

EAGLETON POLL 54
OCTOBER 1984

Hello, my name is (first and last name). I'm on the staff of Rutgers University and I'm taking a public opinion poll for the Eagleton Institute. I'm talking to people 18 and older about what New Jersey is like as a place to live and next month's Presidential election. To begin with, are you currently registered to vote here in New Jersey? IF NOT REGISTERED, TERMINATE

1. How likely are you to vote in the November election--will you definitely vote, probably vote, probably not vote, or definitely not vote?

- 1 DEFINITELY WILL VOTE
- 2 PROBABLY WILL VOTE
- 3 PROBABLY WILL NOT VOTE
- 4 DEFINITELY WILL NOT VOTE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

2. How much interest do you have in the Presidential election--a lot, some, a little or none at all?

- 1 LOT
- 2 SOME
- 3 LITTLE
- 4 NONE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

3. And how much do you care who wins the election--a lot, some, just a little; or doesn't it really make any difference to you?

- 1 LOT
- 2 SOME
- 3 LITTLE
- 4 NO DIFFERENCE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

4. Now I'd like to get your general feelings about the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. For each name please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression. If you don't have an opinion on some just say so. First, how about RONALD REAGAN do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of him. IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, PROBE: "Is that very (favorable/unfavorable) or only somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?"

5A. Now I'd like to get your general feelings about the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. For each name please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression. If you don't have an opinion on some just say so. First, how about GEORGE BUSH do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of him. IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, PROBE: "Is that very (favorable/unfavorable) or only somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?"

6. Now I'd like to get your general feelings about the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. For each name please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression. If you don't have an opinion on some just say so. First, how about WALTER MONDALE do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of him. IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, PROBE: "Is that very (favorable/unfavorable) or only somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?"

6A. Now I'd like to get your general feelings about the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. For each name please tell me whether you have a favorable or unfavorable impression. If you don't have an opinion on some just say so. First, how about GERALDINE FERRARO do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of him. IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, PROBE: "Is that very (favorable/unfavorable) or only somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?"

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 4 VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

7. Did you watch last Sunday's Presidential debate on TV or listen to it on the radio--IF NECESSARY, PROBE: On TV or radio?

- 1 YES, TV/BOTH (ANY OR ALL) [Go to q9]
- 2 YES, RADIO (ANY OR ALL) [Go to q9]
- 3 NO/DON'T KNOW [Go to q8]

(IF "NO/DON'T KNOW" TO Q7, ASK:)

8. (IF "NO/DON'T KNOW" TO Q7, ASK:) Have you read or seen any news stories about Sunday's debate. IF YES, PROBE: Who was reported to have won the debate?

- 1 NO EXPOSURE
- 2 MONDALE
- 3 REAGAN
- 4 TIE, NO WINNER
- 5 DIDN'T SAY WHO WON/DON'T KNOW
- 6 MIXED REPORTS OF WHO WON
- 9 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW

9. Before the debate took place, which candidate did you expect to do better?

- 1 MONDALE
- 2 REAGAN
- 3 BOTH THE SAME; BOTH DO WELL/POORLY (VOL.)
- 9 NO EXPECTATIONS/HADN'T THOUGHT ABOUT IT/DON'T KNOW

10. Who do you think actually got the best of the debate--Mondale or Reagan--IF CHOICE MADE, PROBE: By a lot or just a little?

- 1 MONDALE--LOT
- 2 MONDALE-- LITTLE/OTHER
- 3 REAGAN--LOT
- 4 REAGAN--LITTLE/OTHER
- 5 NOBODY WON/NO OPINION [Go to q12]

(IF #1,2,3 OR 4 TO Q10, ASK:)

11. Is this based on what you saw during the debate, or based on something you read or saw on the news after the debate?

- 1 SAW DURING DEBATE
- 2 READ/SAW AFTER DEBATE [Go to q13]

3 BOTH (VOL.) [Go to q13]
9 DON'T KNOW [Go to q13]

(IF "SAW DURING DEBATE" TO Q11, ASK:)

12. (IF "SAW DURING DEBATE" TO Q11, ASK:) Have you read or seen any news stories about Sunday's debate--IF YES, PROBE: Who was reported to have won the debate?)

1 NO EXPOSURE
2 MONDALE
3 REAGAN
4 TIE, NO WINNER
5 DIDN'T SAY WHO WON/DON'T KNOW
6 MIXED REPORTS OF WHO WON
9 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW

13. Based on what you saw or heard about the debate did your overall impression of Walter Mondale become more favorable, less favorable; or didn't your view of him change much?

1 MORE FAVORABLE
2 LESS FAVORABLE
3 DIDN'T CHANGE
9 DON'T KNOW

14. How about your impression of Ronald Reagan--did this become more favorable, less favorable or not really change?

1 MORE FAVORABLE
2 LESS FAVORABLE
3 DIDN'T CHANGE
9 DON'T KNOW

15. [SECOND WAVE ONLY] And did you watch any of last Thursday's Vice-Presidential debate between Geraldine Ferraro and George Bush?

1 YES [Go to q17]
2 NO
9 DON'T KNOW

16. [SECOND WAVE ONLY] (IF "NO/DON'T KNOW" TO Q15, ASK:) Have you read or seen any news stories about the debate?

1 YES
2 NO
9 DON'T KNOW

17. [SECOND WAVE ONLY] Based on what you have seen or heard, who do you think won the debate. IF CHOICE MADE, PROBE: "By a lot or just a little"?

1 FERRARO--LOT
2 FERRARO--LITTLE/OTHER
3 BUSH--LOT
4 BUSH--LITTLE/OTHER
5 NOBODY/NEITHER/TIE/DON'T KNOW

18. [SECOND WAVE ONLY] Did your overall impression of Ferraro become more favorable, less favorable; or did your view of her not really change?

- 1 MORE FAVORABLE
- 2 LESS FAVORABLE
- 3 DIDN'T CHANGE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

19. [SECOND WAVE ONLY] How about your impression of Bush--did it become more favorable, less favorable or not really change?

- 1 MORE FAVORABLE
- 2 LESS FAVORABLE
- 3 DIDN'T CHANGE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

20. If the election for President were held today and you had to choose between Walter Mondale, the Democrat; and Ronald Reagan the Republican; who would you vote for--IF RESPONDENT SAYS "OTHER," PROBE: "But if you had to choose only between Mondale and Reagan who would you vote for?"

- 1 MONDALE [Go to q.21]
- 2 REAGAN [Go to q.21]
- 7 OTHER (VOL.) [Go to q.27]
- 8 WOULDN'T VOTE [Go to q.27]
- 9 DON'T KNOW/UNDECIDED [Go to q.22]

(IF #1 OR #2 TO Q.20, ASK:)

21. Are you very sure about your choice or do you think you might change your mind before election day?

- 1 VERY SURE
- 2 MIGHT CHANGE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

(IF #9 TO Q.20, ASK:)

22. Do you lean more towards Mondale, or more towards Reagan?

- 1 MONDALE
- 2 REAGAN
- 9 DON'T KNOW [Go to q.26]

(IF #1 OR 2 TO Q.21, ASK:)

23. When did you decide who you would vote for--in the last few days, in the last couple of weeks, in the last month or two, or did you know all along?

- 1 LAST FEW DAYS/AFTER DEBATE
- 2 LAST WEEK OR TWO
- 3 LAST MONTH OR TWO/AFTER CONVENTION
- 4 EARLIER/ALL ALONG
- 8 OTHER
- 9 DON'T KNOW

24. Would you say you favor (REAGAN/MONDALE) more. ..(READ OPTIONS 1-3)?

- 1 BECAUSE OF HIS STANDS ON THE ISSUES
- 2 BECAUSE OF HIS PERSONAL QUALITITES--THE KIND OF PERSON THAT HE IS, OR
- 3 BECAUSE HE IS A (DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN)
- 4 COMBINATION: ISSUES AND PERSONAL QUALITIES
- 5 COMBINATION: PERSONAL QUALITIES & PARTY
- 6 COMBINATION: ISSUES AND PARTY
- 7 COMBINATION: ALL THREE
- 8 OTHER/NONE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

25. Would you say you are voting more for (candidate named=Reagan/Mondale), or more against (other candidate=Mondale/Reagan)--IF NECESSARY, EXPLAIN-Is it more because you like (candidate), or dislike (other)?

- 1 FOR MONDALE
- 2 AGAINST REAGAN
- 3 BOTH FOR MONDALE AND AGAINST REAGAN
- 4 FOR REAGAN
- 5 AGAINST MONDALE
- 6 BOTH FOR REAGAN AND AGAINST MONDALE
- 8 OTHER
- 9 DON'T KNOW

26. Regardless of who you favor, please tell me which candidate--Mondale or Reagan--would be best able to handle the problems I read, or if there wouldn't be any difference...|

- A Maintaining the nation's economy?
- B Protecting the environment?
- C Insuring that government programs and policies are fair to all?
- D Reducing the federal budget deficit?
- E Keeping the country militarily strong?
- F Handling with the Soviet Union relations?
- G Finding the right balance between religion and politics?
- H Helping the and disadvantaged poor?
- I Reducing the chances of nuclear war?

- 1 MONDALE
- 2 REAGAN
- 9 DON'T KNOW

27. Thinking now about international affairs over the past few years, has the world become safer, less safe, or stayed the same since Ronald Reagan became President?

- 1 SAFER
- 2 LESS SAFE
- 3 STAYED THE SAME [Go to q.29]
- 9 DON'T KNOW [Go to q.29]

(IF "SAFER" OR "LESS SAFE" TO Q.27, ASK:)

28. How much of this change do you think is due to the policies of the Reagan administration--most of it, some, or just a little?

- 1 MOST (ALL)

- 2 SOME
- 3 JUST A LITTLE
- 4 NONE (VOL.)
- 9 NO OPINION

29. Thinking about your family's financial situation over the past few years, have things gotten better, worse, or stayed the same since Ronald Reagan became President?

- 1 BETTER
- 2 WORSE
- 3 STAYED THE SAME [Go to q.31]
- 9 DON'T KNOW [Go to q.31]

(IF "BETTER" OR "WORSE" TO Q. 29, ASK:)

30. How much of this change do you think is due to the policies of the Reagan administration--most of it, some, or just a little?

- 1 MOST (ALL)
- 2 SOME
- 3 JUST A LITTLE
- 4 NONE (VOL.)
- 9 NO OPINION

31. Who do you think is more responsible for the large federal deficit-Ronald Reagan or the Democrats?

- 1 REAGAN
- 2 DEMOCRATS
- 3 BOTH (VOL.)
- 9 NO CHOICE MADE

32. There has been a lot of talk about raising taxes to reduce the federal budget deficit. Do you feel that taxes should, or should not be raised to reduce the deficit?

- 1 SHOULD
- 2 SHOULD NOT
- 8 DEPENDS
- 9 NO OPINION

33. If Walter Mondale is elected, do you think taxes will be raised or not?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 8 DEPENDS
- 9 NO OPINION

34. How about if Ronald Reagan is reelected--will taxes go up or not?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO
- 8 DEPENDS
- 9 NO OPINION

35. Which candidate do you think is most likely to make taxes more fair-- Mondale, or Reagan, or do you think it wouldn't make much of a difference?

- 1 MONDALE
- 2 REAGAN
- 3 NO DIFFERENCE
- 9 NO OPINION

36. NOW I'm going to read you a list of features people often talk about when discussing candidates. Regardless of which candidate you favor, please tell me if each phrase applies more to Reagan, or more to Mondale. If you think some apply equally to both or to neither, just say so. First ...(READ LIST STARTING AT DESIGNATED POINT), Reagan, Mondale, or no difference. Next... (REPEAT OPTIONS EVERY THIRD ITEM AND AS OTHERWISE NEEDED)...|

- A Who has more integrity--is a man of principle?
- B Who is more concerned with the disadvantaged and needy?
- C Who would be more effective in accomplishing his goals?
- D Who is more honest, or says what he will do and then tries to do it?
- E Who cares more about people like you?
- F Who has a better understanding of government and world affairs?
- G Who has stronger qualities of leadership?
- H Who has a clearer vision of the country's future?

- 1 REAGAN
- 2 MONDALE
- 3 NO DIFFERENCE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

36I. [SECOND WAVE ONLY] There has been a lot of talk lately about Reagan's age. Are you at all concerned that he might be getting too old for the demands of being president--IF "YES", PROBE: Do you think he is physically up to the job of serving a second term, or not?

- 1 NOT CONCERNED
- 2 CONCERNED BUT THINK HE'S UP TO SERVING
- 3 CONCERNED AND THINK HE'S NOT UP TO SERVING
- 9 DON'T KNOW/MAYBE

37. I have just a few quick questions about the election for the U.S. Senate in New Jersey. The Democratic candidate is Bill Bradley--have you ever heard of him before?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO/DON'T KNOW [Go to q.39]

(IF "YES" TO Q.37, ASK:)

38. How much do you think you know about Bradley--a lot, some, or just a little?

- 1 A LOT
- 2 SOME
- 3 JUST A LITTLE
- 9 DON'T KNOW

39. Is your general impression of Bradley favorable or unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about him--IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, PROBE: IS that very (favorable/unfavorable) or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 4 VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 9 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW

40. Overall, would you say that Bradley is a supporter or critic of Ronald Reagan's economic program, or aren't you sure?

- 1 SUPPORTER
- 2 CRITIC
- 9 DON'T KNOW/UNSURE/BOTH

41. The Republican candidate for Senate is Mary Mochary (PRONOUNCED: MOW-SHAW-REE) --have you ever heard of her before?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO/DON'T KNOW [Go to q.47]

(IF "YES" TO Q.41, ASK:)

42. How much do you think you know about Mochary--a lot, some, or just a little?

- 1 LOT
- 2 SOME
- 3 A LITTLE/NOTHING
- 9 DON'T KNOW

43. Is your general impression of Mochary favorable or unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about her--IF FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, PROBE: Is that very (favorable/unfavorable) or somewhat (favorable/unfavorable)?

- 1 VERY FAVORABLE
- 2 SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE
- 3 SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE
- 4 VERY UNFAVORABLE
- 9 NO OPINION/DON'T KNOW

44. Overall, would you say that Mochary is a supporter or critic of Ronald Reagan's economic program, or aren't you sure?

- 1 SUPPORTER
- 2 CRITIC
- 9 DON'T KNOW/UNSURE/BOTH

45. Suppose the election for Senator were held today and You had to choose right now. Would you vote for Mary Mochary, the Republican; or Bill Bradley; the Democrat--IF 'WOULDN'T VOTE," PROBE: Would you not vote because you're undecided now, or don't you plan to vote in the election?)

- 1 MOCHARY [Go to q.47]
- 2 BRADLEY [Go to q.47]
- 7 WON'T VOTE [Go to q.47]

8 OTHER CANDIDATE [Go to q.47]
9 UNDECIDED/DON'T KNOW

(IF "UNDECIDED/DON'T KNOW" TO Q.45, ASK:)

46. At this moment do you lean more towards Mochary, or more towards Bradley?

1 MOCHARY
2 BRADLEY
3 NEITHER/UNDECIDED/DON'T KNOW

47. There will also be an election for the U.S. House of Representatives in your district in November. If you were voting today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate?

1 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE
2 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
3 OTHER CANDIDATE
9 UNDECIDED/NO OPINION

48. Most people do not vote in every election. I'm going to ask you if you voted in some past elections. If you can't recall whether you voted just say so...|

A Last year's election for state Assembly and Senate?
B The 1982 election for Senate between Fenwick and Lautenberg?
C The 1981 election for Governor between Kean and Florio?

1 VOTED
2 DID NOT VOTE
9 DON'T REMEMBER

48D. In the elections for President since you have been old enough to vote, have you voted in all of them, most of them, or only some of them?

1 ALL
2 MOST/ALMOST ALL
3 SOME
4 LESS OFTEN (VOL.)
8 INAPPROPRIATE, INELIGIBLE IN PAST ELECTIONS
9 DON'T KNOW

Now just a few more questions so we can classify your answers.

49. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or something else?

1 DEMOCRAT [Go to q.51]
2 REPUBLICAN [Go to q.51]
3 INDEPENDENT
4 SOMETHING ELSE/OTHER
9 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

(IF #3, 4, OR 9 TO Q. 49, ASK:)

50. Do you lean more toward the Democratic Party or more toward the Republican Party?

- 1 DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- 2 REPUBLICAN PARTY
- 3 OTHER
- 4 NEITHER
- 9 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

51. Regardless of the political party you might favor, do you consider yourself to be a liberal, conservative, or somewhere in between?

- 1 LIBERAL [Go to q.53]
- 2 CONSERVATIVE [Go to q.53]
- 3 SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN
- 9 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

(IF #3 OR 9 TO Q,51, ASK:)

52. Do you lean more toward the liberal side or more toward the conservative side?

- 1 LIBERAL
- 2 CONSERVATIVE
- 3 OTHER/NEITHER
- 9 DON'T KNOW/NO OPINION

53. Do you own or rent your apartment or house?

- 1 OWN
- 2 RENT
- 3 LIVE RENT FREE WITH PARENTS/RELATIVES
- 4 BOTH OWN AND RENT
- 9 NOT DETERMINED

54. Is the chief wage earner in your household currently employed full time, employed part time, temporarily laid off, retired or not employed?

- 1 EMPLOYED FULL TIME (35 HRS/WK OR MORE)
- 2 EMPLOYED PART TIME
- 3 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
- 4 RETIRED [Go to q.56]
- 5 NOT EMPLOYED [Go to q.56]
- 9 OTHER/REFUSED [Go to q.56]

(IF #1,2 OR 3 TO Q.54, ASK:)

55. Does the chief wage earner get paid at an hourly rate, paid a salary, or is the chief wage-earner self-employed?

- 1 HOURLY (AND PIECEWORK)
- 2 SALARIED (AND COMMISSIONS)
- 3 SELF-EMPLOYED
- 9 DON'T KNOW

56. Are you the chief wage earner in your household?

- 1 YES [Go to q.58]
- 2 NO
- 9 DON'T KNOW [Go to q.58]

(IF "NO" TO Q.56, ASK:)

57. Are you currently employed full time, part time or not employed?

- 1 EMPLOYED FULL TIME
- 2 EMPLOYED PART TIME
- 3 TEMPORARILY LAID OFF
- 4 RETIRED
- 5 NOT EMPLOYED
- 9 OTHER/REFUSED

58. Are you or someone else in your household a member of a union?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO/DON'T KNOW

59. Did you receive a high school diploma?

- 1 YES
- 2 NO [Go to q.61]
- 9 DON'T KNOW [Go to q.61]

(IF "YES" TO Q.59, ASK:)

60. Did you ever attend college--IF YES, ASK: "Did you graduate?"

- 1 YES, GRADUATED
- 2 YES, DID NOT GRADUATE
- 3 NO
- 9 DON'T KNOW

61. What was your age on your last birthday?

(CODE # OF YEARS, 99=refused and CODE)

62. ?

- 1 18-20
- 2 21-24
- 3 25-29
- 4 THIRTIES (30-39)
- 5 FORTIES (40-49)
- 6 FIFTIES (50-59)
- 7 60 OR OVER
- 9 NO ANSWER/REFUSED

63. Are you married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

- 1 MARRIED
- 2 WIDOWED
- 3 DIVORCED
- 4 SEPARATED
- 5 NEVER MARRIED
- 9 DON'T KNOW

64. Do you consider yourself to be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or something else?

- 1 PROTESTANT/PRESBYTERIAN
- 2 CATHOLIC
- 3 JEWISH
- 4 NONE/ATHEIST
- 5 OTHER
- 9 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

65. Are you white, black or of hispanic origin?

- 1 WHITE
- 2 BLACK
- 3 HISPANIC
- 4 OTHER (SPECIFY)
- 9 NOT DETERMINED

66. Where do you live --in what township or municipality?

66A. In what county is that?

67. So that we can group all answers, what is your total annual family income before taxes: under \$10,000; \$10,000 to \$15,000; \$15,000 to \$20,000; \$20,000 to \$30,000; \$30,000 to \$50,000; over \$50,000?

- 1 UNDER \$10,000
- 2 \$10,001-\$15,000
- 3 \$15,001-\$20,000
- 4 \$20,001-\$30,000
- 5 \$30,001-\$50,000
- 6 OVER \$50,000
- 9 REFUSED / DON'T KNOW

"MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)

Last week October 1984

P1. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] First, did you happen to watch either of the debates between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. IF YES: Who do you think won?

P2. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] And did you watch the debate between Bush and Ferraro. IF YES: Who do you think won?

P3. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] Is your general impression of REAGAN very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about him?

P4. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] Is your general impression of MONDALE very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about him?

P5. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] How do you feel about GEORGE BUSH -- very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about him?

P6. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] And finally, how about GERALDINE FERRARO -- very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable, or don't you have an opinion about him?

P7. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] If the election for President was held today who would you vote for. IF UNDECIDED: Do you lean more toward Reagan, more toward Mondale, or toward neither?

P8. ["MIGHT CHANGE MIND" VOTER PANEL RESPONDENTS (n=174)] Did you make up your mind after the debate, just before the debate, or before this?