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>
<th>example: version #</th>
<th>state &amp; CD#</th>
<th>name</th>
<th>description</th>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 1 -</td>
<td>FL 06</td>
<td>Buddy MacKay</td>
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<td>Connie Mack</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Bob Graham</td>
<td>sen term not up--Dem</td>
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<td>Jon Mills</td>
<td>hse cand--Dem</td>
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<td>Cliff Stearns</td>
<td>hse cand--Rep</td>
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<td>Pete Wilson</td>
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<td>Alan Cranston</td>
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<td>Anna Eshoo</td>
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<td>Tom Campbell</td>
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<td>VERSION 3 -</td>
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<td>Chuck Douglas</td>
<td>hse cand--Rep</td>
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<td>sen cand--Dem</td>
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<td>Bob Graham</td>
<td>sen term not up--Dem</td>
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<td>Lowell Weicker</td>
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<td>Chris Dodd</td>
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<td>Bob Graham</td>
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<td>Claude Pepper --</td>
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<td>Wyche Fowler Jr</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Richard Ray</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>(no hse challenger)</td>
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**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 - WHITE
### 1988 Senate Study - NES

#### 1988 Post-Election Study

**QUESTIONNAIRE VERSIONS**

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

**Includes 2 cases from MA06, in which a Democratic candidate ran unopposed**
I. Hello, 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 whom 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 completed voluntarily 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 19, 1988
A2. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch news programs on TV?
1 2 3 4 5 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 2 3 4 5 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)

December 19, 1988
B6. (What is (NAME) party affiliation?)

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

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

1 James W. Donchess
2 Chuck Douglas
5 Run unopposed => Go To B17
6 Can't remember name but mention party
7 Other => Specify
8 Don't Know => Go To B17
9 Refused => Go To B17

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

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

B17. And how about the two U.S. Senators from your state. Do you happen to remember what their names are?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To Section III, C1
8 Don't Know => Go To Section III, C1
9 Refused => Go To Section III, C1

B18. What are they? (ASK AS FIRST MENTION)

1 Gordon J. Humphrey
2 Warren Rudman
6 Can't remember name but mention party
7 Other => 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 - C6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
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<tr>
<td>C1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>C2.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>C3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>C5.</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6.</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
IV.

D13. Is there anything in particular that you like about Gordon J. Humphrey who is a (DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN) U.S. Senator in Washington from your state?

1. Yes
2. No —— Go To D15
3. R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE —— Go To D17
4. Don’t Know —— Go To D15
5. Refused —— Go To D15

D14. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D15. Is there anything in particular that you didn’t like about Gordon J. Humphrey?

1. Yes
2. No —— Go To D17
3. Don’t Know —— Go To D17
4. Refused —— Go To D17

D16. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D17. Is there anything in particular that you like about Warren Rudman who is a (DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN) U.S. Senator in Washington from your state?

1. Yes
2. No —— Go To D19
3. R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE —— Go To D21
4. Don’t Know —— Go To D19
5. Refused —— Go To D19

D18. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D19. Is there anything in particular that you didn’t like about Warren Rudman?

1. Yes
2. No —— Go To D21
3. Don’t Know —— Go To D21
4. Refused —— Go To D21

D20. 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 James W. Donchess the Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 Yes
2 No
3 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE — Go To D25
4 Don't know
5 Refused

D22. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D23. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about James W. Donchess?

1 Yes
2 No
3 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE — Go To D25
4 Don't know
5 Refused

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

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

1 Yes
2 No
3 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE — Go To Section V, E2
4 Don't know
5 Refused

D26. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

D27. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about Chuck Douglas?

1 Yes
2 No
3 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE — Go To Section V, E2
4 Don't know
5 Refused

D28. What was that? (Anything else) (ASK AS OPEN END. ALLOW FIVE MENTIONS)

December 19, 1988
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)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
VI.

There are many ways in which U.S. Senators can have contact with the people from their state. I will read a list of some of these ways. Think of Gordon J. Humphrey who is a U.S. Senator from this state.

F41. Have you met him personally?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
7 R insists: NEVER HEARD OF CANDIDATE -> Go To F49

F42. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F43. (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

F44. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F45. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F46. Heard him on the radio?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F47. Seen him on TV?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F48. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Gordon J. Humphrey?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F49. How about Warren Rudman who is the other U.S. Senator from this state. Have you met him personally?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
7 R insists: NEVER HEARD OF CANDIDATE -> Go To Section VII. G17

F50. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
F51. (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

F52. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F53. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F54. Heard him on the radio?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F55. Seen him on TV?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F56. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Warren Rudman?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

December 19, 1988
G22. Heard him on the radio?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G23. Seen him on TV?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G24. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with James W. Donchess?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G25. How about Chuck Douglas who also ran for the U.S. House of Representatives from this district in the last election. Have you met him personally?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
7 R insists: NEVER HEARD OF THIS CANDIDATE -> Go To Section VIII.

G26. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G27. Did you talk to someone in his office or to a member of his staff?
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. Have you 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 Chuck Douglas?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
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  4 Ask questions H2 - H5
2 No, did not vote  4 Ask questions H6 - H10
3 Don't Know  4 Ask questions H6 - H10
4 Refused  4 Ask questions H6 - H10

4 Ask questions H2 - H3 if H1 is "Yes, did vote"

H2. How about the election for President? Did you vote for a candidate for President?

1 Yes
2 No  4 Go To H4
3 Don't Know  4 Go To H4
4 Refused  4 Go To H4

H3. Who did you vote for? (ASK AS OPEN END)

1 George Bush
2 Michael Dukakis
3 Other  4 Specify
4 Don't Know
5 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: James W. Donchess, Chuck Douglas) Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1 Yes
2 Other  4 Specify
3 Don't Know
4 Refused

H5. Who did you vote for? (ASK AS OPEN END)

1 James W. Donchess
2 Chuck Douglas
3 Other  4 Specify
4 Don't Know
5 Refused

4 Ask questions H6 - H10 if H1 is "No, did not vote" or "Don't Know" or "Refused"

FOR RS WHO DID NOT VOTE

H6. Were you registered to vote in this election?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Other  4 Specify
4 Don't Know
5 Refused

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

1 Yes
2 No  4 Go To H9
3 Other  4 Specify
4 Don't Know
5 Refused  4 Go To H9

H8. Which candidate was that?

1 George Bush
2 Michael Dukakis
3 Other  4 Specify
4 Don't Know
5 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: James W. Donchess, Chuck Douglas) Did you PREFER one of the candidates for the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?

1 Yes
2 No  4 Go To Section IX, J29
3 Don't Know  4 Go To Section IX, J29
4 Refused  4 Go To Section IX, J29

December 19, 1988
H10. Which candidate was that?

1 James W. Donches 
2 Chuck Douglas 
3 Other >>> Specify 
8 Don't Know 
9 Refused

IX.

J29. Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted Senator Gordon J. Humphrey or anyone in his office?

1 Yes >>> Ask questions J30 – J32
5 No >>> Go To J33
8 Don't Know >>> Go To J33
9 Refused >>> Go To J33

Ask questions J30 – J32 if J29 is "Yes"

J30. 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

J31. Did you get a response from your Senator or his office?

1 Yes
5 No >>> Go To J33
8 Don't Know >>> Go To J33
9 Refused >>> Go To J33

J32. 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

December 19, 1988
J33. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Senator Gordon J. Humphrey or anyone in his office?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know 4. Refused

Ask questions J34 - J35 if J33 is "Yes"

J34. Did this person or group get a response?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know 4. Refused

J35. How satisfied was this person or group with the response? VERY SATISFIED, SOMewhat SATISFIED, NOT VERY SATISFIED or NOT AT ALL SATISFIED?


J36. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Senator Gordon J. Humphrey has been handling his job?

1. Approve 2. Disapprove 3. Don't know 4. Refused

Ask question J37 if J36 is "Approve"

J37. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?


Ask question J38 if J36 is "Disapprove"

J38. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?


J39. If you had a problem that Senator Gordon J. Humphrey could do something about, do you think he would be VERY HELPFUL, SOMewhat HELPFUL, or NOT VERY HELPFUL to you?


J40. Do you happen to remember anything special that Senator Gordon J. Humphrey has done for the people in his district while he has been in Congress?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Hasn't done anything 4. Don't know 5. Refused

December 19, 1988
J41. Now we would like your opinion about the way Gordon J. Humphrey 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  
2. 3. Agreed and disagreed about equally  
4. Disagreed  
5. Haven't paid much attention  
6. Don't Know  
7. Refused

J42. How good a job would you say Senator Gordon J. Humphrey does of keeping in touch with the people in your district — does he do a VERY GOOD, FAIRLY GOOD, FAIRLY POOR, or POOR job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?

1. Very good  
2. Fairly good  
3. Fairly poor  
4. Poor  
5. Don't Know  
6. Refused

J43. How about Senator Warren Rudman who is also a U.S. Senator from your state. Have you or anyone in your family been contacted by the Senator Warren Rudman or anyone in his office?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Don't Know  
4. Refused

J44. Was it so? [ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE MENTION]

1 2 3

Express an opinion  
Seek information  
Seek help on a problem you had  
No further information (VOL)  
Don't Know  
Refused

J45. Did you get a response from your Senator or his office?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Don't Know  
4. Refused

J46. 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  
3. Not very satisfied  
4. Not at all satisfied  
5. Don't Know  
6. Refused

J47. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Senator Warren Rudman or anyone in his office?

1. Yes  
2. No  
3. Don't Know  
4. Refused
Ask questions 348 - 349 if 347 is "Yes"

J48. Did this person or group get a response?
1 Yes
5 No — Go To J50
8 Don't Know — Go To J50
9 Refused — Go To J50

J49. How satisfied was this person or group with the response?
1 Very satisfied
2 Somewhat satisfied
4 Not very satisfied
5 Not at all satisfied
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J50. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Senator Warren Rudman has been handling his job?
1 Approve — Ask question J51
5 Disapprove — Ask question J52
8 Don't Know — Go To J53
9 Refused — Go To J53

Ask question J51 if J50 is "Approve"

J51. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?
1 Strongly
2 Not strongly
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask question J52 if J50 is "Disapprove"

J52. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?
5 Strongly
4 Not Strongly
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J53. If you had a problem that Senator Warren Rudman could do something about, do you think he would be VERY HELPFUL, SOMEWHA T HELPFUL, or NOT VERY HELPFUL to you?
1 Very helpful
2 Somewhat helpful
3 Not very helpful
7 Depends (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J54. Do you happen to remember anything special that Senator Warren Rudman has done for the people in his district while he has been in Congress?
1 Yes
5 No
7 Haven't done anything (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J55. Now we would like your opinion about the way Senator Warren Rudman 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
J36. How good a job would you say Senator Warren Rudman 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
5 Don't Know
9 Refused

J37. Does Gordon J. Humphrey hold any important committee or leadership position in the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To J37
8 Don't Know => Go To J37
9 Refused => Go To J37

J38. What position is that? (ASK AS OPEN END)

J39. Does Warren Rudman hold any important committee or leadership position in the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To J81
8 Don’t Know => Go To J81
9 Refused => Go To J81

J40. 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
J85. 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

J86. Making sure the district 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

X.

K1. 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

K2. 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

K3. 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

K4. 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
### 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>Item</th>
<th>Increased</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>Cut out entirely (VOL)</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be INCREASED, DECREASED, or KEPT ABOUT THE SAME?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Social security?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Food Stamps?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Aid to the Contras in Nicaragua?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Government assistance for the unemployed?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Star Wars?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Care of the elderly?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. Fighting the disease AIDS?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. Childcare?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. The war on drugs?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. Defense spending?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. Medical care?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. Fight racial discrimination</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### XI.

**L.1.** 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 => Ask question L2
2. Same (VOL) => Go To L4
3. Worse off => Ask question L3
4. Don't Know => Go To L4
5. Refused => Go To L4

**Ask question L2 if L1 is "Better off"**

**L.2.** 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"**

**L.3.** Is that MUCH worse or SOMEWHAT worse?

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

**L.4.** 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 => Ask question L5
2. Same => Go To L7
3. Gotten worse => Ask question L6
4. Don't Know => Go To L7
5. Refused => Go To L7
Ask question L5 if L4 is "Gotten better"

L5. Is that MUCH better or SOMewhat better?

1 Much better
2 Somewhat better
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask question L6 if L4 is "Gotten worse"

L6. Is that MUCH worse or SOMewhat worse?

5 Much worse
4 Somewhat worse
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

L7. What about economic conditions in this STATE? Would you say that over the past year, economic conditions in this state have gotten better, stayed about the same or gotten worse?

1 Gotten better --- Ask question L8
3 Same --- Go To L10
5 Gotten worse --- Ask question L9
8 Don't Know --- Go To L10
9 Refused --- Go To L10

Ask question L8 if L7 is "Gotten better"

L8. Is that MUCH better or SOMewhat better?

1 Much better
2 Somewhat better
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

Ask question L9 if L7 is "Gotten worse"

L9. Is that MUCH worse or SOMewhat worse?

5 Much worse
4 Somewhat worse
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

L10. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Think about a ruler for 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

If L10 is one of [1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very conservative] --- Go To L12

L11. If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

1 Liberal --- Go To L13
3 Moderate, middle of road --- Go To L13
5 Conservative --- Go To L13
7 R INSISTS THEY DON'T KNOW --- Go To L13
8 Don't Know --- Go To L14
9 Refused --- Go To L14

December 19, 1988
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=4,5,7 READ: Conservative); (IF L10=6 READ: Middle of the road)

1 Yes
5 No
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>Randomized names</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. George Bush</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Michael Dukakis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Gordon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Warren Rudman</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Jesse W. Jackson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Chuck Douglas</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Ronald Reagan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. The Democrat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. The Republican</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
0 Haven't thought much about this
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

L15. 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
3 Legal under certain circumstances
5 Never legal
8 Don't Know
9 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.

L16. 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 Every effort to help blacks
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 No effort to help blacks
0 Haven't thought about it
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

L17. You rated yourself as a ______. Just to make sure I have it right, that means this: (IF L16=1,2,3 READ: You feel the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks); (IF L16=4,5,6,7 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, 9998=DK, 9999=NA) [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ]

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

1 Yes
2 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
2 Widowed
3 Divorced
4 Separated
5 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 Associates 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>Status</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working now</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laid off</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Respondent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondent's spouse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other family member</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</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 1986 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: $1?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $30,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30,000 exactly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $30,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $20,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 exactly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $20,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 exactly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $10,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $40,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$40,000 exactly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $40,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $60,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$60,000 exactly</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over $60,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Y14. Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?
1 Protestant -> Ask questions Y15 - Y16
2 Roman Catholic -> Go To Y17
3 Jewish -> Go To Y17
4 Something else/other -> Ask questions Y15 - Y16
5 None/no preference -> Go To Y17
8 Don't Know -> Go To Y17
9 Refused -> Go To Y17

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, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?
5 No
1 Yes, Mexican American, Chicano
2 Yes, Puerto Rican
3 Yes, Cuban
4 Yes, Hispanic
8 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
5 No
8 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)

RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

FILL OUT AFTER COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW

NAME: ___________________________ TELEPHONE: 11-111

ADDRESS: ___________________________ COUNTY: ___________________________

CITY: ___________________________ STATE: ___________________________ ZIP: 111

BE SURE TO RECORD LENGTH AND DATE ON FRONT PAGE

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________________________________________

INTERVIEWER, PLEASE READ AND SIGN.

I have reread this completed questionnaire and certify that all questions requiring answers have been recorded in the respondent's exact words, and that all boxes and spaces requiring an "X", a number, or a letter are filled in. This bona fide interview has been obtained according to quote and all interviewing specifications. I agree to keep the content of questions, respondent's answers, and the subject of this interview confidential.

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE: ___________________________

SUPERVISOR'S NAME: ___________________________ DATE: ___________________________

INTERVIEWER:

Were there any special circumstances or conditions under which this interview was conducted? If so, please explain in detail:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________