The questionnaires used in the 1988 Senate Study were classified into nine versions, depending upon type of Senate and House race. On page 3 is a chart describing these versions.

An example of each version is provided following page 3. However, since Senate Study questionnaires were tailored for individual congressional districts included in the sample, the 9 examples given contain the names of candidates/senators specified in interviews administered in the congressional districts listed below. That is, questionnaires were provided to the interviewers with specific names; THERE IS NO 'GENERIC' FORM OF THE 9 VERSIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERSION 1</td>
<td>FL  06</td>
<td>Buddy MacKay</td>
<td>sen cand--Dem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Connie Mack</td>
<td>sen cand--Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bob Graham</td>
<td>sen term not up--Dem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jon Mills</td>
<td>hse cand--Dem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cliff Stearns</td>
<td>hse cand--Rep</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Pete Wilson</td>
<td>sen incumbent--Rep</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alan Cranston</td>
<td>sen term not up--Dem</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anna Eshoo</td>
<td>hse cand--Dem</td>
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<td>Tom Campbell</td>
<td>hse cand--Rep</td>
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<td>VERSION 3</td>
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<td>Gordon Humphrey</td>
<td>senator--Rep</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Warren Rudman</td>
<td>senator--Rep</td>
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<tr>
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<td>James Donchess</td>
<td>hse cand--Dem</td>
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<td>Chuck Douglas</td>
<td>hse cand--Rep</td>
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<td>VERSION 4</td>
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<td>Bob Graham</td>
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<td>E.D. Armbruster</td>
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<td>Lowell Wecker</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chris Dodd</td>
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<td>Barbara Kennelly</td>
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<td>Mario Robles</td>
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<td>GA 01</td>
<td>Sam Nunn</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wyche Fowler Jr</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Robert L. Thomas</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John C. Meredith</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Bob Graham</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Claude Pepper</td>
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<td>Charles Wilson</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wyche Fowler .Jr</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Ray</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
<td>(no hse challenger)</td>
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</table>

**KEY:**

- VERSION 1 - GREY
- VERSION 2 - TAN
- VERSION 3 - LILAC
- VERSION 4 - BLUE
- VERSION 5 - GREEN
- VERSION 6 - PINK
- VERSION 7 - YELLOW
- VERSION 8 - GOLDEN
- VERSION 9 - TE
### QUESTIONNAIRE VERSIONS

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<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Number</th>
<th>U.S. Senate Election</th>
<th>U.S. House Election</th>
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<td>No Incumbent**</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Incumbent</td>
<td>No Incumbent**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No Race</td>
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<td>Incumbent w/Opposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>No Race</td>
<td>Incumbent w/No Opposition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Includes 2 cases from MA06, in which a Democratic candidate ran unopposed
Post Election Study Versi

1. Hi, I'm ________ from Market Opinion Research Company, and we're doing a public opinion survey for the Center for Political Studies throughout the United States and your household has been randomly selected to participate in our study. In order to randomly pick one person in your household who I can interview, I need to begin by asking you to list the people in your household 18 years old or older. Could you just tell me their relationship to you, not their names.

**AFTER LISTING PEOPLE ON SAMPLE GRID CONTINUE. UNLESS ONLY ONE ADULT, THEN DETERMINE AGE AND GO TO QUESTION 1**

Now I need to know the age of each person.

**AFTER LISTING AGES ON SAMPLE GRID CONTINUE**

Now it will take me just a few seconds to use a selection chart I have here to determine the person I'm supposed to interview in your household.

The selection grid indicates that in your household I should interview ________. May I please speak with that person?

**IF DESIGNATED RESPONDENT IS SOMEONE OTHER THAN WHOM YOU ARE SPEAKING WITH, ASK TO SPEAK WITH THAT PERSON AND REPEAT INTRO BEFORE SKIPPING TO QUESTION 1**

**IF DESIGNATED RESPONDENT IS UNAVAILABLE, DETERMINE WHEN BEST CALL BACK TIME AND LIST ON SAMPLE**

This interview is completely voluntary and confidential. If we should come to any question which you don't want to answer, just let me know and we'll go on to the next question.

In this interview, I will be talking with you about the recent elections as well as a number of other things. First, I have some questions about the political campaigns which took place this election year.

A1. Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were VERY MUCH INTERESTED, SOMewhat INTERESTED, or NOT MUCH INTERESTED?

1. Very much interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not much interested
4. Don't Know
5. Refused

December 12, 1988
A2. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch news programs on TV?

1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 Everyday
0 None
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

A3. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you read a daily newspaper? (RECORD NUMBER)

1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 Everyday
0 None ==> Go To Section II, B1
8 Don't Know ==> Go To Section II, B1
9 Refused ==> Go To Section II, B1

A4. Which DAILY newspaper did you read most for news about national politics? (IF NECESSARY): In what city is that published? (ONE MENTION ONLY)

---

B1. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is HANDLING HIS JOB as President?

1 Approve
5 Disapprove ==> Go To B3
8 Don't Know ==> Go To B4
9 Refused ==> Go To B4

B2. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

1 Strongly ==> Go To B4
2 Not strongly ==> Go To B4
8 Don't Know ==> Go To B4
9 Refused ==> Go To B4

B3. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

5 Strongly
4 Not strongly
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

B4. Do you happen to remember the names of the candidates for Congress — that is for the House of Representatives in Washington— who ran in this district in November?

1 Yes
5 No ==> Go To B9
8 Don't Know ==> Go To B9
9 Refused ==> Go To B9

B5. Who were they? (FIRST MENTION)

1 Jon Mills
2 Cliff Steelman
6 Can't remember name but mention party
7 Other ==> Specify
8 Don't Know ==> Go To B9
9 Refused ==> Go To B9

December 12, 1988
B6. (What is (NAME) party affiliation?)

1 Democrat
2 Republican
7 Other party => Specify
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

B7. Any other? (ASK AS OPEN END) (SECOND MENTION)

1 Jon Mills
2 Cliff Stearns
3 Run unopposed => Go To B9
4 Can't remember name but mention party
7 Other => Specify
8 Don't Know => Go To B9
9 Refused => Go To B9

B8. (What is (NAME) party affiliation?)

1 Democrat
2 Republican
7 Other party => Specify
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

B9. And how about the candidates who ran in this state for the (United States) Senate in Washington? Do you happen to remember what the candidates' names were?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To B14
8 Don't Know => Go To B14
9 Refused => Go To B14

B10. Who were they? (FIRST MENTION)

1 Buddy MacKay
2 Connie Mack
6 Can't remember name but mention party
7 Other => Specify
8 Don't Know => Go To B14
9 Refused => Go To B14

B11. What is (NAME) party affiliation?

1 Democrat
5 Republican
7 Other party => Specify
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

B12. Any other? (ASK AS OPEN END) (SECOND MENTION)

1 Buddy MacKay
2 Connie Mack
5 Run unopposed => Go To B14
6 Can't remember name but mention party
7 Other => Specify
8 Don't Know => Go To B14
9 Refused => Go To B14

B13. What is (NAME) party affiliation?

1 Democrat
3 Republican
7 Other party => Specify
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

B14. Do you happen to remember the name of the Senator from your state whose term is NOT up?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To Section III, CI
8 Don't Know => Go To Section III, CI
9 Refused => Go To Section III, CI

B15. (Who is it?)

1 Bob Graham
7 Other => Specify
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
B16. What is his party?

1 Democrat => Go To Section III, C1
5 Republican => Go To Section III, C1
7 Other party => Specify
8 Don't Know => Go To Section III, C1
9 Refused => Go To Section III, C1

III.

I'm going to read a list with names of people in politics. Many people tell us they have not heard about some of the people on this list. As I read each name, please tell me whether or not you have ever heard of this person.

Have you heard of ...?

Randomize items C1 – C7

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1. George Bush</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2. Michael Dukakis</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3. Buddy MacKay</td>
<td></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4. Connie Mack</td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5. Bob Graham</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6. Jon Mills</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7. Cliff Stearns</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now let's talk about your feelings toward the political figures that you recognize.

I'll read the name of a person and I will ask you to rate that person on a thermometer that runs from zero to 100 degrees. Ratings between 50 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward that person. Ratings between zero and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel too favorable and are cool toward that person. You may use any number from zero to 100 to tell me how favorable or unfavorable your feelings are for each person. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person, you would rate the person at the 50 degree mark.

INTERVIEWERS RECORD SCALES FROM 0-100
Post Election Study Versi

How do you rate ... (0=COOL, 100=WARM)

Ask items C8 - C14 if C1 - C7 is Yes

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<th>Record number</th>
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<td>C8. George Bush</td>
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<td>C10. Buddy MacKay</td>
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<td>C11. Connie Mack</td>
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<td>C12. Bob Graham</td>
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<td>C13. Jon Mills</td>
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<tr>
<td>C14. Cliff Stearns</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

December 12, 1988
IV.

D1. Was there anything in particular that you liked about Buddy MacKay, the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To D3
7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE => Go To D5
8 Don't Know => Go To D3
9 Refused => Go To D3

D2. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END, ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D3. Was there anything in particular that you didn’t like about Buddy MacKay?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To D5
8 Don’t Know => Go To D5
9 Refused => Go To D5

D4. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END, ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)
D5. Was there anything in particular that you liked about Connie Mack the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes
5 No >>> Go To D7
7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE >>> Go To D9
8 Don't Know >>> Go To D7
9 Refused >>> Go To D7

D6. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END, ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D7. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about Connie Mack?

1 Yes
5 No >>> Go To D9
8 Don't Know >>> Go To D9
9 Refused >>> Go To D9

D8. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END, ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D9. Is there anything in particular that you like about Bob Graham who is a U.S. Senator in Washington from your state?

1 Yes
5 No >>> Go To D11
7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE >>> Go To D21
8 Don't Know >>> Go To D11
9 Refused >>> Go To D11

D10. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END, ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D11. Is there anything in particular that you don't like about Bob Graham?

1 Yes
5 No >>> Go To D21
8 Don't Know >>> Go To D21
9 Refused >>> Go To D21

D12. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END, ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

Next I would like to ask you some questions about the candidate(s) who ran in your district for the U.S. House of Representatives.

D21. Is there anything in particular that you liked about Jon Mills the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 Yes
5 No >>> Go To D23
7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE >>> Go To D23
8 Don't Know >>> Go To D23
9 Refused >>> Go To D23
D22. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

[Blank]

D23. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about Jon Mills?

1 Yes  5 No → Go To D25
8 Don't Know → Go To D25
9 Refused → Go To D25

D24. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

[Blank]

D25. Was there anything in particular that you liked about Cliff Stearns, the Republican candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 Yes  5 No → Go To D27
7 R VOLUNTEERS, OK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE → Go To Section V, E1
8 Don't Know → Go To D27
9 Refused → Go To D27

December 12, 1988
E1. In your state, what issue was talked about MOST during the campaign for the Senate? (ASK AS OPEN END) (PROBE WHICH ISSUE MOST. BUT RECORD VERBATIM)

E2. In your district, what issue was talked about MOST during the campaign for the House of Representatives in Washington? (ASK AS OPEN END) (PROBE WHICH ISSUE MOST. BUT RECORD VERBATIM)

E3. Thinking now about national problems, Do you think that inflation would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?

1 Democrats
2 Republicans
3 Same by both
4 Neither (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

E4. Do you think the problems of unemployment would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans or about the same by both?

1 Democrats
2 Republicans
3 Same by both
4 Neither (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

E5. How about reducing the deficit? Do you think the problem of reducing the deficit would be handled better by the Democrats, by the Republicans, or about the same by both?

1 Democrats
2 Republicans
3 Same by both
4 Neither (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

E6. Keeping the United States out of war?

1 Democrats
2 Republicans
3 Same by both
4 Neither (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

E7. Which party is more likely to cut social security: the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1 Democrats
2 Republicans
3 Wouldn't be much difference
4 Neither (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
E8. Which party is more likely to raise taxes; the Democrats, the Republicans, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?

1 Democrats  
2 Republicans  
3 Wouldn't be much difference  
4 Neither (VOL)  
5 Don't Know  
6 Refused

VI.

There are many ways in which Senate candidates can have contact with the people from their state. I will read a list of some of these ways. Think of Buddy MacKay who ran for the U.S. Senate from this state in the last election. Have you come into contact with or learned anything about him through any of these ways?

F17. Have you met him personally?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't Know  
4 Refused

F18. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't Know  
4 Refused

F19. Have you talked to a member of his staff or to someone in his office?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't Know  
4 Refused

F20. Have you received something in the mail from him?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't Know  
4 Refused

F21. Have you read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't Know  
4 Refused
F22. Have you heard him on the radio?

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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</table>

F23. Have you seen him on TV?

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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F24. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people you work with, who have had some contact with Buddy MacKay?

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<td>Don't Know</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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</table>

F25. How about Connie Mack who also ran for the U.S. Senate from this state in the last election? Have you met him personally?

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<tbody>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>9</td>
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F26. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

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F27. (Have you) talked to a member of his staff or to someone in his office?

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F28. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

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F29. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

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F30. Heard him on the radio?

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F31. Seen (him/her) on TV?

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F32. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people you work with, who have had some contact with Connie Mack?

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<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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</table>
F33. How about Bob Graham who is a United States Senator for your state? Have you met him personally?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

R insists: NEVER HEARD OF THIS PERSON ===> Go To Section VII, G17

F34. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where Bob Graham spoke?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F35. (Have you) talked to a member of his staff or to someone in his office?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F36. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F37. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F38. Heard him on the radio?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F39. Seen him on TV?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F40. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Bob Graham?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
VII.

Similarly, there are many ways in which congressional candidates can have contact with the people from their district. Again, I will list a few of these ways. Think of Jon Mills who ran for the U.S. House of Representatives from this district in the last election.

G17. Have you met him personally?

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<td>Don't Know</td>
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R insists: NEVER HEARD OF THIS CANDIDATE  Go To G25

G18. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

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G19. (Have you) talked to a member of his staff or to someone in his office?

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G20. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

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G21. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

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G22. Heard him on the radio?

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G23. Seen him on TV?

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G24. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Jon Mills?

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G25. How about Cliff Stearns who also ran for the U.S. House of Representatives from this district in the last election. Have you met him personally?

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R insists: NEVER HEARD OF THIS CANDIDATE  Go To Section VIII, H1

G26. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

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<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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</table>

December 12, 1988
G27. (Have you) talked to a member of his staff or to someone in his office?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G28. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G29. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G30. Heard him on the radio?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G31. Seen him on TV?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G32. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Cliff Stearns?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

VIII.

H1. In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. How about you — did you vote in the elections this November?
1 Yes, did vote
5 No, did not vote
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask questions H2 – H5 if H1 is "Yes, did vote"

H2. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

H3. Who did you vote for? (ASK AS OPEN END)
2 George Bush
1 Michael Dukakis
7 Other
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

H4. I am going to read a list of candidates for the major races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives, the ballot listed (ROTATE: Jon Mills, and Cliff Stearns) Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?
1 Yes
7 R VOLUNTEERS: VOTED FOR CANDIDATE WHOSE NAME WAS NOT READ
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

December 12, 1988

24

December 12, 1988
H5. Who did you vote for? (ASK AS OPEN END)

1 Jon Mills
2 Cliff Stearns
7 Other => Specify
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

Ask questions H6 - H12 if H1 is “No, did not vote” or “Don’t Know” or “Refused”

FOR R’S WHO DID NOT VOTE

H6. Were you registered to vote in this election?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To H9
8 Don’t Know => Go To H9
9 Refused => Go To H9

H7. Did you prefer one of the candidates for President?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To H9
8 Don’t Know => Go To H9
9 Refused => Go To H9

H8. Which candidate was that?

2 George Bush
1 Michael Dukakis
7 Other => Specify
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

H9. I am going to read a list of candidates for the major races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives, the ballot listed: (ROTATE: Jon Mills, and Cliff Stearns) Did you PREFER one of the candidates for the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To H11
8 Don’t Know => Go To H11
9 Refused => Go To H11

H10. Which candidate was that?

1 Jon Mills
2 Cliff Stearns
7 Other => Specify
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

H11. In the election for the United States Senate, the ballot listed: (rotate Buddy MacKay, Connie Mack) Did you PREFER one of the candidates for the U.S. SENATE?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To Section IX, J15
8 Don’t Know => Go To Section IX, J15
9 Refused => Go To Section IX, J15

H12. Which candidate was that?

1 Buddy MacKay => Go To Section IX, J15
2 Connie Mack => Go To Section IX, J15
8 Don’t Know => Go To Section IX, J15
9 Refused => Go To Section IX, J15

H13. In the election for the United States Senate the ballot listed: (ROTATE: Buddy MacKay, and Connie Mack) Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To Section IX, J15
8 Don’t Know => Go To Section IX, J15
9 Refused => Go To Section IX, J15

H14. Who did you vote for (ASK AS OPEN END)

1 Buddy MacKay
2 Connie Mack
7 Other => Specify
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

December 12, 1988
IX.

J15. Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted Senator Bob Graham or anyone in his office?

1 Yes -> Ask questions J16 – J18
5 No -> Go To J19
8 Don't Know -> Go To J19
9 Refused -> Go To J19

Ask questions J16 - J18 if J15 is "Yes"

J16. Was it to: [ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE MENTION] [USE F10 FOR NO FURTHER MENTION]

1 2 3

Express an opinion ......................... 1 1 1
Seek information .......................... 2 2 2
Seek help on a problem you had .......... 3 3 3
No further information (VOL.) ............ 4 4 4
Don't Know .............................. 8
Refused ................................. 9

J17. Did you get a response from your Senator or his office?

1 Yes
5 No -> Go To J19
8 Don't Know -> Go To J19
9 Refused -> Go To J19

J18. How satisfied were you with the response: VERY SATISFIED, SOMewhat SATISFIED, NOT VERY SATISFIED, or NOT AT ALL SATISFIED?

1 Very satisfied
2 Somewhat satisfied
4 Not very satisfied
5 Not at all satisfied
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J19. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Senator Bob Graham or anyone in his office?

1 Yes -> Ask questions J20 - J21
5 No -> Go To J22
8 Don't Know -> Go To J22
9 Refused -> Go To J22

Ask questions J20 - J21 if J19 is "Yes"

J20. Did this person or group get a response?

1 Yes
5 No -> Go To J22
8 Don't Know -> Go To J22
9 Refused -> Go To J22

J21. How satisfied was this person or group with the response: VERY SATISFIED, SOMewhat SATISFIED, NOT VERY SATISFIED, or NOT AT ALL SATISFIED?

1 Very satisfied
2 Somewhat satisfied
4 Not very satisfied
5 Not at all satisfied
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J22. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Senator Bob Graham has been handling his job?

1 Approve -> Ask question J23
5 Disapprove -> Ask question J24
8 Don't Know -> Go To J25
9 Refused -> Go To J25

December 12, 1988
Ask question J23 if J22 is "Approve"

J23. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

1 Strongly
2 Not strongly
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask question J24 if J22 is "Disapprove"

J24. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

5 Strongly
4 Not strongly
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J25. If you had a problem that Senator Bob Graham could do something about, do you think he would be VERY HELPFUL, SOMewhat HELPFUL, or NOT VERY HELPFUL to you?

1 Very helpful
2 Somewhat helpful
3 Not very helpful
7 Depends (YOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J26. Do you happen to remember anything special that Senator Bob Graham has done for the people in his state while he has been in Congress?

1 Yes
5 No
7 Hasn't done anything
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J27. Now we would like your opinion about the way Senator Bob Graham has voted on bills that have come up in the U.S. Senate in Washington. Would you say that you have generally AGREED with the way he has voted on bills, AGREED and DISAGREED ABOUT EQUALLY, generally DISAGREED, or haven't you paid much attention to this?

1 Agreed
3 Agreed and disagreed about equally
5 Disagreed
0 Haven't paid much attention
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J28. How good a job would you say Senator Bob Graham does of keeping in touch with the people in your state — does he do a VERY GOOD, FAIRLY GOOD, FAIRLY POOR, or POOR job of keeping in touch with people in this state?

1 Very good
2 Fairly good
3 Fairly poor
4 Poor
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J29. Does Bob Graham hold any important committee or leadership position in the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes
3 No — Go To J31
8 Don't Know — Go To J31
9 Refused — Go To J31

J30. What position is that? (ASK AS OPEN END)
Here is a list of some activities that occupy U.S. Senators as part of their job. We want to know how important you think these activities are or should be.

J81. How about helping people in the state who have personal problems with the government. Do you feel this is extremely important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

1 Extremely important
2 Somewhat important
4 Not very important
5 Not at all important
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J82. Working in Congress on bills concerning national issues?

1 Extremely important
2 Somewhat important
4 Not very important
5 Not at all important
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J83. Making sure the state gets its fair share of government money and projects?

1 Extremely important
2 Somewhat important
4 Not very important
5 Not at all important
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

How important are these activities for The U.S. Representatives?

J84. Helping people in the district who have personal problems with the government?

1 Extremely important
2 Somewhat important
4 Not very important
5 Not at all important
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
K.1. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent or something else?

1 Republican → Go To K2
5 Democrat → Go To K3
2 Independent → Go To K4
3 No preference → Go To K4
4 Other party → Go To K4
8 Don't Know → Go To K4
9 Refused → Go To K4

K.2. Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1 Strong → Go To K5
5 Not very strong → Go To K5
8 Don't Know → Go To K5
9 Refused → Go To K5

K.3. Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1 Strong → Go To K5
5 Not very strong → Go To K5
8 Don't Know → Go To K5
9 Refused → Go To K5

K.4. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1 Closer to Republican
5 Closer to Democratic
3 Neither
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

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K.5. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year for which of the following programs would you like to see spending increased and for which would you like to see spending decreased...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Decrease</th>
<th>Cutout entirely (VOL)</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</td>
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<td>b. Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</td>
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<td>c. Social security?</td>
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<td>d. Food Stamps?</td>
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<td>e. Aid to the Contras in Nicaragua?</td>
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<td>f. Government assistance for the unemployed?</td>
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<td>g. Star Wars?</td>
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<td>h. Care of the elderly?</td>
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<td>i. Fighting the disease AIDS?</td>
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<td>j. Childcare?</td>
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<td>k. The war on drugs?</td>
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<td>l. Defense spending?</td>
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<td>m. Medical care?</td>
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<td>n. Fight racial discrimination</td>
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XI.

L1. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you and your family living here are BETTER off or WORSE off financially than you were a year ago?

1. Better off  
   2. Same (VOL)  
   3. Worse off  
   4. Don't know  
   5. Refused  

Ask question L2 if L1 is “Better off”

L2. Is that MUCH better or SOMewhat better?

1. Much better  
2. Somewhat better  
3. Don't know  
4. Refused

Ask question L3 if L1 is “Worse off”

L3. Is that MUCH worse or SOMewhat worse?

1. Much worse  
2. Somewhat worse  
3. Don't know  
4. Refused

L4. Now, thinking about the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year, the NATION'S economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. Gotten better  
2. Same  
3. Gotten worse  
4. Don't know  
5. Refused

Ask question L8 if L7 is “Gotten better”

L8. Is that MUCH better or SOMewhat better?

1. Much better  
2. Somewhat better  
3. Don't know  
4. Refused

Ask question L9 if L7 is “Gotten worse”

December 12, 1988
L9. Is that MUCH worse or SOMEWHAT worse?

5 Much worse
4 Somewhat worse
3 Don't Know
2 Refused

L10. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Think about a ruler (or measuring political views that people might hold, from liberal to conservative). On this ruler, which goes from one to seven, a measurement of one means very liberal political views, and a measurement of seven would be very conservative. Just like a regular ruler, it has points in between, at 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Where would you place yourself on this ruler, remembering that 1 is very liberal and 7 is very conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 1 Very liberal
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 7 Very conservative
0 Haven't thought about it
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

L12. You rated yourself as a ______ just to make sure I have it right, that means you think of yourself as (IF L10=1.2.3 READ: Liberal); (IF L10=5,6,7 READ: Conservative); (IF L10=4 READ: Middle of the road)?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To L10
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

L13. Where would you place the following people on this same scale where one means very liberal and seven means very conservative?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Moderate, middle of road</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. George Bush</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Michael Dukakis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Buddy MacKay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Connie Mack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Bob Graham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Jim Hunt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Cliff Holme</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Ronald Reagan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| i. The Democratic Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9
| j. The Republican Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9

L14. Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports - or haven't you thought much about this?

1 Favor limits
5 Oppose limits
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
L.15. Do you think abortions should be legal under ANY circumstances, only legal under CERTAIN circumstances, or NEVER legal under any circumstance?

1 Legal under any circumstances
2 Legal under certain circumstances
3 Never legal
4 Don't Know
5 Refused

Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves.

L.16. Where would you place yourself on a scale from one to seven where a measurement of one means you feel the government should make every effort to support blacks and seven means you feel the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves?

1 1 every effort to help blacks
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 7 no effort to help blacks
8 Haven't thought about it
9 Don't Know
10 Refused

L.17. You rated yourself as ( ). Just to make sure I have it right, that means that:
(IF L.16=1,2.) READ: You feel the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks;
(IF L.16=4) READ: You are in the middle;
(IF L.16=5,6,7) READ: You feel the government should not make any special effort to help blacks)

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

XII. Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. What is the year of your birth?

RECORD YEAR OF BIRTH (1888-1970, 9999=DK, 9999=NA) 1 2 3

Y2. Just to make sure I have it right your year of birth is _______.

1 Yes
5 No → Go To Y1
7 Respondent DK/REF/NA Year of Birth
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y3. Are you married now and living with your (husband/wife) — or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?

1 Married and living with spouse
3 Widowed
3 Divorced
4 Separated
2 Never married
7 Partners not married (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
Y4. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

0 00
1 01
2 02
3 03
4 04
5 05
6 06
7 07
8 08
9 09
10 10
11 11
12 12
13 13
14 14
15 15
16 16+
98 Don't Know
99 Refused

Y5. What is the highest diploma or degree you have earned?

0 No high school degree
1 High school degree or equivalent
2 No degree beyond high school
3 2 year technical school
4 2 year Associate's Degree
5 4 year Bachelor Degree
6 Master's Degree
7 Doctorate Degree
10 Other == Specify
98 Don't Know
99 Refused

Y6. We'd like to know if you are working now, or are you unemployed, retired, (a homemaker), a student, or what? ([ALLOW MULTIPLE MENTIONS]) [USE F10 FOR NO FURTHER MENTION]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working now</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laid off</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4444</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>6666</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5555</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>7777</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8888</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y7. Does anyone in your household belong to a labor union?

1 Yes
5 No == Go To Y9
8 Don't Know == Go To Y9
9 Refused == Go To Y9

Y8. Who is it that belongs? ([ENTER AS MANY AS APPLICABLE]) [USE F10 FOR NO FURTHER MENTION]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent's spouse</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family member</td>
<td>3333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else</td>
<td>4444</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y9. We would like to know the general range of your family income, that is, the family living with you, for 1987 BEFORE TAXES. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income. Was it under $30,000 or over $30,000? ([IF UNCERTAIN: What do you THINK it was?])

1 Under $30,000 == Ask questions Y10 - Y11
3 $30,000 exactly == Go To Y14
5 More than $30,000 == Ask questions Y12 - Y13
8 Don't Know == Go To Y14
9 Refused == Go To Y14

December 12, 1988
Ask questions Y10 - Y11 if Y9 is "Under $30,000"

Y10. Was it under $20,000 or over $20,000?

1 Under
2 $20,000 exactly ➔ Go To Y14
5 Over ➔ Go To Y14
8 Don't Know ➔ Go To Y14
9 Refused ➔ Go To Y14

Y11. Was it under $10,000 or over $10,000?

1 Under
2 $10,000 exactly
5 Over
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask questions Y12 - Y13 if Y9 is "More than $30,000"

Y12. Was it under $40,000 or over $40,000?

1 Under ➔ Go To Y14
3 $40,000 exactly ➔ Go To Y14
5 over
8 Don't Know ➔ Go To Y14
9 Refused ➔ Go To Y14

Y13. Was it under $60,000 or over $60,000?

1 Under
3 $60,000 exactly
5 over
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask questions Y15 - Y16 if Y14 is "Protestant" or "Something else/other"

Y15. What church or denomination is that?

Y16. (IF BAPTIST) Is that Southern Baptist or something else?

1 Yes
5 No
7 Not applicable
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y17. Would you mind telling me your race? Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander?

1 White
2 Black
3 American Indian or Alaskan Native
4 Asian or Pacific Islander
5 Other (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
Y18. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

1 No
2 Yes, Mexican American, Chicano
3 Yes, Puerto Rican
4 Yes, Cuban
5 Yes, Hispanic
6 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y19. Sex of respondent (BY OBSERVATION)

1 Male
2 Female

Y20. How many telephones, counting extensions, do you have in your home?

1 1 → Go To Y24
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 7
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y21. Do all the telephones have the same number?

1 Yes → Go To Y24
2 No
3 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y22. Altogether, how many numbers are there?

2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 Seven or more
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y23. How many numbers are for business only?

0 0
1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 Seven or more
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Y24. As far as you know, is the number I dialed in the telephone book?

1 Yes → Go To Y26
2 No
3 Too recent to be listed → Go To Y26
8 Don't Know → Go To Y26
9 Refused → Go To Y26

Y25. Why isn't it listed (OPEN END)
