

CODEBOOK

SETUPS VERSION OF ANES 1972-2004 DATA

CASEID Respondent case number (*Respondents are numbered from 1 [first 1972 respondent] to 17,650 [last 2004 respondent]. Numbering of respondents within each YEAR OF SURVEY is arbitrary.*)

V01 YEAR OF SURVEY Year in which the survey was conducted. (*Actual year is entered.*)

A. VOTING BEHAVIOR AND RELATED ITEMS

V02 REGISTERED TO VOTE? “Were you registered to vote in this Presidential election?” (*Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000*)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 9 NA

V03 VOTED IN ELECTION “In surveys about elections, it is often found 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 Presidential election?”

- 1 Voted
- 2 Did not vote
- 9 NA

V04 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE “Whom did you vote for in the Presidential election?” (*Responses are categorized by the party of the candidate that the respondent voted for.*)

- 1 Democratic
- 2 Republican
- 3 Other
- 9 NA

V05 TIME OF VOTE DECISION “How long before the election did you decide how you were going to vote?” (*Not available for 1996 or 2000.*)

- 1 All along
- 2 When candidate announced
- 3 During convention
- 4 Post-convention period
- 5 Last two weeks of campaign
- 6 Election day
- 9 NA

V06 SENATE VOTE “Whom did you vote for in the U.S. Senate election?” (*Responses are categorized by the party of the candidate that the respondent voted for.*)

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 9 Other/NA

V07 HOUSE VOTE “Whom did you vote for in the House of Representatives election?” (*Responses are categorized by the party of the candidate that the respondent voted for.*)

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 9 Other/NA

V08 HOUSE RACE TYPE Classification of the type of race for the U.S. House of Representatives in the respondent's district. Districts were classified as to whether: (1) a Democratic incumbent was running for reelection; (2) no incumbent was running for reelection; or (3) a Republican incumbent was running for reelection. (*Not available for 1972.*)

- 1 Democratic incumbent
- 2 No incumbent
- 3 Republican incumbent
- 9 NA

V09 PARTY IDENTIFICATION “Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what? If Democrat (Republican), would you call yourself a strong or not very strong Democrat (Republican)? If independent, do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?”

- 1 Strong Democrat
- 2 Weak Democrat
- 3 Independent Democrat
- 4 Independent
- 5 Independent Republican
- 6 Weak Republican
- 7 Strong Republican
- 9 NA

B. POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT ITEMS

V10 INTEREST IN ELECTION “How interested have you been in the political campaigns this year?” (*Note: coding for 2000 is not entirely consistent with that for other years.*)

- 1 Not much
- 2 Somewhat
- 3 Very much
- 9 NA

V11 WATCH TV NEWS ABOUT CAMPAIGN? “Did you watch any programs about the campaign on television?” (*Not available for 1988, 1996, and 2000.*)

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 9 NA

V12 READ NEWSPAPERS ABOUT CAMPAIGN? “Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?” (*Not available for 1996 and 2000.*)

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 9 NA

V13 MEDIA EXPOSURE INDEX “What sources of media did you use to follow the campaign?” (*Respondents were categorized according to the number of the following sources used: newspaper, television, radio, and magazines. Not available for 1988, 1996, 2000, or 2004.*)

- 1 No media
- 2 One media source
- 3 Two media sources
- 4 Three media sources
- 5 All four media sources
- 9 NA

V14 ATTEND POLITICAL MEETINGS? “Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?” (*Not available for 1996 or 2000.*)

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 9 NA

V15 WORK FOR PARTY OR CANDIDATE? “Did you do any work for one of the parties or candidates other than attending meetings or rallies?” (*Not available for 1996 or 2000.*)

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 9 NA

V16 DONATE MONEY? “Did you give money to an individual candidate or to a political party this election year?”

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 9 NA

C. CANDIDATE IMAGE ITEMS

V17 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE INSPIRING? “Does the phrase ‘inspiring’ describe the Democratic presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” (*Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, 2000, and 2004.*)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V18 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE KNOWLEDGEABLE? “Does the phrase ‘knowledgeable’ describe the Democratic presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” (*Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000.*)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V19 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE MORAL? “Does the phrase ‘moral’ describe the Democratic presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” (*Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000.*)

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V20 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE STRONG LEADER? “Does the phrase ‘strong leader’ describe the Democratic presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” *(Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000.)*

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V21 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE INSPIRING? “Does the phrase ‘inspiring’ describe the Republican presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” *(Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, 2000, and 2004.)*

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V22 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE KNOWLEDGEABLE? “Does the phrase ‘knowledgeable’ describe the Republican presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” *(Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000.)*

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V23 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE MORAL? “Does the phrase ‘moral’ describe the Republican presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” *(Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000.)*

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V24 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE STRONG LEADER? “Does the phrase ‘strong leader’ describe the Republican presidential candidate extremely well, quite well, or not well at all?” *(Not available for 1972, 1976, 1996, and 2000.)*

- 1 Extremely well
- 2 Quite well
- 3 Not well
- 9 NA

V25 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE THERMOMETER SCORE “On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel toward the Democratic presidential candidate?” *(Respondents are categorized into the five groups listed below.)*

- 1 0-20 degrees
- 2 21-40 degrees
- 3 41-60 degrees
- 4 61-80 degrees
- 5 81-100 degrees
- 9 NA

V26 DEMOCRATIC VP CANDIDATE THERMOMETER SCORE “On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel toward the Democratic vice presidential candidate?” *(Respondents are categorized into the five groups listed below.)*

- 1 0-20 degrees
- 2 21-40 degrees
- 3 41-60 degrees
- 4 61-80 degrees
- 5 81-100 degrees
- 9 NA

V27 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE THERMOMETER SCORE “On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel toward the Republican presidential candidate?” *(Respondents are categorized into the five groups listed below.)*

- 1 0-20 degrees
- 2 21-40 degrees
- 3 41-60 degrees
- 4 61-80 degrees
- 5 81-100 degrees
- 9 NA

V28 REPUBLICAN VP CANDIDATE THERMOMETER SCORE “On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel toward the Republican vice presidential candidate?” *(Respondents are categorized into the five groups listed below.)*

- 1 0-20 degrees
- 2 21-40 degrees
- 3 41-60 degrees
- 4 61-80 degrees
- 5 81-100 degrees
- 9 NA

D. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE ITEMS

V29 PRESIDENTIAL JOB APPROVAL “Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the President is handling his job?”

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove
- 9 NA

V30 MOST IMPORTANT NATIONAL PROBLEM “What do you think is the single most important problem facing this country?” (*Responses have been categorized into the five groups listed below.*)

- 1 Economy
- 2 Foreign affairs
- 3 Social welfare
- 4 Crime, public order
- 5 Other
- 9 NA

V31 BEST PARTY FOR PROBLEM “Which political party do you think would be most likely to get the government to do a better job in dealing with this problem — the Republicans, the Democrats, or wouldn't there be much difference between them?” (*Not available for 2004.*)

- 1 Democrats
- 2 No difference
- 3 Republicans
- 9 NA

V32 NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS “Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed the same, or gotten worse?” (*Not available for 1972 and 1976.*)

- 1 Better
- 2 Same
- 3 Worse
- 9 NA

V33 PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION “Would you say that you and your family are better off, the same, or worse off financially than you were a year ago?”

- 1 Better
- 2 Same
- 3 Worse
- 9 NA

E. IDEOLOGICAL ITEMS

V34 RESPONDENT: IDEOLOGY “We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Where would you place yourself in these terms?” (*Respondent’s self-placement on a scale running from “Liberal” to “Conservative.”*)

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Slightly liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Slightly conservative
- 5 Conservative
- 9 NA

V35 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE: IDEOLOGY Respondent’s placement of the Democratic presidential candidate on a scale running from “Liberal” to “Conservative.”

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Slightly liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Slightly conservative
- 5 Conservative
- 9 NA

V36 REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE: IDEOLOGY Respondent’s placement of the Republican presidential candidate on a scale running from “Liberal” to “Conservative.”

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Slightly liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Slightly conservative
- 5 Conservative
- 9 NA

V37 DEMOCRATIC PARTY: IDEOLOGY Respondent’s placement of the Democratic Party on a scale running from “Liberal” to “Conservative.”

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Slightly liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Slightly conservative
- 5 Conservative
- 9 NA

V38 REPUBLICAN PARTY: IDEOLOGY Respondent's placement of the Republican Party on a scale running from "Liberal" to "Conservative."

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Slightly liberal
- 3 Moderate
- 4 Slightly conservative
- 5 Conservative
- 9 NA

V39 PARTY IDEOLOGICAL DISTANCE Perceived ideological difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties, based on the respondent's placement of the parties on the above ideological scales.

- 1 No difference
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Great difference
- 9 NA

V40 IMPORTANT PARTY DIFFERENCES "Do you think there are any important differences in what the Republicans and Democrats stand for?" (*Not available for 1996 and 2000.*)

- 1 No
- 2 Yes
- 9 NA

F. ATTITUDES ON SPECIFIC ISSUES

V41 GUARANTEED JOB SCALE Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "Government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living" to "Government should let each person get ahead on their own."

- 1 Guaranteed job
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Individual on own
- 9 NA

V42 HEALTH PLAN SCALE Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "There should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone" to "All medical expenses should be paid by individuals or private insurance plans." (*Not available for 1980.*)

- 1 Government plan
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Private plan
- 9 NA

V43 MINORITY AID SCALE Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "Government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minorities" to "Government should not make any special effort to help blacks and other minorities because they should help themselves."

- 1 Help minorities
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Minorities on own
- 9 NA

V44 CIVIL RIGHTS CHANGE "Do you think the civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, too slowly, or are they moving at about the right speed?" (*Not available for 1996, 2000, and 2004.*)

- 1 Too slowly
- 2 About right
- 3 Too fast
- 9 NA

V45 ABORTION Respondent's agreement with one of the following statements: (1) By law, abortion should never be permitted; (2) The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger; (3) The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established; (4) By law, the woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice. (*Note: The question wording for the second and third categories was slightly different in 1972 and 1976.*)

- 1 Never permit
- 2 For rape, etc.
- 3 If need established
- 4 Always permit
- 9 NA

V46 ROLE OF WOMEN SCALE Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "Women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government" to "Women's place is in the home." (*Not available for 2000.*)

- 1 Equal role
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 In the home
- 9 NA

V47 DEFENSE SPENDING Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "We should spend much less on defense" to "We should greatly increase defense spending." (*Not available for 1972 and 1976.*)

- 1 Greatly decrease
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 Greatly increase
- 9 NA

V48 U.S. WORLD INVOLVEMENT "Do you agree or disagree with this statement, 'This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world?'" (*Not available for 1996.*)

- 1 Agree
- 2 Disagree
- 9 NA

V49 BEST PARTY TO AVOID WAR "Do you think the problem of keeping out war would be handled better in the next four years by the Republicans, by the Democrats, or about the same by both?" (*Not available for 1976, 1996, and 2004.*)

- 1 Democrats
- 2 No difference
- 3 Republicans
- 9 NA

G. GENERAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD GOVERNMENT

V50 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STRENGTH “Do you think the government in Washington is getting too strong or not strong enough for the good of the country and the individual person?” (*Not available for 1996, 2000, and 2004.*)

- 1 Not too strong
- 2 Too strong
- 9 NA

V51 TRUST IN GOVERNMENT “How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?”

- 1 Some of the time
- 2 Most of the time
- 9 NA

V52 GOVERNMENT RUN FOR ALL “Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?”

- 1 Few big interests
- 2 Benefit of all
- 9 NA

V53 OFFICIALS DON'T CARE “Do you agree or disagree with the statement, ‘I don't think public officials care much what people like me think?’” (*Note: no “neutral” category was available prior to 1988.*)

- 1 Agree
- 2 Neutral
- 3 Disagree
- 9 NA

V54 GOVERNMENT TAX WASTE “Do you think that people in the government waste a lot of money we pay in taxes or waste just some or very little of it?”

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some or little
- 9 NA

V55 PEOPLE HAVE NO SAY “Do you agree or disagree with the statement, ‘People like me don't have any say about what the government does?’” (*Note: no “neutral” category was available prior to 1988.*)

- 1 Agree
- 2 Neutral
- 3 Disagree
- 9 NA

V56 POLITICS TOO COMPLICATED “Do you agree or disagree with the statement, ‘Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on?’” (*Note: no “neutral” category was available prior to 1988. Not available for 2004.*)

- 1 Agree
- 2 Neutral
- 3 Disagree
- 9 NA

V57 GOVERNMENT PAYS ATTENTION “How much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do — not much, some, or a good deal?” (*Not available for 1996 or 2000.*)

- 1 Not much
- 2 Some
- 3 A good deal
- 9 NA

H. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

V58 GENDER Respondent's gender.

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 9 NA

V59 RACE Respondent's race.

- 1 White (non-Hispanic)
- 2 Black
- 3 Other (includes Hispanic)
- 9 NA

V60 AGE Respondent's age.

- 1 17-24
- 2 25-34
- 3 35-44
- 4 45-54
- 5 55-64
- 6 65-99
- 9 NA

V61 MARITAL STATUS Respondent's marital status.

- 1 Married
- 2 Single
- 3 Divorced/separated
- 4 Widowed
- 9 NA

V62 EDUCATION "What is the highest grade of school you have completed?" (*Responses have been categorized into the four educational levels listed below.*)

- 1 Not a high school graduate
- 2 High school graduate only
- 3 Some college
- 4 College graduate
- 9 NA

V63 EMPLOYMENT STATUS "Are you employed, looking for work, retired, or what?"

- 1 Employed
- 2 Unemployed
- 3 Retired/disabled
- 4 Homemaker
- 5 Student
- 9 NA

V64 OCCUPATION "What is your primary occupation?" (*Responses have been categorized into the four occupational groups listed below. Not available for 2004.*)

- 1 Professional/managerial
- 2 Clerical/sales
- 3 Manual work
- 4 Farm
- 0 NA

V65A PERCENTILE INCOME (1972-1992) “What was the total income of your family last year?” *(For 1972-1992 only, responses have been categorized into percentile groups in order to adjust for inflation. For example, someone in the fifth category had a family income that was in the top five percent of all family incomes in the country for that year.)*

- 1 0-16th percentile
- 2 17-33th percentile
- 3 34-67th percentile
- 4 68-95th percentile
- 5 96-100th percentile
- 9 NA

V65B DOLLAR INCOME (1996) “What was the total income of your family last year?” *(For 1996 only, respondents have been categorized into the income brackets listed below.)*

- 1 Less than \$10,000
- 2 \$10,000 to \$15,000
- 3 \$15,000 to \$25,000
- 4 \$25,000 to \$35,000
- 5 \$35,000 to \$50,000
- 6 \$50,000 to \$75,000
- 7 \$75,000 and over
- 9 NA

V65C DOLLAR INCOME (2000) “What was the total income of your family last year?” *(For 2000 only, respondents have been categorized into the income brackets listed below.)*

- 1 Less than \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000 to \$35,000
- 3 \$35,000 to \$65,000
- 4 \$65,000 to \$85,000
- 5 \$85,000 and over
- 9 NA

V65D DOLLAR INCOME (2004) “What was the total income of your family last year?” *(For 2004 only, respondents have been categorized into the income brackets listed below.)*

- 1 Less than \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000 to \$25,000
- 3 \$25,000 to \$35,000
- 4 \$35,000 to \$50,000
- 5 \$50,000 to \$80,000
- 6 \$80,000 to \$120,000
- 7 \$120,000 and over
- 9 NA

V66 SOCIAL CLASS “What would you call yourself: middle class or working class?” (*Not available for 1996.*)

- 1 Working class
- 2 Middle class
- 9 NA

V67 RELIGION “What is your religious denomination?” (*Note: “Catholic” includes Eastern Orthodox churches; “Other Christian” includes Mormons, Quakers and Unitarians and others; “Other non-Christian” includes Muslims, Buddhists, and others; however, for 1996 and 2000, the “Other Christian” and “Other non-Christian” categories are combined into a single “Other” category, which is assigned (arbitrarily) to code “5,” so code “3” includes no respondents.*)

- 1 Protestant
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Other Christian
- 4 Jewish
- 5 Other non-Christian
- 6 None
- 9 NA

V68 CHURCH ATTENDANCE “How often do you go to religious services?” (*For 1996 and 2000, there is no “almost every week” category, so no respondents have code value “2”; the second available category is “several times a month” which is assigned to code value “3.”*)

- 1 Every week
- 2 Almost every week
- 3 1-2 times a month
- 4 Few times a year
- 5 Never
- 9 NA

V69 REGION Region of the country that the respondent lives in.

- 1 Northeast
- 2 North central
- 3 South
- 4 West
- 9 NA

V70 URBANISM Type of community that the respondent lives in. (*Note: for 2004, there are only two codes — 1 (non-rural) and 3 (rural).*)

- 1 Central city
- 2 Suburban area
- 3 Rural, small town
- 9 NA

WT1 WEIGHTING Weighting of cases required to produce a representative sample.

FILTER_\$ Filter for SPSS “Select Cases” procedure.