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>
</tr>
</thead>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERSION 2 -</td>
<td>CA 12</td>
<td>Lec McCarthy</td>
<td>sen challenger--Dem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Pete Wilson</td>
<td>sen incumbent--Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Alan Cranston</td>
<td>sen term not up--Dem</td>
</tr>
<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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<tr>
<td>VERSION 3 -</td>
<td>NH 02</td>
<td>Gordon Humphrey</td>
<td>senator--Rep</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Warren Rudman</td>
<td>senator--Rep</td>
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<td></td>
<td>James Donchess</td>
<td>hse cand--Dem</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chuck Douglas</td>
<td>hse cand--Rep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERSION 4 -</td>
<td>FL 01</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>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Earl Hutto</td>
<td>hse incumbent--Dem</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>E.D. Armbruster</td>
<td>hse challenger--Rep</td>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 5 -</td>
<td>CT 01</td>
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<td>Lowell Weicker</td>
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<td>Chris Dodd</td>
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<td>Barbara Kennelly</td>
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<tr>
<td>VERSION 6 -</td>
<td>GA 01</td>
<td>Sam Nunn</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wyche Fowler Jr</td>
<td>senator--Dem</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert L. Thomas</td>
<td>hse incumbent--Dem</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John C. Meredith</td>
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<td>VERSION 7 -</td>
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<td>Connie Mack</td>
<td>sen cand--Rep</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>Claude Pepper</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(no hse challenger)</td>
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<td>Beau Boulter</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wyche Fowler Jr</td>
<td>senator--Dem</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richard Ray</td>
<td>hse incumbent--Dem</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(no hse challenger)</td>
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</tbody>
</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 - WHITE
### 1988 Post-Election Study

#### 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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</thead>
<tbody>
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</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>No Incumbent</td>
<td>Incumbent w/Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Incumbent</td>
<td>Incumbent w/Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>No Race</td>
<td>Incumbent w/Opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>No Incumbent</td>
<td>Incumbent w/No Opposition</td>
</tr>
<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.
Post Election Study Vers?

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 suppose 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.

A. 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 8, 1988
A2. How many days IN THE PAST WEEK did you watch news programs on TV?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Everyday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Everyday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>None ==&gt; Go To Section II, B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know ==&gt; Go To Section II, B1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused ==&gt; Go To Section II, B1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Approve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Disapprove ==&gt; Go To B3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know ==&gt; Go To B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused ==&gt; Go To B4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B2. Do you approve STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly ==&gt; Go To B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Not strongly ==&gt; Go To B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know ==&gt; Go To B4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused ==&gt; Go To B4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B3. Do you disapprove STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Not strongly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>No ==&gt; Go To B9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know ==&gt; Go To B9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused ==&gt; Go To B9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B5. Who were they? (FIRST MENTION)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Claude Pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Can't remember name but mention party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Other ==&gt; Specify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Don't Know ==&gt; Go To B9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Refused ==&gt; Go To B9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### B6. What is (NAME) party affiliation?

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Other party -> Specify
- 4 Don't Know
- 5 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
- 2 No -> Go To B14
- 3 Don't Know -> Go To B14
- 4 Refused -> Go To B14

### B10. Who were they? (FIRST MENTION)

- 1 Buddy MacKay
- 2 Connie Mack
- 3 Can't remember name but mention party
- 4 Other -> Specify
- 5 Don't Know -> Go To B14
- 6 Refused -> Go To B14

### B11. What is (NAME) party affiliation?

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Other party -> Specify
- 4 Don't Know
- 5 Refused

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

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

---

December 8, 1988
### 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>Name</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>NA</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1. George Bush</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2. Michael Dukakis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3. Buddy MacKay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4. Connie Mack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5. Bob Graham</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6. Claude Pepper</td>
<td>1</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 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.

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

1 Yes
2 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
2 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
3 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
3 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
3 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

December 8, 1988
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 Claude Pepper 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 Section V, E1
8 Don't Know -> Go To D23
9 Refused -> Go To D23

December 8, 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?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Republicans</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wouldn't be much difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Neither (VOL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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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 his through any of these ways?

F17. Have you met him personally?

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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Refused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Insists: NEVER HEARD OF CANDIDATE</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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F19. (Have you) talked to a member of his staff or to someone in his office?

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<td>4</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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F20. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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F21. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

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<td>No</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
F20. Heard him on the radio?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F21. Seen him on TV?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F22. Do you know anyone, any of your family, friends, or people at work, who have had some contact with Buddy Mackay?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

F23. How about Connie Mack who also ran for the U.S. Senate from this state 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 CANDIDATE => Go To F33

F24. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

December 8, 1988
F33. How about Bob Graham who is a United States Senator for your state? Have you met him personally?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 Refused
5 R insists: NEVER HEARD OF THIS PERSON -> Go to Section VII, Q1

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

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 Refused

F35. (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

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

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 Refused

F37. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 Refused

F38. Heard him on the radio?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 Refused

F39. Seen him on TV?

1 Yes
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 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
2 No
3 Don't Know
4 Refused
G1. Similarly, there are many ways in which U.S. Representatives can have contact with the people from their districts. Again, I will read a list of some of these ways. Think of Claude Pepper who has been a U.S. Representative in Washington. Have you met him personally?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused
R Insists: NEVER HEARD OF THIS CANDIDATE => Go To H!

G2. Have you attended a meeting or gathering where he spoke?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G3. (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

G4. (Have you) received something in the mail from him?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

G5. Read about him in a newspaper or magazine?

1 Yes
5 No
8 Don't Know
9 Refused

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 Claude Pepper?

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 — Ask questions H2 — H5
2. No, did not vote — Ask questions H6 — H8
3. Don't Know — Ask questions H6 — H8
4. Refused — Ask questions H6 — H8

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
2. No — Go To H4
3. Don't Know — Go To H4
4. Refused — Go To H4

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

1. George Bush
2. Michael Dukakis
3. Other — Specify

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 the Democratic candidate Claude Pepper who ran unopposed. Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives?

1. Yes
2. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTED FOR CANDIDATE WHOSE NAME WAS NOT READ
3. No — Go To H13
4. Don't Know — Go To H13
5. Refused — Go To H13

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

1. Claude Pepper — Go To H13
2. Voted for opposite party of straight party ticket — Go To H13
3. Other — Specify — Go To H13
4. Don’t Know — Go To H13
5. Refused — Go To H13

Ask questions H6 — H8 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
2. No
3. R VOLUNTEERS: VOTERS NOT REQUIRED TO REGISTER
4. Don’t Know
5. Refused

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

1. Yes
2. No — Go To H11
3. Don’t Know — Go To H11
4. Refused — Go To H11

H8. Which candidate was that?

1. George Bush
2. Michael Dukakis
3. Other — Specify
4. Don’t Know
5. Refused

December 8, 1998
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

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

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
   2 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
   3 Disapprove  => Ask question J24
   8 Don't Know  => Go To J25
   9 Refused  => Go To J23

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?
   3 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 (VOL)
   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
2. Agreed and disagreed about equally
3. Disagreed
4. Haven’t paid much attention
5. Don’t Know
6. 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
5. Don’t Know
6. Refused

J57. Have you or anyone in your family living here ever contacted Representative Claude Pepper or anyone in his office?

1. Yes => Ask questions J58 - J60
2. No => Go To J61
3. Don’t Know => Go To J61
4. Refused => Go To J61

J58. Was it to (ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE MENTION) (USE F10 FOR NO FURTHER MENTION)

1 2 3

- - -

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

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

1. Yes
2. No => Go To J61
3. Don’t Know => Go To J61
4. 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
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied
5. Don’t Know
6. Refused

J61. Do you know anyone else who has contacted Representative Claude Pepper or anyone in his office?

1. Yes => Ask questions J62 - J63
2. No => Go To J64
3. Don’t Know => Go To J64
4. 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 Claude Pepper has been handling his job?
1 Approve ➔ Ask question J65
5 Disapprove ➔ Ask question J66
8 Don't Know ➔ Go To J67
9 Refused ➔ Go To J67

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

J67. If you had a problem that Representative Claude Pepper 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

J68. Do you happen to remember anything special that Representative Claude Pepper 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 Claude Pepper 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 Claude Pepper 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

J71. Does Bob Graham hold any important committee or leadership position in the U.S. Senate?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't know  
4 Refused

J72. What position is that? **ASK AS OPEN END**

J79. Does Claude Pepper hold any important committee or leadership position in the House of Representatives?

1 Yes  
2 No  
3 Don't know  
4 Refused

J80. What position is that? **ASK AS OPEN END**

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  
3 Not very important  
4 Not at all important  
5 Don't know  
6 Refused

J82. Working in Congress on bills concerning national issues?

1 Extremely important  
2 Somewhat important  
3 Not very important  
4 Not at all important  
5 Don't know  
6 Refused

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

1 Extremely important  
2 Somewhat important  
3 Not very important  
4 Not at all important  
5 Don't know  
6 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  
3 Not very important  
4 Not at all important  
5 Don't know  
6 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 K4
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
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>Same</th>
<th>Decreased</th>
<th>Cut out entirely (VOL)</th>
<th>DK</th>
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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>l. Defense spending?</td>
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<td>m. Medical care?</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>n. Fight racial discrimination</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</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 >>> Ask question L2
- 3 Same (VOL) >>> Go to L4
- 5 Worse off >>> Ask question L3
- 8 Don't Know >>> Go to L4
- 9 Refused >>> Go to L4

Ask question L2 if L1 is "Better off"

L2. Is that MUCH better or SOMewhat better?

- 1 Much better
- 2 Somewhat better
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

Ask question L3 if L1 is "Worse off"

L3. Is that MUCH worse or SOMewhat worse?

- 5 Much worse
- 4 Somewhat worse
- 8 Don't know
- 9 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 >>> Ask question L5
- 3 Same >>> Go to L7
- 5 Gotten worse >>> Ask question L6
- 8 Don't know >>> Go to L7
- 9 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?
3 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
8 Haven't thought about it
9 Refused

If L10 is one of 1 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
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=8 READ: Middle of the road).

1 Yes 
5 No 
9 Refused

L13. 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

<table>
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<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>DK</th>
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</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. Jesse Jackson</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. Claude Pepper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Ronald Reagan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. The Democratic Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. The Republican Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</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

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 help 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 
2 3 
4 4 
5 5 
6 6 
7 7 
8 Don't Know 
9 Refused

L17. 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 L16=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

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XII. Now for a few questions about you.

Y1. What is the year of your birth?

RECORD YEAR OF BIRTH (1862-1970, 9998=DK, 9999=NA) 111

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 06
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 unemployed, retired, (a homemaker), a student, or what? (ALLOW MULTIPLE MENTIONS) (USE F10 FOR NO FURTHER MENTION)

1 2 3 4

Working now ................. 1 1 1 1
Laid off ........................ 2 2 2 2
Unemployed .................... 4 4 4 4
Disabled ....................... 6 6 6 6
Retired ........................ 5 5 5 5
Homemaker .................... 7 7 7 7
Student ....................... 8 8 8 8
Don't Know ................... 98
Refused ...................... 99

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)

1 2 3 4

Respondent ................. 1 1 1 1
Respondent's spouse ........ 2 2 2 2
Other family member .......... 3 3 3 3
Someone else ............... 4 4 4 4
Refused .................... 9 9 9 9

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 8, 1988
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

Y18. And is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or 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
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 Seven or more
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Y23. How many numbers are for business only?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 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

AREA CODE: ___

NAME: ___________________________ TELEPHONE: __-___-___

ADDRESS: ________________________ COUNTY: __________

CITY: ___________________________ STATE: ___________ ZIP: ___-___

BE SURE TO RECORD LENGTH AND DATE ON FRONT PAGE

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: ____________________________

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE READ AND SIGN.

I have read 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 quota and all interviewing specifications. I agree to keep the con-
tent 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 con-
ducted? If so, please explain in detail:

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________

__________________________________________________________