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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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERSION 1 - FL 06</td>
<td>Buddy MacKay, Connie Mack, Bob Graham, Jon Mills, Cliff Stearns</td>
<td>sen cand--Dem, sen cand--Rep, sen term not up--Dem, hse cand--Dem, hse cand--Rep</td>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 2 - CA 12</td>
<td>Leo McCarthy, Pete Wilson, Alan Cranston, Anna Eshoo, Tom Campbell</td>
<td>sen challenger--Dem, sen incumbent--Rep, sen term not up--Dem, hse cand--Dem, hse cand--Rep</td>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 3 - NH 02</td>
<td>Gordon Humphrey, Warren Rudman, James Donchess, Chuck Douglas</td>
<td>senator--Rep, senator--Rep, hse cand--Dem, hse cand--Rep</td>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 4 - FL 01</td>
<td>Buddy MacKay, Connie Mack, Bob Graham, Earl Hutto, E.D. Armbruster</td>
<td>sen cand--Dem, sen cand--Rep, sen term not up--Dem, hse incumbent--Dem, hse challenger--Rep</td>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 5 - CT 01</td>
<td>Joseph Lieberman, Lowell Weicker, Chris Dodd, Barbara Kennedy, Mario Robles</td>
<td>sen challenger--Dem, sen incumbent--Rep, sen term not up--Dem, hse incumbent--Dem, hse challenger--Rep</td>
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<td>VERSION</td>
<td>STATE</td>
<td>CD#</td>
<td>NAME</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>GA</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>Sam Nunn</td>
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<td>Wyche Fowler Jr</td>
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<td>Robert L. Thomas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>John C. Meredith</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>FL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Buddy MacKay</td>
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<td>Bob Graham</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>TX</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>Lloyd Bentsen</td>
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<td>Beau Boulter</td>
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<td>Phil Gramm</td>
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<td>Wyche Fowler Jr</td>
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<td>Richard Ray</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
## QUESTIONNAIRE VERSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Number</th>
<th>U.S. Senate Election</th>
<th>U.S. House Election</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>No Incumbent</td>
<td>No Incumbent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Incumbent</td>
<td>No Incumbent**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>No Race</td>
<td>No Incumbent</td>
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<td>No Incumbent</td>
<td>Incumbent w/Opposition</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>No Race</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
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<td>Incumbent w/No Opposition</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Incumbent</td>
<td>Incumbent w/No Opposition</td>
</tr>
<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
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 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
3 Somewhat interested
5 Not much interested
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

December 19, 1988
A2. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch news programs on TV?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Days</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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
- 2 Disapprove
- 3 Don't Know
- 4 Refused

B2. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 1 Strongly
- 2 Not strongly
- 3 Don't Know
- 4 Refused

B3. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

- 5 Strongly
- 6 Not strongly
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refused

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

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

B5. Who were they? (FIRST MENTION)

- 1 Robert Lindsay Thomas
- 2 John Christian Meredith
- 3 Can't remember name but mention party
- 4 Other

---

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

1 Democrat
2 Republican
3 Other party = Specify
4 Don’t Know
5 Refused

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

1 Robert Lindsay Thomas
2 John Christian Meredith
3 Run unopposed = Go To B17
4 Can’t remember name but mention party
5 Other = Specify
6 Don’t Know = Go To B17
7 Refused = Go To B17

B8. What is (NAME) party affiliation?

1 Democrat
2 Republican
3 Other party = Specify
4 Don’t Know
5 Refused

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

1 Yes
2 No = Go To Section III, C1
3 Don’t Know = Go To Section III, C1
4 Refused = Go To Section III, C1

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

1 Wyche Fowler, Jr.
2 Sam Nunn
3 Can’t remember name but mention party
4 Other = Specify
5 Don’t Know = Go To Section III, C1
6 Refused = Go To Section III, C1
Post Election Study Vers6

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>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1. George Bush</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2. Michael Dukakis</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>C3. Wyche Fowler, Jr.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4. Sam Nunn</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5. Robert Lindsay Thomas</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6. John Christian Meredith</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</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 the 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

December 19, 1988
IV.

D13. Is there anything in particular that you like about Wyche Fowler, Jr., who is a (DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN) U.S. Senator in Washington from your state?

1 Yes
5 No ■■■ Go To D15
7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE ■■■ Go To D17
8 Don't Know ■■■ Go To D15
9 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 Wyche Fowler, Jr.?

1 Yes
5 No ■■■ Go To D17
8 Don't Know ■■■ Go To D17
9 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 Sam Nunn who is a (DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN) U.S. Senator in Washington from your state?

1 Yes
5 No ■■■ Go To D19
7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE ■■■ Go To D21
8 Don't Know ■■■ Go To D19
9 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 Sam Nunn?

1 Yes
5 No ■■■ Go To D21
8 Don't Know ■■■ Go To D21
9 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 Robert Lindsay Thomas 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]

D23. Was there anything in particular that you didn't like about Robert Lindsay Thomas?

1 Yes  5 No → Go To D23  8 Don't Know → Go To D23  9 Refused → Go To D23

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

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

1 Yes  5 No → Go To D27  7 R VOLUNTEERS: DK ANYTHING ABOUT CANDIDATE → Go To Section V, E2
8 Don't Know → Go To D27  9 Refused → Go To D27

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 John Christian Meredith?

1 Yes  5 No → Go To Section V, E2  8 Don't Know → Go To Section V, E2  9 Refused → Go To Section V, E2

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

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 problem 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 Wyche Fowler, Jr. 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 insist: 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 Wyche Fowler, Jr.?
   1 Yes
   5 No
   8 Don't Know
   9 Refused

F49. How about Sam Nunn 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 insist: NEVER HEARD OF CANDIDATE -> Go To Section VII, GI

F50. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?
   1 Yes
   5 No
   8 Don't Know
   9 Refused
FS1. (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

FS2. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

FS3. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

FS4. Heard him on the radio?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

FS5. Seen him on TV?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

FS6. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Sam Nunn?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

December 19, 1988
G6. Heard him on the radio?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G7. Seen him on TV?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G8. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Robert Lindsay Thomas?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G9. How about John Christian Meredith who also ran for the 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.

G10. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G11. (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

G12. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G13. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G14. Heard him on the radio?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G15. Seen him on TV?
1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G16. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with John Christian Meredith?
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  ➔ Ask questions H2 - H5
5  No, did not vote  ➔ Ask questions H6 - H10
8  Don't Know  ➔ Ask questions H6 - H10
9  Refused  ➔ Ask questions H6 - H10

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 ➔ Go To H4
8  Don't Know ➔ Go To H4
9  Refused ➔ Go To H4

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

2  George Bush
1  Michael Dukakis
7  Other ➔ Specify
8  Don't Know
9  Refused

H4. I am going to read a list of candidates for the races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives, the ballot listed (ROTATE: Robert Lindsay Thomas, John Christian Meredith) 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 ➔ Go To Section IX, J29
8  Don't Know ➔ Go To Section IX, J29
9  Refused ➔ Go To Section IX, J29

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

1  Robert Lindsay Thomas
2  John Christian Meredith
7  Other ➔ Specify
8  Don't Know
9  Refused

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
5  No
7  R VOLUNTEERS: VOTERS NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER
8  Don't Know
9  Refused

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 races in your district. In the election for the House of Representatives, the ballot listed: (ROTATE: Robert Lindsay Thomas, John Christian Meredith Did you PREFER one of the candidates for the U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES?

1  Yes
5  No ➔ Go To Section IX, J29
8  Don't Know ➔ Go To Section IX, J29
9  Refused ➔ Go To Section IX, J29

December 19, 1988
H10. Which candidate was that?

1 Robert Lindsay Thomas
2 John Christian Meredith
3 Other => Specify
4 Don't Know
5 Refused
J33. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Senator Wyche Fowler, Jr. or anyone in his office?

1 Yes  Ask questions J34 - J35
5 No  Go To J36
8 Don't Know  Go To J36
9 Refused  Go To J36

Ask questions J34 - J35 if J33 is "Yes"

J34. Did this person or group get a response?

1 Yes
5 No  Go To J36
8 Don't Know  Go To J36
9 Refused  Go To J36

J35. 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

J36. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Senator Wyche Fowler, Jr. has been handling his job?

1 Approve  Ask question J37
5 Disapprove  Ask question J38
8 Don't Know  Go To J39
9 Refused  Go To J39

Ask question J37 if J36 is "Approve"

J37. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

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

Ask question J38 if J36 is "Disapprove"

J38. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

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

J39. If you had a problem that SENATOR Wyche Fowler, Jr. 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 (VOL)
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

J40. Do you happen to remember anything special that Senator Wyche Fowler, Jr. has done for the people in his district while he has been in Congress?

1 Yes
5 No
7 Hasn't done anything
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
J41. Now we would like your opinion about the way Wyche Fowler, Jr. 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. Agree and disagreed about equally
3. Disagreed
4. Haven't paid much attention
5. Don't Know
6. Refused

J42. How good a job would you say Senator Wyche Fowler, Jr. 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 Sam Nunn who is also a U.S. Senator from your state. Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted Senator Sam Nunn or anyone in his office?

1. Yes => Ask questions J44 - J46
2. No => Go To J47
3. Don't Know => Go To J47
4. Refused => Go To J47

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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 Sam Nunn 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 Sam Nunn 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 (VOL)
8 Don’t Know
9 Refused

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

J55. Now we would like your opinion about the way Senator Sam Nunn 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
J56. How good a job would you say Senator Sam Nunn 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

J57. Have you or anyone in your family ever contacted Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas or anyone in his office?

1 Yes => Ask questions J58 – J60
5 No => Go To J61
8 Don't Know => Go To J61
9 Refused => Go To J61

Ask questions J58 – J60 if J57 is "Yes"

J58. 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 mention (VOL) ............ 4 4 4
Don't Know .......................... 8
Refused ............................ 9

J59. Did you get a response from your Representative or his office?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To J61
8 Don't Know => Go To J61
9 Refused => Go To J61

J60. 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

J61. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas or anyone in his office?

1 Yes => Ask questions J62 – J63
5 No => Go To J64
8 Don't Know => Go To J64
9 Refused => Go To J64

Ask questions J62 – J63 if J61 is "Yes"

J62. Did this person or group get a response?

1 Yes
5 No => Go To J64
8 Don't Know => Go To J64
9 Refused => Go To J64

J63. How satisfied was this person or group with the response? (READ RESPONSES.)

1 Very satisfied
2 Somewhat satisfied
4 Not very satisfied
5 Not at all satisfied
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
J64. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the way Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas has been handling his job?

1. Approve  
5. Disapprove  
8. Don't Know  
9. Refused  

Ask question J65 if J64 is "Approve"

J65. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

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

Ask question J66 if J64 is "Disapprove"

J66. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

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

J67. If you had a problem that Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas could do something about, do you think he would be VERY HELPFUL, SOMETHAT 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

J68. Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas has done for the people in his district while he has been in Congress?

1. Yes  
5. No  
7. Nothing  
8. Don't Know  
9. Refused

J69. Now we would like your opinion about the way Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas has voted on bills that have come up in the U.S. House of Representatives 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 to this  
8. Don't Know  
9. Refused

J70. How good a job would you say U.S. Representative Robert Lindsay Thomas 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  
8. Don't Know  
9. Refused

J75. Does Wyche Fowler, Jr. hold any important committee or leadership position in the U.S. Senate?

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

December 19, 1988
176. What position is that? *(ASK AS OPEN END)*

177. Does Sam Nunn hold any important committee or leadership position in the U.S. Senate?

1  Yes  
5  No  **Go To 178**  
8  Don't Know  **Go To 178**  
9  Refused  **Go To 178**

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

179. Does Robert Lindsay Thomas hold any important committee or leadership position in the House of Representatives?

1  Yes  
5  No  **Go To 181**  
8  Don't Know  **Go To 181**  
9  Refused  **Go To 181**

180. 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.

181. 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

---

December 19, 1988
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

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 the Democratic Party?

1 Closer to Republican
5 Closer to Democratic
3 Neither
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
K5. 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...

Randomize items a - n

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<th></th>
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<th>Same</th>
<th>Decreased (VOL)</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
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</table>

Post Election Study Vers6

XI.

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

2. Ask question L2 if L1 is "Better off"

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

3. Ask question L3 if L1 is "Worse off"

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

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

December 19, 1986
risk 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

risk 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 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

risk 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

risk 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 Very liberal, 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
L.12 You rated yourself 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  
8 Don't Know  
9 Refused

L.13. Where would you place the following people on this same scale where one means very liberal and seven means very conservative?

Randomized items a - i

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>a. George Bush</td>
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<td>b. Michael Dukakis</td>
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<td>c. W. Wilson</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Sam Nunn</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| e. Robert  
   Lindsey| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| f. John  
   Chirac| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| g. Ronald  
   Reagan| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| h. The Democratic  
   Party| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| i. The Republican  
   Party| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

L.14. 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  
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.

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

L.17. You rated yourself as a ___ Just to make sure I have it right, that means that (IF L16=1,2,3 READ: You feel the government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks); (IF L10=4 READ: You are in the middle); (IF L16=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 (1888-1900, 1998*DK, 9999*NA)

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
5 Widowed
3 Divorced
4 Separated
2 Never married
7 Partner: 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]

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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Laid off</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
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<td>Disabled</td>
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<td>Retired</td>
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<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
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<td>Student</td>
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<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>99</td>
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</table>

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

1 Yes
3 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]

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<td>Respondent's spouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other family member</td>
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<tr>
<td>Someone else</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Refused</td>
<td>9</td>
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</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 Over $30,000 -> Ask questions Y12 - Y13
8 Don't Know -> Go To Y14
9 Refused -> Go To Y14
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
2 No
3 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
Y22. Altogether, how many numbers are there?

1 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  Go To Y26
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)

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Comments

Y27. Interviewer, Do you have any comment concerning this interview?

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