERNOR, less likely to vote for him, or does it make no difference to your vote for governor?

1 More likely
2 Less Likely
3 No difference
8 Don’t know
9 Refused

Q29 If re-elected, do you think Governor Christie will serve his full term as Governor of New Jersey, or do you think he will resign to run for president of the United States?

1 Finish term [ALSO CODE IF SAYS WILL RUN FOR PRESIDENT WITHOUT RESIGNING]
2 Resign to run for president
8 Don’t know (vol)
9 Refused (vol)

Q30 Some say Governor Christie has already started focusing on running for President in his actions on certain issues and extensive travel across the country. Others say that the governor is just doing what is best for New Jersey. In your opinion, is Governor Christie doing what is best for the state, or is he is already more focused on running for president?

1 Doing what’s best for NJ
2 More focused on running for president
3 Both (vol)
8 Don’t know
9 Refused
Q31  When asked about his tough talking, Governor Christie said it portrays leadership and helps get things done. Others have said his style is disrespectful and hurts his ability to lead. What do you think? Does Governor Christie’s tough talk help him get things done in New Jersey, or does it hurt his ability to lead?

1  Help
2  Hurt
3  Make no difference (vol)
8  Don’t know
9  Refused

Q31A If Governor Christie runs for president, do you think his tough-guy attitude will go over well on the national stage, or do you think voters will not like this attitude?

1  Go over well
2  Will not like
3  Make no difference (vol)
8  Don’t know
9  Refused

SUPERSTORM SANDY RECOVERY

Q32  On another topic, the one-year anniversary of Superstorm Sandy just passed. In your opinion, is life after Sandy back to normal yet in New Jersey?

1  Yes  \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO QD36
2  No
8  Don’t know  \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO QD36
9  Refused  \(\rightarrow\) SKIP TO QD36

Q33  How long do you think it will take before New Jersey is back to normal again? Will it be:
[READ 1-5 ONLY]

1  Within the next year
2  Between one year and up to five years
3  Between five years and up to ten years
4  Ten years or more,
5  Or will things never fully be back to normal again?
8  Don’t know (vol)
9  Refused (vol)

QD36  Were you, yourself, personally affected by the storm?

1  Yes
Q34  From what you have heard or seen, please rate the status of recovery for the following areas on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means “not at all recovered” and 10 means “fully recovered”:

[RANDOMIZE ORDER A-E]

Q34A  New Jersey’s shore region
Q34B  New Jersey, in general
Q34C  New Jersey businesses
Q34D  New Jersey tourism
Q34E  New Jersey homeowners who sustained storm damage

[ENTER SCORE: 1 to 10]
88  Don’t Know
99  Refused

POST-SENATE ELECTION

Q36  New Jersey just held a special election for the U.S. Senate on October 16. While some people voted, many others did not. How about you, did you vote in the special election for US Senate?

0  No
1  Yes
8  Don't Remember
9  Refused

[IF Q36 IS YES, ASK:] Q37  And for whom did you vote? Was it Republican Steve Lonegan or Democrat Cory Booker?

1  Booker
2  Lonegan
3  Someone Else (vol)
4  Not Vote (vol)
8  Don’t Know
9  Refused

DEMOGRAPHICS

We’re almost finished. Now we have a few last questions to help us understand our results.

QD6  What was the last grade in school you completed? [CODE TO LIST]
QD9  What is your primary employment status?  Are you: [READ 1-8]

[IF RESPONDENT SAYS SELF-EMPLOYED, PROMPT WITH “AND ARE YOU SELF-EMPLOYED FULL TIME OR PART TIME?”]

1  Employed full time [CODE ALSO FOR THOSE SELF-EMPLOYED FULL TIME]
2  Employed part time [CODE ALSO FOR THOSE SELF-EMPLOYED PART TIME]
3  Laid off from a job
4  A homemaker or stay at home parent
5  Retired
6  Student
7  Otherwise Not Employed
8  Disabled
9  Refused (VOL)

QD10 Are you Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion, Atheist or agnostic?

1  Catholic  → ASK QD11
2  Protestant → ASK QD11
3  Jewish
4  Muslim
5  Some other religion
6  Atheist
7  Agnostic
8  Don’t Know (VOL)
9  Refused (VOL)

[ASK ONLY IF QD10 = 1,2]
QD11  Would you describe yourself as a born again or evangelical Christian?

1  Yes
2  No
8  Don’t Know (VOL)
9  Refused (VOL)

QD12 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
9  Refused (vol)

QD13  Do you or any member of your household belong to a labor union?

1  Yes  ➔ ASK QD14
2  No
8  Don’t Know (VOL)
9  Refused (VOL)

[ASK ONLY IF QD13 = 1]
QD14  Is the union a public employee union?

1  Yes
2  No
8  Don’t Know (VOL)
9  Refused (VOL)

QD17  Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban or some other Spanish background?

1  Yes
2  No
8  Don’t know (VOL)
9  Refused (VOL)

QD18  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 (VOL)
9  Refused (VOL)

QD19  Are you married, in a committed relationship, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?
1 Married
2 Committed relationship
3 Widowed
4 Divorced
5 Separated
6 Never married
9 Refused (VOL)

QD20 Are you the parent or guardian of any children under 18 now living in your home?

0 No
1 Yes
9 Refused

QD21 Last year, that is in 2012, 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 $75,000
4 75 to under $100,000
5 100 to under $150,000
6 $150,000 or more
8 Don’t know [VOL. – DO NOT READ]
9 Refused [VOL. – DO NOT READ]

[IF REACHED ON CELL PHONE ASK:] QD34C Do you have any landline phones in your household or do you only use cell phones?

1 Landline in Household (reached on Cell)
2 Only use Cell
9 Refused (VOL)

[IF REACHED ON LANDLINE PHONE ASK:] QD34L Do you have any cell phones in your household or do you only use landline phones?

3 Cell in Household (reached on LL)
4 Only use landline
9 Refused (VOL)

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 848-932-0150. Have a good day/evening.
Methodology Statement

Rutgers-Eagleton Poll October 28-Nov 2, 2013

The Rutgers-Eagleton Poll was conducted by telephone using live callers October 28-Nov 2, 2013 with a scientifically selected random sample of 804 New Jersey registered voters. Data are weighted to represent known parameters in the New Jersey voter population, using gender, age, race, and Hispanic ethnicity matching to US Census Bureau data. All results are reported with these weighted data. This telephone poll included 618 landline and 186 cell phone adults, all 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 804 registered voters is +/-3.4 percentage points, at a 95 percent confidence interval. Thus if 50 percent of New Jersey registered voters favored a particular position, one would be 95 percent sure that the true figure is between 46.6 and 53.4 percent (50 +/-3.4) if all New Jersey registered voters were 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 in house by the Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling. The questionnaire was developed and all data analyses were 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 for the study of politics and the political process.