CONVENTION DELEGATE STUDY, 1992: [UNITED STATES]

(ICPSR 6353)

Principal Investigators

Richard Herrera and Warren E. Miller
Arizona State University

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Political and Social Research
P.O. Box 1248
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

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DATA DISCLAIMER

The original collector of the data, ICPSR, and the relevant funding agency bear no responsibility for uses of this collection or for interpretations or inferences based upon such uses.

DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

Richard Herrera and Warren E. Miller

CONVENTION DELEGATE STUDY, 1992: [UNITED STATES] (ICPSR 6353)

SUMMARY: These data represent the fifth in a series of data collection efforts begun in 1972 to gather information on the careers and political perspectives of the delegates to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. Respondents were asked questions regarding their political participation and preferences, life histories, political goals and expectations, and affiliations with various groups in society. The dataset also documents their attitudes toward political actors such as Jerry Brown, Pat Buchanan, George Bush, Bill Clinton, Robert Dole, Jesse Jackson, Jack Kemp, Ross Perot, Dan Quayle, Pat Robertson, and Paul Tsongas, among many others. Attitudes toward health care, sexual harassment, the role of women in society, term limitations, urban unrest, school prayer, abortion, defense, and minorities are among the issues investigated. Attempts were made to match some items with those employed in the 1992 American National Election Studies. Some items about the Perot candidacy are also included.

UNIVERSE: Delegates to the 1992 Republican and Democratic National Conventions.

SAMPLING: Census of delegates to the 1992 Republican and Democratic National Conventions. There was a 45 percent response rate.

RESTRICTIONS: To preserve respondent confidentiality, certain identifying variables have been restricted from general dissemination. Aggregations of this information for statistical purposes that preserve the anonymity of individual respondents can be obtained from ICPSR in accordance with existing servicing policies.

EXTENT OF COLLECTION: 1 data file + machine-readable documentation (text) + SPSS data definition statements

EXTENT OF PROCESSING: CONCHK.ICPSR/ MDATA.ICPSR/ RECODE/ UNDOCCHK.ICPSR/ REFORM.DOC/ DDEF.ICPSR

DATA FORMAT: Logical Record Length with SPSS data definition statements

File Structure: rectangular
Cases: 2,853
Variables: 317
Record Length: 457
Records Per Case: 1

1992 Convention Delegate Study

Codebook

Dr. Richard Herrera
Assistant Professor Political Science

Dr. Warren Miller
Regents Professor Political Science

All variables have a "V" as a prefix except for the following:

QNUM (001-004) -- questionnaire number

CODER (005-007) -- initials of individual who coded the questionnaire

DATE* (008-010) -- date in which the questionnaire was returned

PARTY (11) -- 1 = Democrat
2 = Republican

* Note on coding for DATE: 826 is interpreted as August 26th. Only three column fields were allocated for the date. Consequently, October is coded as 101 to 131, which represents Oct. 1 to Oct. 31. November is coded as 201 to 230, this represents Nov. 1 to Nov. 30.

Column allocations are given by the numbers appearing between "( )".

Values for each variable are given by the numbers between "[ ]", along with their associated label.

1. Please indicate in which years you were a delegate or alternate to a national convention.

V0001	(012)	1992
V0002	(013)	1988
V0003	(014)	1984
V0004	(015)	1980
V0005	(016)	1976
V0006	(017)	1972
V0007	(018)	1968

V0008	(019)	1964
V0009	(020)	1960
V0010	(021)	1956
V0011	(022)	1952

[1] Alternate
[2] Delegate

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0001 through V0011 to missing data. For a recoded variable for number of conventions attended as delegate or alternate, see variables V0401 and V0402.

2. During the last convention you attended you may have been asked to make some important decisions. What was your approach, in general, to decision- making?

V0012 (023)

[1] Vote the way I think right
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Vote the way the people I represent would vote

[9] Missing

3. Which of the groups listed below comes closest to describing the ones you represented at the 1992 convention? We are interested in the groups which were the most important to you. Please rank the top three groups in order of importance, with 1st as the most important and so on.

V0013	(024)	Party organization
V0014	(025)	Candidate support group
V0015	(026)	Other _____

V0016 (027) _____
V0017 (028) _____
V0018 (029) Partisan voters

{Only three of the six items can be selected, the remainder are filled with [0].}

[0] not selected
[1] 1st choice
[2] 2nd choice
[3] 3rd choice

[9] Missing

{If V0013 - V0018 are Missing enter a [9] at V0013, all other variables will receive a [9].}

4. Please choose the number that best describes how strongly you support your political party.

V0019 (030)

[1] Not very strong
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Very strong

[9] Missing

5. How much of your political activity in recent years has been in connection with the state party or local party?

V0020 (031) State party
V0021 (032) Local party

[1] A lot
[2] Some
[3] None

[9] Missing

6. How would you describe the party competition within your local community?

V0022 (033)

[1] Very competitive - balance between parties
[2] Somewhat competitive - favoring Republican party
[3] Somewhat competitive - favoring Democratic party
[4] Non-competitive - Republican party dominant
[5] Non-competitive - Democratic party dominant

[9] Missing

7. Is the party organization in your local community (city, town) very strong, fairly strong, not very strong, or not strong at all?

V0023 (034)

[1] Very strong
[2] Fairly strong
[3] Not very strong
[4] Not strong at all

[9] Missing

8. In general, how much contact do you have with the following?

V0024	(035)	People active in national party affairs
V0025	(036)	People active in state or local party affairs
V0026	(037)	National interest groups
V0027	(038)	State or local interest groups
V0028	(039)	National civic leaders
V0029	(040)	State or local civic leaders

[1] A lot
[2] Some
[3] None

[9] Missing

9. We are interested in people's reasons for being involved

in politics. How important is each of the following reasons for your own participation in politics? (Mark one in each row)

V0030 (041) Personal friends or members of my family are active
V0031 (042) I want to see particular candidates elected
V0032 (043) Party work helps me make business or professional
V0033 (044) Politics is a part of my way of life
V0034 (045) I am strongly attached to the party and want to give
V0035 (046) I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have
V0036 (047) I like the fun and excitement of conventions and campaigns
V0037 (048) I want to have a personal career in politics
V0038 (049) Party work gives me a sense of fulfilling civic responsibility
V0039 (050) I want to get the party and its candidates to support
V0040 (051) I like the feeling of being close to people who are
V0041 (052) Party work gives one visibility and recognition

[1] Extremely important
[2] Quite important
[3] Not very important
[4] Not at all important

[9] Missing

10. How old were you when you first became active in politics?

_____ years old

V0042 (053-054)

[actual age entered]
[99] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set V0043 have been set to missing data.

11. In which congressional district do you now live?

V0043 (055-056) District #_____

[actual district number]
[99] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0044 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0403.

V0044 (057-058) State _____

[1] Alabama
[2] Alaska
[3] Arizona
[4] Arkansas
[5] California
[6] Colorado
[7] Connecticut
[8] Delaware
[9] D.C.
[10] Florida
[11] Georgia
[12] Hawaii
[13] Idaho
[14] Illinois
[15] Indiana
[16] Iowa
[17] Kansas
[18] Kentucky
[19] Louisiana
[20] Maine
[21] Maryland
[22] Massachusetts
[23] Michigan
[24] Minnesota
[25] Mississippi
[26] Missouri
[27] Montana
[28] Nebraska
[29] Nevada
[30] New Hampshire
[31] New Jersey
[32] New Mexico
[33] New York
[34] North Carolina
[35] North Dakota
[36] Ohio
[37] Oklahoma
[38] Oregon
[39] Pennsylvania
[40] Rhode Island
[41] South Carolina
[42] South Dakota
[43] Tennessee
[44] Texas
[45] Utah
[46] Vermont
[47] Virginia
[48] Washington
[49] West Virginia
[50] Wisconsin
[51] Wyoming

[60] Belgium
[61] England
[62] France
[63] Germany
[66] Japan
[67] Mexico
[68] Puerto Rico
[69] Switzerland

[64] Israel
[65] Italy
[70] Thailand
[71] Virgin Islands

[72] Guam

[99] Missing

12. Please indicate the extent of your involvement in each of the following campaigns.

V0045	(059)	1992 Presidential
V0046	(060)	1992 Senatorial/Congressional
V0047	(061)	1990 Senatorial/Congressional
V0048	(062)	1988 Presidential
V0049	(063)	1988 Senatorial/Congressional
V0050	(064)	1986 Senatorial/Congressional
V0051	(065)	1984 Presidential
V0052	(066)	1980 Presidential

[1] Very much involved
[2] Somewhat involved
[3] Not at all involved

[9] Missing

13. We are interested in knowing the reasons for your political involvement in recent election periods. For each campaign in which you were involved, please indicate how much of your activity was motivated by commitments to the party, to the candidate, or to an issue position or specific group. If you were not at all involved in the campaign, please indicate this in the first column.

V0053 (067) 1992: Presidential

[0] Involved
[1] Not involved

{If [1], skip to V0057}

V0054	(068)	I was committed to Party Work
V0055	(069)	I wanted to help a particular candidate
V0056	(070)	I wanted to work for an issue or for some specific

group

[1] Alot
[2] Some
[3] None

[9] Missing

V0057 (071) 1988: Presidential

[0] Involved
[1] Not involved

{If [1], skip to V0061}

V0058 (072) I was committed to Party Work
V0059 (073) I wanted to help a particular candidate
V0060 (074) I wanted to work for an issue or for some specific group

[1] Alot
[2] Some
[3] None

[9] Missing

V0061 (075) 1984: Presidential

[0] Involved
[1] Not involved

{If [1], skip to V0065}

V0062 (076) I was committed to Party Work
V0063 (077) I wanted to help a particular candidate
V0064 (078) I wanted to work for an issue or for some specific group

[1] Alot
[2] Some

[3] None

[9] Missing

V0065 (079) 1980: Presidential

[0] Involved
[1] Not involved

{If [1], skip to V0069}

V0066 (080) I was committed to Party Work
V0067 (081) I wanted to help a particular candidate
V0068 (082) I wanted to work for an issue or for some specific group

[1] Alot
[2] Some
[3] None

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0069 to V0077 to missing data. For a recoded version of the those variables see V0410.

14. For each of the public positions listed below, indicate whether you currently hold such a position, whether you have held such a position in the past, or whether you have never held such a position.>

National office
V0069 (083) Executive
V0070 (084) Legislative
V0071 (085) Judicial

State office
V0072 (086) Executive
V0073 (087) Legislative
V0074 (088) Judicial

		County or Local office
V0075	(089)	Executive
V0076	(090)	Legislative
V0077	(091)	Judicial

[1] Currently hold such a position
[2] Have held such a position
[3] Have never held such a position

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0078 to V0084 to missing data. For a recoded version of the those variables see V0411.

15. For each of the party positions listed below, indicate whether you currently hold such a position, whether you have held such a position in the past, or whether you never held such a position.

		National position
V0078	(092)	Party
V0079	(093)	Presidential staff/campaign committee
		State position
V0080	(094)	Party staff/committee
V0081	(095)	Congressional position
V0082	(096)	Party/campaign staff
		Other positions
V0083	(097)	County position
V0084	(098)	Local position

[1] Currently hold such a position
[2] Have held such a position
[3] Have never held such a position

[9] Missing

16. Thinking of all the possible offices and positions in politics, from local to national and from public office to positions in the party, do you have

any aspirations to offices and/or positions other than the one you now hold? (Mark one in each row)

V0085	(099)	Public office
V0086	(100)	Party position

[1] National
[2] State
[3] Local
[4] None

[9] Missing

17. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

V0087	(101)	Yourself
V0088	(102)	Jerry Brown
V0089	(103)	Pat Buchanan
V0090	(104)	George Bush
V0091	(105)	Bill Clinton
V0092	(106)	Robert Dole
V0093	(107)	Jesse Jackson
V0094	(108)	Jack Kemp
V0095	(109)	Ross Perot
V0096	(110)	Dan Quayle
V0097	(111)	Pat Robertson
V0098	(112)	Paul Tsongas
V0099	(113)	Members of your state delegation
V0100	(114)	Democratic voters in your state
V0101	(115)	Republican voters in your state
V0102	(116)	Perot voters in your state
V0103	(117)	The national electorate

[1] Extremely liberal
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Extremely conservative

[9] Missing

18. How much impact did Al Gore's candidacy have on the popular support for the Democratic ticket?

V0104 (118)

[1] Helped a lot
[2] Helped somewhat
[3] Made no difference
[4] Hurt somewhat
[5] Hurt a lot

[9] Missing

19. How much impact did Dan Quayle's candidacy have on the popular support for the Republican ticket?

V0105 (119)

[1] Helped a lot
[2] Helped somewhat
[3] Made no difference
[4] Hurt somewhat
[5] Hurt a lot

[9] Missing

20. There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions expressed below best agrees with your view? Then we're interested in where you would place the following groups on the same scale. (Mark one in each column)

V0106	(120)	You
V0107	(121)	Delegation
V0108	(122)	Democrats
V0109	(123)	Republicans
V0110	(124)	Perot voters
V0111	(125)	National electorate

[1] By law, abortion should never be permitted
[2] The law should permit abortion only in case of rape ...

[3] The law should permit abortion for reasons other/clearly established
[4] By law, a woman should always be able to/by choice

[9] Missing

21. Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken care of by the family and the church. Which do you think?

V0112 (126)

[1] Schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer
[2] Schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer, provided that
[3] Religion does not belong in the schools

[9] Missing

22. 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. How do you feel about placing new limits on imports?

V0113 (127)

[1] Strongly favor
[2] Moderately favor
[3] Moderately oppose
[4] Strongly oppose

[9] Missing

23. Do you favor term limitations of 12 years for members of the U.S. House and Senate? We are also interested in how you would place other groups on this scale. (Mark one in each row)

V0114	(128)	Yourself
V0115	(129)	Member of your state delegation
V0116	(130)	Democratic voters in your state
V0117	(131)	Republican voters in your state

V0118 (132) Perot voters in your state
V0119 (133) The national electorate

[1] Strongly oppose
[2] Moderately oppose
[3] Moderately favor
[4] Strongly favor

[9] Missing

24. There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order -- no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and

unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. And, of course,

other people have opinions in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

V0120 (134)

[1] Solve problems of poverty and unemployment
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Use all available force

[9] Missing

25. Some people believe that we should spend much more money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly decreased. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would place yourself on this scale?

V0121 (135)

[1] Greatly increase defense spending
[2]
[3]

[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Greatly decrease defense spending

[9] Missing

26. 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. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? Then, we're interested in where you would place other groups on this scale.

V0122	(136)	Yourself
V0123	(137)	Members of your state delegation
V0124	(138)	Democratic voters in your state
V0125	(139)	Republican voters in your state
V0126	(140)	Perot voters in your state
V0127	(141)	The national electorate

[1] Government should help blacks
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Blacks should help themselves

[9] Missing

27. Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. First, where would you place yourself on the following scale? Then, we're interested where you would place other groups on this scale. (Mark one for each row)

V0128	(142)	Yourself
V0129	(143)	Members of your state delegation
V0130	(144)	Democratic voters in your state
V0131	(145)	Republican voters in your state
V0132	(146)	Perot voters in your state

V0133 (147) The national electorate

[1] Women and men should have an equal role
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Women's place is in the home

[9] Missing

28. In the future, how willing should the United States be to use military force to solve international problems. Would you say extremely willing, very willing, somewhat willing, not very willing, or never willing? First, where would you place yourself on this scale. Then, we're interested where you would place other persons and groups on this same scale. (Mark one for each row).

V0134 (148) Yourself
V0135 (149) Members of your state delegation
V0136 (150) Democratic voters in your state
V0137 (151) Republican voters in your state
V0138 (152) Perot voters in your state
V0139 (153) The national electorate
V0140 (154) Bill Clinton
V0141 (155) George Bush
V0142 (156) Ross Perot

[1] Extremely willing
[2] Very willing
[3] Somewhat willing
[4] Not very willing
[5] Never willing

[9] Missing

29. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending.

V0143 (157) Yourself
V0144 (158) Members of your state delegation

V0145 (159) Democratic voters in your state
V0146 (160) Republican voters in your state
V0147 (161) Perot voters in your state
V0148 (162) The national electorate
V0149 (163) Bill Clinton
V0150 (164) George Bush
V0151 (165) Ross Perot

[1] Government provide many fewer services
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Government provide many more services

[9] Missing

30. There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

V0152 (166)

[1] Government insurance plan
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Private insurance plan

[9] Missing

31. Recently there has been a lot of discussion about sexual harassment. How serious a problem do you think sexual harassment in the work place is? Is it very serious, somewhat serious, or not too serious? First, where would you place yourself on this scale?

Then, we're interested where you would place other groups on this scale. (Mark one in each row)

V0153	(167)	Yourself
V0154	(168)	Members of your state delegation
V0155	(169)	Democratic voters in your state
V0156	(170)	Republican voters in your state
V0157	(171)	Perot voters in your state
V0158	(172)	The national electorate

[1] Very serious
[2] Somewhat serious
[3] Not too serious

[9] Missing

32. Listed below are some programs that the federal government currently funds. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, indicate for each of the following programs whether you think federal spending should be increased, kept at the same level, reduced or cut out completely.

V0159	(173)	Dealing with crime
V0160	(174)	Aid to public schools
V0161	(175)	Social Security
V0162	(176)	AIDS research
V0163	(177)	Aid to countries of the former Soviet Union
V0164	(178)	Programs that assist Blacks
V0165	(179)	Aid to college students
V0166	(180)	Aid to the homeless
V0167	(181)	Child care
V0168	(182)	Welfare programs
V0169	(183)	Protecting the environment
V0170	(184)	Aid to big cities
V0171	(185)	Programs that assist the unemployed
V0172	(186)	Aid to poor people

[1] Increased
[2] Kept the same
[3] Reduced
[4] Cut out

[9] Missing

33. Please tell us how much you agree with each of the following statements concerning women and men in politics.

V0173	(187)	Women are taught not to want political careers
V0174	(188)	Women are underrepresented among political leaders
V0175	(189)	It is almost impossible to be a good wife and mother
V0176	(190)	Most men in the party organization try to keep women
V0177	(191)	Many people will not vote for women candidates
V0178	(192)	Women who seek political careers often find they are
V0179	(193)	Most men are better suited emotionally for politics
V0180	(194)	Women don't support other women who run for

[1] Strongly Agree
[2] Moderately Agree
[3] Slightly Agree
[4] Slightly Disagree
[5] Moderately Disagree
[6] Strongly Disagree

[9] Missing

34. For each of the following groups please indicate your feelings toward them on what we call a "feeling thermometer."

V0181	(195-197)	Feminists
V0182	(198-200)	Conservatives
V0183	(201-203)	Christian fundamentalists
V0184	(204-206)	Illegal immigrants
V0185	(207-209)	Rich people
V0186	(210-212)	Gay men and lesbians
V0187	(213-215)	Environmentalists
V0188	(216-218)	Perot supporters
V0189	(219-221)	Union leaders
V0190	(222-224)	Blacks
V0191	(225-227)	Liberals
V0192	(228-230)	Pro-life groups
V0193	(231-233)	Poor people
V0194	(234-236)	Big business
V0195	(237-239)	Democrats
V0196	(240-242)	Hispanic-Americans
V0197	(243-245)	Republicans
V0198	(246-248)	Pro-Choice groups

[0] 0 [60] 60
[10] 10 [70] 70
[20] 20 [80] 80
[30] 30 [90] 90
[40] 40 [100] 100
[50] 50

[999] Missing

35. We would also like to get your feelings toward recent presidential candidates in 1992 as well as other political notables. Please use the thermometer again - this time indicate your feelings toward these persons. (Circle one in each row)

V0199	(249-251)	Jerry Brown
V0200	(252-254)	Pat Buchanan
V0201	(255-257)	George Bush
V0202	(258-260)	Bill Clinton
V0203	(261-263)	Robert Dole
V0204	(264-266)	Jesse Jackson
V0205	(267-269)	Jack Kemp
V0206	(270-272)	Ross Perot
V0207	(273-275)	Dan Quayle
V0208	(276-278)	Pat Robertson
V0209	(279-281)	Paul Tsongas

[0] 0 [60] 60
[10] 10 [70] 70
[20] 20 [80] 80
[30] 30 [90] 90
[40] 40 [100] 100
[50] 50

[999] Missing

36. Was there any time during the campaign that you were favorably impressed with Ross Perot?

V0210 (282)

[1] Yes, was favorably impressed and seriously considered voting for him

[2] Yes, was favorably impressed but never seriously considered voting for him
[3] No, was not favorably impressed with him

[9] Missing

37. Who did you most prefer as your party's nominee for president in the last five presidential elections? (Mark one for each year)

V0211 (283-284)

1976

Democrats		Republicans	
Brown	[1]	Shriver	[6]
Carter	[2]	Udall	[7]
Church	[3]	Wallace	[8]
Humphrey	[4]	Other	[9]
H. Jackson	[5]	None	[10]

Ford	[11]		
Reagan	[12]		
Other	[13]		
None	[14]		

[99] Missing

V0212 (285-286)

1980

Democrats		Republicans	
Carter	[1]	Other	[3]
Kennedy	[2]	None	[4]

Anderson	[5]	Reagan	[9]
Baker	[6]	Other	[10]
Bush	[7]	None	[11]
Connally	[8]		

[99] Missing

V0213 (287-288)

1984

Democrats Republicans

Askew [1] J. Jackson [6] Reagan [10]
Cranston [2] Mondale [7] Other [11]
Glenn [3] Other [8] None [12]
Hart [4] None [9]
Hollings [5]

[99] Missing

V0214 (289-290)

1988

Democrats Republicans

Babbitt [1] J. Jackson [6] Bush [10] Kemp [14]
Dukakis [2] Simon [7] Dole [11] Robertson [15]
Gephardt [3] Other [8] DuPont [12] Other [16]
Gore [4] None [9] Haig [13] None [17]
Hart [5]

[99] Missing

V0215 (291-292)

1992

Democrats Republicans

Brown [1] Kerry [5] Bush [8] Other [10]
Clinton [2] Other [6] Buchanan [9] None [11]
Tsongas [3] None [7]
Harkin [4]

[99] Missing

* See Appendix A for Codes on Questions 38a and 38b.

38a. Ross Perot is a unique person in contemporary politics. Is there anything in particular that you like about Ross Perot?

V0216 (293-296)
V0217 (297-300)
V0218 (301-304)
V0219 (305-308)
V0220 (309-312)

[100 - 5000]
[9999] Missing

{If V0216 = 9999, then V0217 thru V0220 = 9999; go to V0221}
{If V0217 = 9999, then V0218 thru V0220 = 9999; go to V0221}
{If V0218 = 9999, then V0219 thru V0220 = 9999; go to V0221}
{If V0219 = 9999, then V0220 = 9999; go to V0221}

38b. Is there anything in particular that you dislike about Ross Perot?

V0221 (313-316)
V0222 (317-320)
V0223 (321-324)
V0224 (325-328)
V0225 (329-332)

[100 - 5000]
[9999] Missing

{If V0221 = 9999, then V0222 thru V0225 = 9999; go to V0226}
{If V0222 = 9999, then V0223 thru V0225 = 9999; go to V0226}
{If V0223 = 9999, then V0224 thru V0225 = 9999; go to V0226}
{If V0224 = 9999, then V0225 = 9999; go to V0226}

39. Did you feel you were personally close to the man who won your party's nomination in 1992?

V0226 (333)

[1] Yes, knew him well

[2] Yes, but only on a professional basis
[3] No, had only occasional contact
[4] No, had virtually no contact with him

[9] Missing

40. How about the staff of your party's nominee--were you personally close to anyone on his staff?

V0227 (334)

[1] Yes
[2] No

[9] Missing

41. How many people do you know well who had close ties with the nominee or his staff?

V0228 (335)

[1] No one
[2] A few
[3] Quite a few
[4] A good many

[9] Missing

42. During the campaign did the nominee or anyone on his staff ever ask for your opinion or advice on an issue or a question of political strategy?

V0229 (336)

[1] No
[2] Yes, once or twice
[3] Yes, occasionally
[4] Yes, frequently

[9] Missing

43. Apart from the convention, how much contact did you personally have with

the nominee's campaign organization last year?

V0230 (337)

[1] A lot of contact
[2] Some contact
[3] No direct contact

[9] Missing

44. What types of activities did you engage in during the 1992 presidential campaign? Mark the category which best describes your role in each of the following campaign activities.

V0231	(338)	Voter registration
V0232	(339)	Door-to-door canvassing
V0233	(340)	Telephoning
V0234	(341)	Distributing literature/putting up signs and
V0235	(342)	Polling
V0236	(343)	Fund raising
V0237	(344)	Mass mailing
V0238	(345)	Media production/publicity
V0239	(346)	Poll watching
V0240	(347)	Campaign organization/campaign office
V0241	(348)	Rallies/campaign events
V0242	(349)	Small meetings/teas/coffees

[1] Planner/consultant
[2] Supervisor
[3] Staff member
[4] Volunteer worker
[5] Not involved in this activity

[9] Missing

45. When you were finally selected as a delegate to the 1992 National Convention, how were you selected?

V0243 (350)

[1] As a direct result of a primary
[2] As a direct result of a state or district convention or caucus

[3] By a meeting of delegates from your state
[4] By a pre-existing party committee
[5] As a "Super delegate" (Democrats only)

[9] Missing

46.What was your official classification as a delegate in 1992?

V0244 (351)

Democrats:
Pledged
[1] Congressional district
[2] At-large
[3] Add-on party and elected officials

Unpledged
[4] Super delegate

Republicans:
[5] Congressional district
[6] At-large

[9] Missing

47. Did the effort to see that your delegation was balanced by sex, race, or age play any role in your selection?

V0245 (352)

[1] Yes
[2] No

[9] Missing

48. Are you male or female?

V0246 (353)

[1] Male
[2] Female

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0247 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0404.

49. Which of the following best describes you?

V0247 (354)

[1] White, non-Hispanic
[2] African-American/Black
[3] Hispanic
[4] American Indian/Native American
[5] Asian
[6] Other

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0248 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0405.

50. In what year were you born? 19__ __

V0248 (355-356)

[actual number]
[99] Missing

51. How many years have you lived in your present community? _____ years

V0249 (357-358)

[actual number]
[99] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0250 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0406.

52. What is your marital status?

V0250 (359)

[1] Single, never married
[2] Married
[3] Separated
[4] Divorced
[5] Widowed
[6] Other

[9] Missing

{If V0250 = 1, then skip V0253, V0277, V0282, and V0284.}

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set V0251 have been set to missing data.

53. What is the age of your youngest child? _____ years old

V0251 (360-361)

[00] less than 1 year
[actual number]
[98] no kids

[99] Missing

54. In which social class would you place yourself?

V0252 (362)

[1] Working class
[2] Middle class
[3] Upper middle class
[4] Upper class

[9] Missing

55. For each of the following, indicate whether they are active in politics.

V0253	(363)	Spouse
V0254	(364)	Mother
V0255	(365)	Father

[1] Active Democrat
[2] Active Republican
[3] Active Independent or other party
[4] Not active in politics

[9] Don't know/Does not apply

56. Are you a member of any of the following organizations or associations?

V0256	(366)	School and school-related groups (e.g. PTA, Safety)
V0257	(367)	Teacher's associations or unions (e.g., NEA, AFT)
V0258	(368)	Other professional and occupationally related groups
V0259	(369)	Veteran's groups
V0260	(370)	Fraternal organizations (e.g. Knights of Columbus)
V0261	(371)	Labor unions
V0262	(372)	Politically concerned religious grps (e.g.,Christian)
V0263	(373)	Other church-related groups
V0264	(374)	Service clubs (e.g., Rotary, Lions)
V0265	(375)	Non-partisan public interest groups (e.g., League)
V0266	(376)	Politically conservative women's groups (e.g., Concerned
V0267	(377)	Other politically-related women's groups (e.g. NOW)
V0268	(378)	Pro-Life groups
V0269	(379)	Pro-Choice groups
V0270	(380)	Ethnic or racial associations or groups (e.g., Urban)
V0271	(381)	Environmental groups (e.g., The Sierra Club, Green)
V0272	(382)	Civil Liberties groups (e.g., ACLU)
V0273	(383)	United We Stand America
V0274	(384)	Political Advocacy groups (e.g., American Way)

[1] Active member
[2] Member, not active
[3] Not a member

[9] Missing

57. How would you compare the importance of your party activity with your involvement in other kinds of activity? Would you say your party work is:

V0275 (385)

[1] More important to me
[2] About as important
[3] Less important

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0276 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0407.

58. How many years of education did you complete? Your spouse? father? mother?

V0276 (386-387) You
V0277 (388-389) Spouse
V0278 (390-391) Father
V0279 (392-393) Mother

[1] Grade school or less/ 0-8 years
[2] High school/9-12 years
[3] Vocational/Technical school degree
[4] Some college/13-15 years
[5] College graduate/B.A. B.S.
[6] Some graduate school
[7] MBA
[8] Other Master's degree
[9] LL.B., J.D.
[10] M.D., D.D.S., Ph.D., D.ED.

[99] Don't know/Does not apply

59. Are you retired?

V0280 (394)

[1] Yes
[2] No

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0281 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0408.

60. What is (was) your occupation?

V0281 (395-396)

Your spouse's?

V0282 (397-398)

[1] Professional with doctoral degree or equivalent (e.g.,
[2] Professional without doctoral degree (e.g., nurse,
[3] Manager or administrator (e.g., business executive,
[4] Sales representative (e.g., insurance agent, real
[5] Owner of a small business (e.g., shop keeper, restaurant
[6] Farm owner, farm manager
[7] Craftsman or skilled worker (e.g., carpenter, electrician,
[8] Clerical or office worker (bookkeeper, secretary)
[9] Operative or semi-skilled worker (e.g., assembly line
[10] Service worker, laborer (e.g., Food service worker, sales clerk)
[11] Homemaker
[12] Student
[13] Unemployed
[14] Permanently disabled (unable to work)

[99] Missing

61. What type of employer do you have?

V0283 (399-400)

What type does your spouse have?

V0284 (401-402)

[1] Small business (under 50 employees)
[2] Large business (over 50 employees)
[3] Government
[4] Educational institution
[5] Labor union

[6] Political party
[7] Non-profit organization
[8] Self-employed
[9] Not employed

[99] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set variables V0285 to missing data. For a recoded version of the following variable see V0409.

62. What is your religious preference?

V0285 (403-404)

[1] Catholic
[2] Jewish
[3] Baptist, Southern
[4] Baptist, other
[5] Church of Christ
[6] Congregational/United Church of Christ
[7] Espicopalian
[8] Greek Orthodox
[9] Latter Day Saints, Mormon
[10] Lutheran
[11] Methodist
[12] Pentecostal/Assemblies of God
[13] Presbyterian
[14] Other Protestant (Please specify _____)
[15] Agnostic, Atheist
[16] Other religious preference (Please specify_____)
[17] No religious preference

[99] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set V0286 have been set to missing data.

63. Do you consider yourself a member of the Religious Right?

V0286 (405)

[1] Yes (Which group _____)
[2] No, but I agree with their goals
[3] No, and I disagree with their goals
[4] No, and I strongly disagree with their goals

[9] Missing

64. How often would you say you attend religious services?

V0287 (406)

[1] Almost every week
[2] Once or twice a month
[3] A few times a year
[4] Almost never
[5] Don't attend religious services

[9] Missing

65. Would you say your religion provides a great deal of guidance in your day- to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or only some guidance?

V0288 (407)

[1] Great deal of guidance
[2] Quite a bit of guidance
[3] Only some guidance
[4] No guidance/Not relevant

[9] Missing

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set V0289 have been set to missing data.

66. Do you consider yourself to be a Fundamentalist Christian?

V0289 (408)

[1] Yes
[2] No

[9] Missing

67. Please indicate the approximate annual income of your family and yourself for the last year--before taxes.

V0290 (409-410) Family

V0291 (411-412) Personal

[1] Under $15,000
[2] $15,000 to $22,499
[3] $22,500 to $29,999
[4] $30,000 to $37,499
[5] $37,500 to $44,999
[6] $45,000 to $52,499
[7] $52,500 to $59,999
[8] $60,000 to $67,499
[9] $67,500 to $74,999
[10] $75,000 to $99,999
[11] $100,000 to $124,999
[12] $125,000 to $249,999
[13] $250,000 or more

[99] Missing

68. Using the liberal-conservative scale of political views people might hold, where "1" is extremely liberal and "7" is extremely conservative, where would you place your party's ideal presidential candidate in 1996?

V0292 (413)

[1] Extremely Liberal
[2]
[3]
[4]
[5]
[6]
[7] Extremely Conservative

[9] Missing

* See Appendix B for Codes on Questions 69 and 70.

69. People have different things in mind when they say that someone's political views are liberal or conservative. We'd like to know more about this. Let's start with liberal. What sorts of things do you have in mind when you say someone's political views are liberal?

V0293 (414-416)
V0294 (417-419)
V0295 (420-422)
V0296 (423-425)
V0297 (426-428)

[100 - 800]

[999] Missing

{If V0293 = 999, then V0294 thru V0297 = 999; go to V0298}
{If V0294 = 999, then V0295 thru V0297 = 999; go to V0298}
{If V0295 = 999, then V0296 thru V0297 = 999; go to V0298}
{If V0296 = 999, then V0297 = 999; go to V0298}

70. And, what do you have in mind when you say that someone's political views are conservative?

V0298 (429-431)
V0299 (432-434)
V0300 (435-437)
V0301 (438-440)
V0302 (441-443)

[100 - 800]

[999] Missing

{If V0298 = 999, then V0299 thru V0302 = 999; next case}
{If V0299 = 999, then V0300 thru V0302 = 999; next case}
{If V0300 = 999, then V0301 thru V0302 = 999; next case}

{If V0301 = 999, then V0302 = 999; next case}

Convention Delegate Study, 1992 - Recode Codebook

The following variables have been set to missing data and recoded as variables number (400+) i.e. variable 9 is recoded as 409.

V0401 NUMBER OF CONVENTIONS ATTENDED AS DELEGATE OR ALTERNATE 1952-1992. (444-445)

1. Attended one convention
2. Attended two conventions
   .
   .
   .
   .
7. Attended seven or more conventions.
0. None, or missing

V0402 NUMBER OF CONVENTIONS ATTENDED AS DELEGATE OR ALTERNATE 1952-1976. (446-447)

1. Attended one convention
2. Attended two conventions
3. Attended three conventions
4. Attended four or more conventions
0. None, or missing

V0403 REGION OF RESIDENCE (448-449)

00. NEW ENGLAND (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont)
10. MIDDLE ATLANTIC (Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania)
20. EAST NORTH CENTRAL (Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin)
30. WEST NORTH CENTRAL (Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota)
40. DEEP SOUTH (Virginia, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas)

50. BORDER STATES (Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Washington D.C., West Virginia)
60. MOUNTAIN STATES (Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming)
70. PACIFIC STATES (California, Oregon, Washington)
80. EXTERNAL STATES AND TERRITORIES (Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, Guam)
90 FOREIGN NATIONS (Belgium, England, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Switzerland, Thailand)
99. Missing Data

V0404 WHAT IS YOUR RACE OR ETHNICITY? (450)

1. White
2. Non-white (Black, Hispanic, Native American, Asian, other)
9. Missing Data

V0405 IN WHAT YEAR WERE YOU BORN? (451)

1. 1957 + -- 35 years old or younger
2. 1947-1956 -- 36 to 45 years old
3. 1937-1946 -- 46 to 55 years old
4. 1927-1936 -- 56 to 65 years old
5. 1917-1926 -- 66 to 75 years old
6. 1916 and before -- 76 years old and older
9. Missing Data

V0406 WHAT IS YOUR MARITAL STATUS? (452)

1. Single; Separated; Divorced; Widowed; Other
2. Married
9. Missing Data

V0407 HOW MANY YEARS OF EDUCATIONS DID YOU COMPLETE? (453)

1. Grade School or less / 0-8 years;
High School / 9-12 years;

Vocational / Technical school degree.
2. Some College / 13-15 years
3. College Graduate, B.A., B.S.
4. Some graduate School;
MBA; Other Master's degree.
5. LL.B; J.D.; M.D.; D.D.S.; PH.D; D.ED
9. Missing Data

V0408 WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION? (454)

1. Professional / Administrative
2. Business / Office / Skilled Worker
3. Service / Homemaker / Other
9. Missing Data

V0409 WHAT IS YOUR RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE? (455)

1. Protestant and Non-Traditional Christian
-- Baptist, Southern
-- Baptist, Other
-- Church of Christ
-- Congregational/ United Church of Christ
-- Episcopalian
-- Latter Day Saints, Mormon
-- Lutheran
-- Methodist
-- Pentecostal/ Assemblies of God
-- Presbyterian
-- Other Protestant
2. Catholic
3. Jewish
4. Other
-- Greek Orthodox
-- Other Religious Preference
5. Agnostic, Atheist; No Religious Preference
9. Missing Data

V0410 DO YOU CURRENTLY HOLD OR HAVE EVER HELD ANY PUBLIC OFFICE POSITIONS? (456)

1. Delegate holds or have held one or more federal office positions.
2. Delegate does not hold and has never held any federal office position.

V0411 DO YOU CURRENTLY HOLD OR HAVE EVER HELD ANY PARTY POSITIONS? (457)

1. Delegate holds or have held one or more party positions.
2. Delegate does not hold and has never held any party position.

* In order to preserve respondent confidentiality, ICPSR has set the following variables have been set to missing data.

V0043. In which congressional district do you now live?

V0251 What is the age of your of your youngest child?

V0285 Do you consider yourself a member of the Religious Right?

V0289 Do you consider yourself to be a Fundamentalist Christian?

*** APPENDIX A ***

LIKES/DISLIKES ROSS PEROT
Codes for Questions 38a and 38b. (V0216-V0225)

0101 Traditional Democratic voter: always been a Democrat; just a Democrat; never been a Republican; just couldn't vote Republican

0102 Traditional Republican voter: always been a

Republican; just a Republican; never been a Democrat; just couldn't vote Democratic

0111 Positive, personal, affective terms applied to party--good/nice people; patriotic; etc.

0112 Negative, personal, affective terms applied to party--bad/lazy people; lack of patriotism; etc.

0121 Can trust them; they keep their promises; you know where they stand

0122 Can't trust them; they break their promises; you don't know where they stand

0131 Party is well-organized, sticks together, is united; members are disciplined; votes party line

0132 Party is poorly-organized/really two parties/divided/ factionalized; members not disciplined; doesn't vote party line

0133 Party is (more) representative/good cross-section of the country; encompasses a wider variety of views/people; is more at the center of the country's views

0134 Party is less/not representative;bad cross-section of the country; encompasses more restricted views; is less at the center of the country's views

0135 Reference to participation of minority candidate(s)

0141 Reference to party's most recent National Convention; party's process/method of selecting presidential/vice-presidential candidates

0151 Performance of local branch of party; how they've done in this state/county/town

0161 Reference to the predominant faction that R sees as being in control of the party (NA which faction); "I don't like the people running it"

0162 Reference to Northerners/Liberals (as in control) of Democratic Party
0163 Reference to Southerners/Conservatives (as in control) of Democratic Party

0164 Reference to Easterners/Liberals/Moderates (as in control) of Republican Party
0165 Reference to Midwesterners/Westerners/Southerners/ Conservatives (as in control) of Republican Party

0167 Can't win; doesn't have a chance
0168 Can win; party can't be beat

0169 Too big a party; there are too many of them; party is too powerful
0170 Too small a party; there are not enough of them; party is too weak

0171 Listens (more) to people; takes (more) into consideration the needs and wants of people; understands (better) the people/the majority of the people
0172 Doesn't listen to/understand the needs and wants of the people/the majority of the people

0173 Campaign tactics, uses too much money in campaigns, slings mud

0174 Party has been in office/controlled Congress/held the White House too long/long enough; we need a change (of party) [code 430 for mentions of candidate]

0197 Other party-characteristic reasons

CANDIDATE ONLY -- EXPERIENCE, ABILITY

0201 General reference to him as "a good/bad man or a good/bad guy"; R has heard good/bad things about him; qualifications; general ability; reference to his "personality"

0203 Not qualified for the office; the job is too big for him to handle

0211 Experienced (NA what kind) (see 0217, 0218, 0220 for specific kinds of experience; if in foreign policy see 1100's)

0212 Inexperienced

0213 Dependable/Trustworthy/Reliable; a man you can trust with the responsibilities of government ("trust" in the capability sense, rather than the honesty sense)

0214 Undependable/Untrustworthy/Unreliable; a man you can't trust with the responsibilities of government

0215 A military man; a good military/war record

0216 Not a military man; bad military/war record; no military/war record

0217 His record in public service; how well he's performed in previous offices; voting record in Congress

0218 Has government experience/political experience/seniority/ incumbency

0219 Lacks government experience/political experience

0220 A statesman; has experience in foreign affairs

0221 Not a statesman; lacks experience in foreign affairs

0222 "He has done a good job so far"; he has brought us through hard times"; has gotten things done has some good ideas; trying to do right things

0223 Hasn't done anything; hasn't produced any results (general); has not been able to get programs off

the ground

0224 Has fulfilled/kept (campaign) promises
0225 Has not fulfilled/kept (campaign) promises

0297 Other candidate experience/ability reasons

CANDIDATE ONLY -- CANDIDATE LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

0301 Dignified/has dignity
0302 Undignified/lacks dignity

0303 Strong/decisive/self-confident/aggressive; will end all this indecision
0304 Weak/indecisive/lacks self-confidence/vacillating

0305 Inspiring; a man you can follow; "a leader"
0306 Uninspiring; not a man you can follow; not a leader

*0335 Makes people feel good about America/being Americans; is patriotic/loves the country

0307 People have confidence in him
0308 People don't have confidence in him

0309 Good at communicating with blacks, young people, other "problem" groups
0310 Bad at communicating with blacks, young people, other "problem" groups (if communicate in general, see 0441, 0442)

0311 Knows how to handle people (at personal level)
0312 Doesn't know how to handle people (at personal level)

0313 A politician/political person; (too) much in politics; a good politician; part of Washington crowd; politically motivated; just wants to be re-elected
0314 Not a politician; not in politics; above politics; a bad politician

0315 Independent; no one runs him; his own boss
0316 Not independent; run by others; not his own man/boss

0317 Humble; knows his limitations; doesn't pretend to know all the answers
0318 Not humble enough; too cocky/self-confident; can't admit shortcomings; blames others for his/her mistakes

0319 (Too) Careful/Cautious/Good judgment
0320 (Too) Impulsive/Careless/Bad/Poor judgment

*0334 Poor at explaining himself/his positions; doesn't answer questions clearly; speaks off the top of his head/doesn't stop to think before he speaks

0321 Helps people in the district on a personal level; has helped R personally with a problem (specific mention); tries to do things for the people
0322 Doesn't help people in the district on a personal level; was not helpful to R with a personal problem (specific mention)

0323 Represents (well) the views of the district; close to people in the district; comes home regularly to chat and mix with people
0324 Does not represent (well) the views of the district; not close to the people in the district; doesn't interact enough with the people

0325 Keeps people well informed about governmental matters; communicates with constituents; any mention of R receiving newsletters or communications from him/her; explains matters well so people can understand
0326 Does not inform people enough about governmental matters; does not send enough newsletters or communications; doesn't explain matters well

0327 Listens to the people/solicits public opinion; any mention of polls or questionnaires; is accessible

to constituents (NFS)
0328 Doesn't listen to the people/does not solicit public opinion; isn't accessible to constituents (NFS)

0329 Has helped local (district) economy; brought money, projects, jobs to district
0330 Has not helped local (district) economy; not brought money, projects, jobs to district

0331 Candidate helps the district; watches out for the interests of the district or region in general
0332 Candidate has not protected/watched out for the interests of the district (specific mentions)

*0334 Located after 0320
*0335 Located after 0306

0397 Other candidate leadership reason

CANDIDATE ONLY -- PERSONAL QUALITIES

0401 Honest/Sincere; keeps promises; man of integrity; means what he says; fair; not tricky; open and candid; straightforward; positive Playboy references (1976)
0402 Dishonest/Insincere; breaks promises; no integrity; doesn't mean what he says; tricky; not open and candid; not straightforward

0403 Man of high principles/ideals; high moral purpose; idealistic (if too idealistic, code 0416)
0404 Lacks principles/ideals

0405 Racist/Bigoted/Prejudiced
0406 Not a racist/bigoted/prejudiced

0407 Public servant; man of duty; conscientious; hard-working; would be a full-time President; good attendance record in Congress; dedicated; really interested in serving people

0408 Doesn't take public service seriously; lazy; would be a part-time President; poor attendance record in office; not dedicated; not really interested in serving people

0409 Doesn't use office for personal benefit; not in office to maximize personal benefit
0410 Uses/in office (mostly) for personal benefits (junket trips, big salary, other perks)

0411 Patriotic; (88) like Bush's stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue
0412 Unpatriotic; (88) dislike Dukakis' stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue

0413 Understands the nation's/district's problems; well-informed; studies up on issues
0414 Doesn't understand the nation's/district's problems; poorly informed; doesn't study up on issues

0415 Realistic
0416 Unrealistic; too idealistic; (if "idealistic" in positive sense, code 0403)

0417 Uses common sense; makes a lot of sense; pragmatic/ practical/down-to-earth
0418 Not sensible; impractical

0419 (Too) well educated; scholarly
0420 Poorly educated; unschooled

0421 Intelligent/Smart
0422 Unintelligent/Stupid/Dumb
*0464 Uninformed; doesn't (seem to) know anything about the issues/what is going on in the country/ government

0423 Religious; "moral" (in religious sense); God-fearing; "too" religious
0424 "Irreligious"; "immoral" (in religious sense);

Playboy interview (reflects on Carter--1976)

0425 Self-made; not well off; started out as poor; worked his way up; (started out) unpolished/unrefined/rough
0426 Wealthy; rich; born with silver spoon in mouth; polished/refined/well-mannered

0427 Old hat; has run before; a die-hard; "a loser" (in the past)
0428 Someone new; a fresh face

0429 Don't change horses in midstream
0430 Time for a change;incumbent has been in office too long/long enough [code 174 for mentions of party]

0431 Unsafe/Unstable; dictatorial; craves power; ruthless
0432 Safe/Stable

0433 Sense of humor; jokes a lot (too much)
0434 No sense of humor; humorless (too serious)

0435 Kind/Warm/Gentle
0436 Cold/Aloof

0437 Likeable; gets along with people; friendly; outgoing
0438 Not likeable; can't get along with people

0439 Democratic (in non-partisan sense)
0440 Undemocratic (in non-partisan sense)

0441 High-fallutin'/High-brow; talks in circles; can't talk to common man; can't communicate ideas well
0442 Not high-fallutin'/is low-brow; talks straight; can talk to common man; can communicate ideas well

0443 Well-known; "I know him/her"
0444 Unknown; not well known

0445 Reference to his family (not 0457)

0446 Reference to his wife/spouse

0447 Speaking ability
0448 Health
0449 Appearance/Looks/Face/Appearance on TV; his smile

0450 Age (NA how perceived)
0451 (Too) Old
0452 (Too) Young

0453 Mature
0454 Immature

0455 Regional reference; "he's a Southerner"; "he's a Midwesterner"; he comes from the country/a rural area; area reference

0456 Previous occupation

0457 He's a family man

0459 Energetic; too energetic
0460 Not energetic

0461 Gender, e.g., "She's a woman"
0462 Racial/Ethnic attribute; "He is a black man"

*0464 Located after 0422

0495 Other negative personal qualities
0496 Other positive personal qualities
0497 Other candidate personal qualities

0498 References to Playboy interview--NA direction or neutral; "it's OK," "that is what the Bible says", (not 0401)--1976

CANDIDATE ONLY--PARTY CONNECTIONS

0500 A Democrat; good Democrat; typical Democrat
0501 A Republican; good Republican; typical Republican

0502 Controlled by party regulars/bosses/machine
0503 Not controlled by party regulars/bosses

0504 Reference to men around him/staff/followers

0505 Reference to his speeches (exc. 0447), campaign tactics; mud-slinging; (88) dislike Bush's stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue

0506 Can win; best choice for party victory
0507 Cannot win; not good choice for party victory

0508 Reference to linkage with other party figures (he's close to the Kennedy's; he was close to Eisenhower; etc.)

0509 Would continue/keep/follow Democratic policies (unspecified)
0510 Would change/get rid of " "

0511 Would continue/keep/follow Democratic domestic policies (unspecified, not codeable in 0900's)
0512 Would change/get rid of " " "

0513 Would continue/keep/follow Democratic foreign policies (unspecified, not codeable in 1100's)
0514 Would change/get rid of " " "

0515 Would continue/keep/follow Republican policies (unspecified)
0516 Would change/get rid of " "

0517 Would continue/keep/follow Republican domestic policies (unspecified, not codeable in 0900's)
0518 Would change/get rid of " " "

0519 Would continue/keep/follow Republican foreign policies (unspecified, not codeable in 1100's)
0520 Would change/get rid of " " "

0531 More liberal than most Democrats; a Northern

Democrat
0532 More conservative " " ; a Southern Democrat

0533 More liberal than most Republicans; an Eastern Republican
0534 More conservative " " ; a Midwestern/Western/ Southern Republican

0535 Will bring in/listen to the (party) liberals
0536 Will bring in/listen to the (party) conservatives

0541 References to the physical or mental health of vice-presidential incumbent/candidate; emotional state/stability of vice-presidential incumbern/candidata; [1972] References to the Eagleton affair

0542 Reference to vice-presidential incumbent/candidate, running mate - NEC
0543 References to age/gender/race/ethnic background of vice-presidential incumbent/candidate; [1984] Mondale's selection of a woman for vice-president

0544 Mention of issue(s) that vice-presidential incumbent/candidate is identified with or has taken a leading role in promoting; [1992] Gore's position on the environment

0551 References to link with "Watergate"--positive reference to Watergate
0552 Not associated with "Watergate"--negative reference to Watergate; making too much out of Watergate

0553 Ford's pardon of Nixon--NA direction or against pardon
0554 " " " --pro; brave/right thing to do

0555 Positive references about independent candidacy; maybe the country needs a third party; third parties should have more recognition; the two party system needs buckling
0556 Negative references/liabilities related to

independent candidacy; "he's an independent" (NFS); "we don't need a third party"; "he lacks backing from a party"

0597 Other candidate party connection reasons

PARTY OR CANDIDATE--GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

0601 Good/Efficient/Businesslike administration; balanced budget; lower/wouldn't increase national debt; cautious spending

0602 Bad/Inefficient/Unbusinesslike administration; wasteful; "bureaucratic"; deficit budget; higher/increased national debt; overspend

0603 Honest government; not corrupt; no "mess in Washington"

0604 Dishonest/Corrupt government; "mess in Washington"; immorality in government; reference to Hayes, Mills, Lance; [1992] writing bad checks on the House of Representatives bank

0605 (Would) Spend less (than other side); (would) spend too little

0606 (Would) Spend more (than other side); (would) spend too much

0607 Has brought/will bring about bureaucratic reform

0608 Has not brought/will not bring about bureaucratic reform

0609 General assessment of job he/they would do/are doing; is good/bad President; are providing good/bad administration

*0622 Doesn't work (hard) at job; not involved (enough) in the work of his office/delegates too much authority to others; has chosen poor/incompetent aides; his aides have not performed well

0610 Reference to management/performance in Congress/Supreme Court/other government agency; references to the quality of appointments made to

public posts (courts, cabinet, commissions)

0611 He has/has not worked well with (Democratic) Congress; would/could have done better with (Republican) Congress; he kept/would keep Congress in check

0612 He will work well/better with (Democratic) Congress

0613 Gets more done/accomplishes as much/more productive

0614 Gets less done/doesn't accomplish as much/less productive

*0625 Mostly approve of/happy with job done so far, but doesn't approve of everything that has been done

0615 Sympathy/understanding expressed for the complexity/ magnitude of the job (e.g., President): tough job

0616 Sympathy/understanding expressed for the difficult situation ("a mess") inherited by the incumbent

*0623 Doing the best he can (under the circumstances); doing as good a job as anyone else could do; everyone makes some mistakes

0617 Will face (difficult) issues; faces problems directly; faces up to political reality

0618 Will not face (difficult) issues; will not face problems directly; ignores political reality

0619 Supports the president/works well with the president/would work well with the president

0620 Does not support the president/does not (would not) work well with the president

0621 Response to/handling of domestic crisis or natural disaster - riot, hurricane, tornado, earthquake, flood, etc.

*0622 Located after 0609

*0623 Located after 0616

*0625 Located after 0614

0624 Opposes term limitations for Congress
0626 Favors term limitations for Congress

0627 The economy is bad, but that is not (necessarily) his fault

0697 Other government management reasons

PARTY OR CANDIDATE--MISCELLANEOUS

0701 Just like him/them (NA why); like everything about him/them; "I was hoping he would win the (nomination/primaries)"
0702 Just dislike/Don't like him/them (NA why); don't like anything about him/them

*0732 Used to like him but don't now; have lost respect for him

0703 Will save America; America needs him/them
0704 Will ruin America; last thing America needs

0705 Will unite Americans/bring people together
0706 Will divide Americans/drive people apart

0707 Speaks of party/candidate as good protector(s); will know what to do; more intelligent
0708 Speaks of party/candidate as bad protector(s); won't know what to do

0709 Good for country (unspecified); trying to do good job; trying; not just out for self/own best interest; has/have country's interest at heart
0710 Bad for country (unspecified); don't have country's interests at heart; only looking out for their own interests

0711 Lesser of two evils

0718 Treatment of Jesse Jackson; didn't offer him the vice-presidenal nomination; didn't use him

(effectively) to get out the Black vote; weren't coutreous/respectful toward him; didn't keep promises made to him

0719 References to damaging incidents in candidate's personal life (sexual escapades, financial problems, substance abuse, etc); [1980] Reference to Chappaquidic; Kennedy's personal problems

0720 Reference to Watergate affair (exc. 0551-0554)

0721 The way the incumbent came to office; the people should select President

0722 The incumbent should have a chance (on his own)/another chance/second chance

0723 (I believe in/Necessary for) a two-party system; choice between candidates; opposition; balances power of other party

0724 Vote for the man rather than party; look for more qualified man; don't pay attention to parties

0725 The opponent who the candidate ran against; the candidate was the better/worse of the two in general; the candidate ran against someone I really like/dislike

0726 Splits votes; will elect wrong candidate; "spoiler"

0727 Expression of sympathy/admiration for the candidate's underdog position; trying hard against terrible odds; courageous uphill battle; "I like underdogs"; "they are bucking the guy" (keeping him off ballot, not taking him seriously, not giving him enough publicity)

0728 Negative comments about the candidate's switching parties, being a turncoat, disloyal to his original party

0729 Party selection of a woman for vice-president

0730 Mention of debates; candidate's performance in the debates

0731 Position (vote) on increasing congressional salary; position (vote) on accepting honoraria/outside pay/royalties while in office

*0732 Located after 0702

0733 References to candidate's children or extended family [code 446 for references to spouse]

0796 References to unfair/undeserved/excessive criticism by media or public

0797 Other miscellaneous reasons: Other miscellaneous reasons relating to image and candidate/party effect on nation

PARTY OR CANDIDATE--GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY/PHILOSOPHY

0801 General assessment of ideas/policies/stands (unspecified)

0802 Different from other party/candidate
0803 Same as other party/candidate; not different enough

0804 (Too) negative; always tearing down other side; no solutions of his/their own

0805 For government activity; believe government should take care of things; for big government; supports social programs/ spending (not 0905-0907)
0806 Against government activity; believe government involved in too many things; favors reduction in social programs/ spending (not 0905-0907)

0807 Humanistic; favor human beings over property rights
0808 Not humanistic; favor property rights over human

beings

0809 Favor social change/reform/progress/improvement of social conditions
0810 Against social change/reform/progress/improvement of social conditions

0811 Socialistic
0812 Anti-socialistic

0813 Communistic/soft/hard-liner on Communism/apologist for Communists/dupe
0814 (Too) anti-communistic/hard-liner on Communism

0815 (Too) liberal (except 0531 or 0533)
0816 (Too) conservative (except 0532 or 0534)

0817 Moderate/middle of the road/for slow change; not an extremist/fanatic
0818 Extremist/fanatic/too far out; not too moderate/not a fence-sitter

0819 Pro-Far Right/Birchers/reactionaries; encouraging fascist/ police state
0820 Anti-Far Right/ " " ; discouraging "

0821 Pro-Far Left/radicals/Yippies/SDS; encouraging anarchy/ guerilla state
0822 Anti-Far Left/ " " " ; discouraging "

0823 Pro-Extremists (NA direction)/nuts/bomb-throwers
0824 Anti-Extremists " " "

0827 Pro-States'/local/community rights; better local government
0828 Anti- " " " " ; worse/weaker local government

0829 For equality; believe everyone should have things equally/ be treated equally
0830 Anti-equality; believe some people should have more than others/people should not be treated equally

0831 Generous, compassionate, believe in helping others
0832 Selfish, only help themselves

0833 Acceptance of change/new ideas; less bound to status quo; more open to new ideas/ways of doing things; flexible, innovative
0834 Resistance to change/new ideas; stick to (protect) status quo; resist new ways of doing things; rigid

0835 Has a well-defined set of beliefs/definite philosophy; does not compromise on principles; has (clear) understanding of goals they stand for
0836 Has poorly defined set of beliefs; lacks a definite philosophy; compromise on principles; has no (clear) understanding of goals they stand for

0837 Favor work ethic; believes in self-reliance/in people working hard to get ahead
0838 Doesn't favor work ethic; believes in people being handed things/in government handouts (if specific policy mentioned, code in 0900's)

0841 Keep track of/control over administration heads, cabinet members, etc.; follow through on policies; determine if programs are working
0842 Don't (as in 0841)

0843 Conditional evaluation: R suggests candidate/party cannot solve problems because not under his/their control (no negative connotations); will he/they be able to do what they say (determining factor outside his/their control); "I like what he says but wonder if he can do it" (if clearly negative, code in 0122 or 0402)
0845 Will involve/wants to involve people/Congress/Cabinet/ advisors/other government officials in government/ decision making

0846 Will not involve people/Congress/Cabinet/advisors/other government officials in government/decision making

0847 Separation of church and state/religion and politics--pro
0848 Separation of church and state/religion and politics--anti
0849 Stand/views on religion (church/state relationship NA)

0897 Other Government Activity/Philosophy reasons

PARTY OR CANDIDATE--DOMESTIC POLICIES

0900 General assessment of domestic ideas/policies/stands (unspecified)

0901 General assessment of economic policy (unspecified)

0902 Government economic controls--NA direction
0903 " " " --Pro; we need planned economy; control of private enterprise
0904 " " " --Anti; we have too much interference in private enterprise

0905 Welfare/Poverty problems--NA direction; give-away
0906 " " " --Pro government aid/activity; pro give-aways
0907 " " " --Anti government aid/activity; anti give-aways; pro self-help

0908 Social Security/Pensions--NA direction
0909 " " " --Pro expansion in coverage and/or increase in benefits
0910 " " " --Anti expansion in coverage and/or increase in benefits; favoring contraction and/or decrease

0911 Unemployment compensation--NA direction
0912 " " --Pro expansion in coverage and/or increase in benefits
0913 " " --Anti expansion in coverage and/or increase in benefits; favoring contraction and/or decrease

0914 Aid to education--NA direction
0915 " " --Pro
0916 " " --Anti

0917 Aid to parochial schools--NA direction
0918 " " " --Pro
0919 " " " --Anti

*1052 School choice plans; vouchers -- pro
*1053 " " " -- anti

*1047 Establish/enforce standards for schools (test teachers, require minimum curricula, regulate class size, etc) -- NA direction
*1048 " " " -- Pro
*1049 " " " --Anti

0920 Housing--NA direction
0921 " --Pro more public housing
0922 " --Anti more public housing
0923 Aid/Programs for older people/the aged, Medicare, Medicaid, direction -- NA
0924 " " " -- Pro
0925 " " " -- Anti

0926 Monetary policy--NA direction
0927 " " --Pro loose(r) money; more availability of loans for housing, cars, etc.; lower interest rates
0928 " " --Anti loose(r) money; for tighter money; less availability of loans; higher interest rates

*1054 Value of the dollar relative to gold/other currencies; any mentions of gold/currencies

*1046 Solvency/stability/regulation/control of the nation's FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. [1990] Involvement in the Savings and Loan scandals

0929 Tax policy--NA direction

0930 " " --Pro lower taxes
0931 " " --Anti lower taxes; for higher taxes
0932 " " --Pro reform/fairer system/end of loopholes/ write-offs/dodges
0933 " " --Anti reform/fairer system/end of loopholes/ write-offs/dodges

*1055 Line item veto -- pro
*1056 Line item veto -- anti

0942 [1990] Candidate voted for the budget agreement which resulted in increased taxes/fees

0934 "The Times"/General conditions/Prosperity/The Economy --better under him/them
0935 " " --worse under him/them

0936 Inflation/Cost of living--lower/better under him/them
0937 " " " --higher/worse under him/them

0938 Wages/Salaries/Income/Employment--higher/better under him/ them
0939 " " " " --lower/worse under him/them

0940 Prices for producers--higher/better under him/them
0941 " " --lower/worse (if farm, see 0943-0945)

0942 Located after 0933

0943 Programs to help farmers -- NA direction
0944 " " " --Pro (greater) help/fairer system, reform in system; higher price supports
0945 " " " --Anti (greater) help/fairer system, reform in system; higher price supports

0946 Civil rights/Racial justice/Integration/Desegregation/Voting Rights -- NA direction
0947 " " -- Pro

0948 " " -- Anti

*1043 Affirmative Action programs -- NA direction
*1044 " " " -- Pro; favors quotas based on race or gender
*1045 " " " -- Anti; opposes quotas based on race or gender

0949 Civil liberties/Freedom of expression/First amendment/ Privacy -- NA direction
0950 " -- Pro; against snooping; political trials, etc; (88) like Dukakis' stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue
0951 " -- Anti; for snooping; political trials; McCarthyite; (88) dislike Republican party stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue

0952 General assessment of Labor policy (unspecified)

0953 Right to work laws--NA direction
0954 " " " --Pro (i.e., opposes unions [anti-labor, code 1208])
0955 " " " --Anti (i.e., supports unions [pro-labor, code 1207])

0956 Strikes--NA direction
0957 " --will have fewer/will handle better
0958 " --will have more/will handle worse

0959 Public power/Utilities/TVA/Atomic reactors/Nuclear power plants/Etc. -- NA direction
0960 " " " -- Pro
0961 " " " -- Anti

*1059 Regulation of companies engaged in public communication or transportation -- pro
*1060 " " " " -- anti

0962 Ecology/Environment; Air and Water Pollution--NA direction
0963 Will crack down on polluters, will be activist; will protect the environment
0964 Won't crack down on polluters, doesn't care; in

league with polluters; not willing to protect the environment

0965 Veterans' Benefits--NA direction
0966 " " --Pro expansion of coverage and/or increase in benefits
0967 " " --Anti expansion of coverage and/or increase in benefits; favoring contraction and/or decrease

0968 Law and order--NA direction
0969 " " --soft line--unspecified
0970 " " " " --blacks
0971 " " " " --campus demonstrators
0972 " " " " --criminals/organized crime/ hoodlums/street crime
0973 " " " " --anti power of police; court interference
*1041 " " " " --opposes death penalty

0974 " " --hard line--unspecified
0975 " " " " --blacks
0976 " " " " --campus demonstrators
0977 " " " " --criminals/organized crime/ hoodlums/street crime
0978 " " " " --pro power of police; reduced court interference
*1042 " " " " --favors death penalty

0979 Public morality--NA direction
0980 " " --Strict/older/traditionalistic outlook; improve/renew morality of country; pro-family; defends family values
0981 " " --Permissive/newer/modernistic outlook; not (strongly enough) pro-family; doesn't defend (strongly enough) family values

0982 Drugs--NA direction
0983 " --Pro legalization/decriminalization; soft-liner; (88) doesn't support (strongly enough) the war on drugs; not willing to do more to combat drug use/pushers; involvement

with Noreiga
0984 " --Anti legalization/decriminalization; hard-liner; (88) supports the war on drugs; willing to do more to combat drug use/ pushers

0985 Abortion and birth control--NA direction
0986 " " " --Pro reform/legalization; new outlook
0987 " " " --Anti reform/legalization; traditional outlook

0988 Gun control--NA direction
0989 " " --Pro; controls
0990 " " --Anti; "everyone has the right to own a gun"

0991 Busing--NA direction
0992 " --Pro; against neighborhood school
0993 " --Anti; for neighborhood school

0994 Urban problem/Cities--NA direction
0995 " " " --Pro government aid/activity
0996 " " " --Anti government aid/activity

0997 Other domestic policy reasons

1001 National Health Insurance--NA direction
1002 " " " --Pro
1003 " " " --Anti

1004 Energy/Gas shortage--Development of alternative energy source, NA direction
1005 " " " --Pro development of alternative source, better/handled better; more fuel
1006 " " " --Anti development of alternative energy source, worse/handled worse; less fuel

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References to nuclear energy should be coded in 0959.
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1007 Government plans to make more jobs--NA direction; make-work programs; CETA; WPAL; CCA
1008 " " " " --Pro
1009 " " " " --Anti
1010 Confidence/Trust in government--NA direction
1011 " " " --would handle better; restore confidence
1012 " " " --would handle worse; cause loss of confidence
1013 ERA; Women's rights--NA direction
1014 " " " --Pro
1015 " " " --Anti

1016 Influx of political/economic refugees (Cubans, Haitians, Mexicans, etc.) --NA direction
1017 " " " --Pro
1018 " " " --Anti
1019 School prayer--NA direction
1020 " " --Pro
1021 " " --Anti
1022 Gay rights--NA direction
1023 " " --Pro
1024 " " --Anti
1025 Health--NA direction
1026 " --Pro government programs/aid for mentally ill, disabled, handicapped
1027 " --Anti " " " " " (except 0923, 0924, 0925)
1028 Space program--NA direction
1029 " " --Pro
1030 " " --Anti
1031 Help to/improvement in a specific industry or occupation--NA direction
1032 " " " " " -- Pro help/improvement
1033 " " " " " -- Anti help/improvement

*1057 Spending on infrastructure (roads, bridges, etc) -- Pro
*1058 " " " " -- Anti

1035 Polarization of classes/increasing gap between rich and poor--NA direction

1036 " " " " " --will stop trend/
handle better
1037 " " " " " --will accelerate trend/
handle better

1038 Day care--NA direction
1039 " " --favors/will expand or extend day care
programs
1040 " " --opposes/will not expand or extend (will
cut or eliminate) day care programs

*1050 Family/maternity leave laws -- Pro
*1051 " " " " " -- Anti

1041 Located after 0973
*1042 Located after 0978
*1043 Located after 0948
*1044 Located after 0948
*1045 Located after 0948
*1046 Located after 0928
*1047 Located after 0919
*1048 Located after 0919
*1049 Located after 0919
*1050 Located after 1040
*1051 Located after 1040
*1052 Located after 0919
*1053 Located after 0919
*1054 Located after 0928
*1055 Located after 0933
*1056 Located after 0933
*1057 Located after 1033
*1058 Located after 1033
*1059 Located after 0961
*1060 Located after 0961

PARTY OR CANDIDATE--FOREIGN POLICIES

1101 General assessment of foreign ideas/policies/stands
(unspecified)

1102 Foreign policies more clear-cut/decisive; less
bungling

1103 Foreign policies less clear-cut/decisive; more bungling

1104 Internationalist/Interested in other countries' problems/Interested in world role/Pro-UN and allies; Meddling in other people's problems
1105 Isolationist/America First/Fortress America/Would meddle less in other people's problems

*1184 Military/Defense position/spending--NA direction or neutral (not 1106, 1107)

1106 Strong military position/Preparedness/Weapons systems/ Pentagon spending/Overkill; SDI ("Star Wars")
1107 Weak military position/Pentagon spending cutbacks/No overkill/Reduce armed forces; SDI ("Star Wars")

1108 Cold-war oriented; opposed detente; international Communist-fighter
1109 Against cold war/Wants thaw/Detente/Understanding with international communists (if NA whether international, code in 0813-0814)

1110 Military aid to allies--NA direction
1111 " " " --Pro
1112 " " " --Anti

1113 Economic aid/Foreign aid/AID/Non-military aid--NA direction
1114 " " " " " " " --Pro
1115 " " " " " " " --Anti

1116 Located after 1163
1117 " " "

1118 Mideast--NA direction; any references to oil embargo; boycott of companies dealing with Israel; [1992] References to involvement in Iraqgate/arming of Saddam Hussein
1119 " --handle better/more experience; positive comments about Arab-Israeli peace treaty

1120 " --handle worse/less experience; negative comments about Arab-Israeli peace treaty

1121 " --Pro-Israel/anti-Arabs
1122 " --Anti-Israel/pro-Arabs; wishy-washy on Israel

1123 Red China--NA direction
1124 " " --handle better/more experience/doing well, better
1125 " " --handle worse/less experience/doing poorly
1126 " " --pro understanding/thaw/detente/new relationships/ recognition/admission to UN
1127 " " --anti understanding/thaw/detente/new relationships/ recognition/admission to UN; defender of Formosa/ Chaing/Nationalists

1128 Russia--NA direction
1129 " --handle better/more experience
1130 " --handle worse/less experience
1131 " --pro understanding/thaw/detente/broadening of relations; SALT II
1132 " --anti understanding/thaw/detente/broadening of relations; SALT II

1133 Eastern Europe--NA direction
1134 " " --handle better/more experience
1135 " " --handle worse/less experience
1136 " " --pro defense of Iron-Curtain countries
1137 " " --anti " " "

*1301 Western Europe -- NA direction
*1302 " " -- handling relations with European Community/specific countries well (better)
*1303 " " " " badly (worse)

1138 Latin America--NA direction
1139 " " --handle better/more experience
1140 " " --handle worse/less experience
1141 " " --pro-third world posture; reach understanding with Castro/Chile/neutrals; anti-colonialism /European powers; against Contra aid/pro- Sandinista
1142 " " --anti-third world posture; hard

anti-communism/anti-revolutionary policy; pro-colonialism/ European powers; pro Contra aid/anti-Sandinista

*1198 (Involvement in) Diversion of money to the Contras (in violation of the law)

1143 Africa--NA direction
1144 " --handle better/more experience
1145 " --handle worse/less experience
1146 " --pro-third world posture; reach understanding with leftists/neutrals; anti-colonialism/ European powers
1147 " --anti-third world posture; hard anti-communism/anti-revolutionary policy; pro-colonialism/European powers

1148 Asia/India--NA direction
1149 " " --handle better/more experience
1150 " " --handle worse/less experience
1151 " " --pro India/Bangladesh
1152 " " --pro Pakistan

1153 Located after 1163
1154 " " "
1155 " " "
1156 " " "

1157 Vietnam/Indochina/Southeast Asia--NA direction
1158 " " " " --better chance for peace
1159 " " " " --poorer chance for peace; failed to end war
1160 " " " " --pro military victory/ preservation of Saigon regime
1161 " " " " --anti military victory/ willing to sacrifice Thieu/Ky; favoring withdrawal
1163 " " --will bring policy change (unspecified)

*1116 Trouble spots (not specifically coded)--would handle better (Panama, Afghanistan, Persian Gulf)
*1117 " " " " " --would handle worse (Panama, Afghanistan, Persian Gulf)
*1162 (88) The invasion of Grenada

*1300 (91) The Persian Gulf war/ Desert Storm

*1153 Would raise American prestige
*1154 Would lower American prestige; not maintain American prestige

*1155 Would have better chance for peace (unspecified); not get us into trouble abroad
*1156 Would have poorer chance for peace (unspecified); get us into war/trouble abroad

1164 Tariffs--NA direction
1165 " --Pro free trade/reduce tariffs; would not protect US labor from foreign competition
1166 " --Anti free trade; for high tariffs; would protect US labor from foreign competition
*1196 Foreign trade/balance of payments deficit--any mention
1167 Trade with communists--NA direction
1168 " " --Pro
1169 " " --Anti

1170 Draft--NA direction
1171 " --Pro volunteer army/abolition of peacetime draft
1172 " --Anti volunteer army; for peacetime draft
1173 " --Pro amnesty/pardon
1174 " --Anti amnesty/draft dodgers/pardon

*1178 Amnesty--NA direction

1175 POW-MIA--Will get prisoners back, will not abandon them
1176 POW-MIA--Will not get prisoners back, will abandon them
1177 POW-MIA--NA direction

*1178 Located after 1174

1179 Did a good job of getting the boys/country out of Vietnam war; got us out of Vietnam

1180 Should have won Vietnam war; gave too much away and then pulled out

1181 Secrecy/deception in U.S. foreign policy; shuttle diplomacy; Kissinger's foreign policy (1976) --NA direction
1182 " " " " --Pro
1183 " " " " --Anti

1184 Located after 1105

1185 Priorities in military/defense spending (not reduction or increase but allocation of existing defense budget--Pro
1186 Priorities in military/defense spending (not reduction or increase but allocation of existing defense budget--Anti

1187 Iranian crisis; American hostages (1980)/Arms sale (1986) -- NA direction
1188 " " " " --has handled well/would handle better
1189 " " " " --has handled poorly/would handle worse

1190 Nuclear freeze/Disarmament--NA direction
1191 " " " --Pro
1192 " " " --Anti
1193 Terrorism; dealings with terrorists; hostages (except 1187-1189) -- NA direction; (88) Bombing of Libya
1194 " " " -- has handled/would handle better; (88) Bombing of Libya/handling of Khadafy
1195 " " " -- has handled/would handle worse; (88) Bombing of Libya/handling of Khadafy

*1196 Located after 1166

1197 Other foreign policy reasons

*1198 Located after 1142

1199 Iran-Contra affair--NFS (NA whether 1187 or 1198)

PARTY OR CANDIDATE--GROUP CONNECTIONS

1201 Special interests/Privileged people/Influential--Pro
1202 " " " " --Anti

1203 "People like me"--pro, NA whether 1205, 1206
1204 " " " --anti, " " " "

1205 Common man/People/Little people/Working people--Pro
1206 " " " " --Anti

1207 Labor/Unions/Labor bosses/Racketeers--Pro
1208 " " " " --Anti

1209 Big Business/Corporate rich/The rich individuals/People with power/Wall Street/Industry/Upper classes--Pro
1210 (Same as 1209) --Anti

1211 Small businessman--Pro
1212 " " --Anti

1213 White collar workers/Salaried people/Middle class--Pro
1214 " " --Anti

1215 Farmers/Country people--Pro
1216 " " --Anti

1217 Blacks/Black people/Negroes--Pro
1218 " " --Anti

1219 People on welfare/ADC mothers/"Chiselers"--Pro
1220 " " " --Anti

1221 Old people/Senior citizens--Pro
1222 " " " --Anti

1223 Young people/Kids/"Freaks"/Hippies--Pro
1224 " " " " " --Anti

1225 Women/Feminists/Womens Liberationists, "sexists"--Pro
1226 " " " " " --Anti

1227 Veterans/Servicemen--Pro
1228 " " --Anti

1229 Ethnic or racial group (exc. 1217-1218); Minority groups (NA composition--Pro
1230 " " --Anti

1231 Section of the country--Pro
1232 " " --Anti

1233 Poor people/needy people/the unemployed -- Pro
1234 " " --Anti

1235 Civil servants--Pro
1236 " " --Anti

1297 Other group connection reasons

*1300 Located after 1162
*1301 Located after 1137
*1302 Located after 1137
*1303 Located after 1137

EVENTS UNIQUE TO ONE CAMPAIGN

5001 [1992] Perot quit the race/is a quitter - NFS
5002 [1992] Because Perot quit the race he is not trustworthy/dependable/steadfast (enough); he let down his supporters
5003 [1992] Because Perot quit the race and then re-entered it he is indecisive/inconsistent/not stable (enough); mentions of re-entering the race after have left it - NFS
5004 [1992] Perot is not a serious candidate

MISSING DATA CODES

9001 R has been influenced by spouse
9002 R has been influenced by someone else

9996 Refused to say

9997 Other miscellaneous

9998 DK
9999 NA

0000 INAP

* Indicates code descriptions that are listed out-of-order.

*** APPENDIX B ***

LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE CODE
Codes for Questions 69 and 70. (V0293-V0302)

GENERAL PHILOSOPHY

010 ACCEPTANCE OF CHANGE/new ideas; less bound to status quo, more open to new ideas/ways of doing things; flexible, innovative, "modern", progressive
110 RESISTANCE TO CHANGE/new ideas; stick to (protect) status quo, resist new ways of doing things; rigid, set in ways, old-fashioned
---
020 QUICK (RASH) RESPONSE to problems; tackle problems quickly; impetuous, impulsive, (too) aggressive, take more chances, not cautious (enough)
120 Slow (cautious) response to problems, do-nothing,

lets things go, avoid risk
---
021 IRRESPONSIBLE; does not worry about consequences; "anything goes" attitude
121 THOUGHTFUL; worries about consequences
---
030 Independence of thought, ideas; think on their own; don't (always) follow party directives; outspoken activist, go-getters; look at both sides of question; more likely to compromise/give and take on an issue
130 Don't think independently; compliant, disciplined, follow party directives; look at only one side of issues
---
035 Consistent; takes firm stands; decisive; determined; stubborn
135 Inconsistent, they switch positions/do not take firm stand on issues; are indecisive
---
040 FOR EQUALITY, equal rights for everybody; "no 'stuffed shirts'"; talk on people's level; willing to listen to people, people like me
140 ELITIST; favors maintaining special privileges for some
---
050 EXTREME, RADICAL, far left (not further specified)
150 MODERATE, middle-of-road, less extreme (not further specified)
155 REACTIONARY, far right (not further specified)
---
060 Cares about giving to, helping others; compassionate; generous; do-gooder
160 Self-centered, cares primarily about self
---
061 SENSITIVE TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS; concerned with social reform; interested in improving social conditions; for equalizing distribution of income
161 UNAWARE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS; not favoring social reform; not interested in improving social conditions; against equalizing/redistribution of income

---

070 Future-oriented, plan ahead, look to the future

170 Not future-oriented, don't plan ahead, don't worry about the future; short-sighted

---

071 Idealist, not realistic about what is possible

171 Pragmatic; down to earth, realistic

---

080 Socialistic, for welfare state, for social welfare programs, for government intervention in social problems; leaves less to (interferes more with) private enterprise

180 FOR FREE ENTERPRISE, capitalism, against socialism (code "help big business" under group references); for development of private enterprise, against government expansion into areas of private enterprise; against government intervention in social problems, leaves individuals to fend off on their own

---

081 Depends (too much) on federal government (rather than state or local government); (TOO) CENTRALIZED, paternalism, want Washington to do everything

181 For states' rights, local government, less interference from Washington at local level, against powerful federal government

---

082 DESTROY PERSONAL INITIATIVE/individual responsibility/individual dignity; recognize individual needs government help

182 Initiative/Responsibility/Dignity of individual protected

---

083 Humanistic; care (more) about people; for the benefit of the person

183 Less/Not humanistic; less/not concerned about people

---

084 Patriotic, nationalist; looks out for good of our country; pride in government/country/Constitution; has the country's interest at heart

184 Less patriotic, less nationalist; not enough pride

in government/ country/Constitution; willing to take care of other people (e.g., refugees) before taking care of people at home

---

085 Definite moral standards/stands; concern for/control of public morality

185 Freedom to do as one chooses; less interested in strict control of social behavior; not interested in setting moral standards

---

086 (Good) Christian; strong religious beliefs

186 Not religious

---

087 Adhere to/uphold/respect the Constitution; live up to/stick to what the Constitution says

187 Deviate from/ignore/don't respect the Constitution; interpret the Constitution to suit their needs; ignore the Constitution when it suits their purposes

---

088 Support/uphold/defend the Bill of Rights; protect the right to freedom of speech/press/religion, etc.; support the ACLU

188 Seek to curtail/fail to protect/unwilling to observe the Bill of Rights; willing to put limits in freedom of speech/press/ religion, etc.; doesn't support the ACLU

General Philosophy (continued)

089 (More) Concerned about HUMAN RIGHTS; places (greater) importance on the protection of human rights.

189 Less/not concerned about HUMAN RIGHTS; does not place/places less importance on the protection of human rights.

---

090 Other general philosophy reference pertaining to liberals

190 Other general philosophy reference pertaining to conservatives

FISCAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY REFERENCES

- Fiscal Policy--Easy Spending Responses

400 SPEND MORE FREELY/high spenders (NFS); liberal economic policy; favor government spending
401 Spend much relative to what is accomplished, WASTEFUL, not careful with spending
402 Spend much relative to money available; SPEND US DEEPER IN DEBT
403 Spend under special circumstances, such as hard times
404 Bring cheap money, MORE MONEY CIRCULATING
405 Other easy spending responses
406 Want to RAISE TAXES--NFS; want to keep taxes high/increase government revenues
407 Will increase INCOME TAXES; will not cut income taxes; will rely on increase in/high income tax to provide government revenues

- Fiscal Policy--Cautious Spending Responses

500 Spend less freely, economize in government (NFS); tight economic policy; oppose government spending
501 Spend little relative to what is accomplished, LESS WASTEFUL/more careful with government (taxpayers') money
502 Spend little relative to money available, REDUCE DEBT; keep debt from getting higher, balanced budget
503 Spend little even when special circumstances might warrant
504 FOR SOUND MONEY, tight money, deflation
505 Other cautious spending responses
506 Want to CUT TAXES--NFS; want to keep taxes low/decrease government revenues
507 Will cut INCOME TAXES; will not increase income taxes; will rely on taxes other than income tax to provide government revenue
512 Favor (too much) GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER ECONOMY; doesn't let business get more involved/handle problems of poverty/ unemployment, etc.
412 Don't favor (too much) government control over economy; LETS BUSINESS GET MORE INVOLVED/handle problems of poverty/ unemployment, etc.

490 Other reference to fiscal and economic policy
435 Propose/enact FAIR TAXES; believe everyone should be taxed the same/that taxes should be even-handed
535 Propose/enact UNFAIR TAXES; show favoritism/give tax breaks to certain groups or types of people
436 Give tax breaks to the poor/working/middle class people; tax policies favor the lower/middle classes
536 Give tax breaks to the wealthy/corporations; tax policies favor the rich/powerful/upper classes

SPECIFIC DOMESTIC POLICIES FAVORED BY LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE

600 MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION; favors raising minimum wage, or favors raising unemployment compensation
601 SOCIAL SECURITY, government pension rates
603 FULL EMPLOYMENT policies; government committment to provide a job for everyone who wants to work
610 MEDICAL (HEALTH) INSURANCE, medical care for the aged, socialized medicine, Medicare
620 Government control of UTILITIES, more attention to conservation; public works, mention of ecology, environment
630 Federal AID TO EDUCATION/school-building, teachers' pay higher
631 Busing; forced integration
632 Other federal control of education or schools response
633 Prayer in schools
640 CIVIL RIGHTS, insist more strongly on civil rights
641 Law and order--hard line (or NA line); want a police state; support death penalty (88)
642 Law and order--soft line; oppose death penalty (88)
643 Property rights, OPEN HOUSING
644 Policies which would divide country, have civil war, race war
650 Higher TARIFFS, less free trade
660 "Wet" legislation, ANTI-PROHIBITION
670 General mention of social welfare, "give-away programs"
671 POVERTY program

672 EMPLOYMENT (job) training programs, job corps, etc.
673 Food stamps
674 Provides for/support/spend (more) for child care or parental leave policy; license/fund day care facilities
680 FARM policy
681 ABORTION; birth control
682 Women's rights; ERA
683 Legalization of pot, lower penalties/lenient drug laws or enforcement
684 Gay rights, homosexuals
685 Nuclear power, construction of nuclear plants
686 Gun control
690 Other specific domestic policy favored

SPECIFIC DOMESTIC POLICIES OPPOSED BY LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE

700 MINIMUM WAGE or unemployment compensation; won't raise minimum wage, won't improve unemployment compensation
701 SOCIAL SECURITY, against raising benefits
703 FULL EMPLOYMENT policies; government committment to provide a job for everyone who wants to work
710 MEDICAL (HEALTH) INSURANCE, against medical care for the aged, against socialized medicine, Medicare
720 Government control of UTILITIES, for private power; less interested in conservation; public works, mention of ecology, environment
730 FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION; against or drag feet on aid to education
731 BUSING; forced integration
732 Other federal control of education or schools response
733 Prayer in schools
740 CIVIL RIGHTS, against or drag feet on civil rights legislation, leave it to states
741 Following a tough or hard line in maintenance of law and order; POLICE STATE; PREVENTION OF CRIME, etc.; imposing the death penalty (88)
742 Following a soft line in maintenance of law and

order; POLICE STATE; PREVENTION OF CRIME, etc.; imposing the death penalty (88)
743 Property rights, OPEN HOUSING
744 Policies which would divide country, have civil war, race war; want to unite the country
750 HIGH TARIFFS, want free trade
760 Repeal; WANT PROHIBITION; "dry"
770 General mention of social welfare, "give-away programs"
771 POVERTY program
772 EMPLOYMENT (job) training programs, job corps
773 Food stamps
774 Provide for/support/spend (more) for CHILD CARE or parental leave policy; license/fund day care facilities
780 FARM policy
781 ABORTION; birth control
782 Women's rights; ERA
783 Legalization of pot, lower penalties/lenient drug laws
784 Gay rights, homosexuals
785 Nuclear power, construction of nuclear plants
786 Gun control
790 Other domestic policy opposed

GROUP REFERENCES

- Liberal/Conservative Good For/Helps/Gives Special Advantage To:

200 EVERYBODY; NOBODY; no catering to special interests, "people" (the majority)
210 WORKING OR LITTLE PEOPLE, the common (poor, lowly) people, the working class, "average man"
212 People like me, people like us
220 Unions, "LABOR", labor leaders
230 BIG BUSINESS, industry, "business(men)", Wall Street (except small businessman, code 240)
231 Rich people, UPPER CLASSES, wealthy (powerful) people
240 SMALL BUSINESSMEN
250 MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE, white collar people

260 FARMERS
270 BLACKS
280 Other racial and ethnic groups
281 THE SOUTH, some portion of the south
282 THE NORTH, some portion of the north
283 WHITE PEOPLE, white people only
284 MINORITIES, minority groups (NA which)
285 OLD PEOPLE
286 The educated, INTELLECTUALS, students
290 Other groups
299 Group reference codeable in 200 or 300 series, NA which

- Liberal/Conservative Bad For/Anti/Keeps In Check/Puts In Place:

300 Divisive, SETS CLASS AGAINST CLASS, caters to special interests (NA what), plays group politics; not for all the people; (LIBS/CONS) only for themselves
310 WORKING OR LITTLE PEOPLE, the common (poor, lowly) people, the working class, "average man"
312 PEOPLE LIKE ME, people like us
320 Unions, "LABOR", labor leaders
330 BIG BUSINESS, industry, "business(men)", Wall Street (except small businessman, code 340)
331 Rich people, UPPER CLASSES, wealthy (powerful) people
340 SMALL BUSINESSMEN
350 MIDDLE CLASS PEOPLE, white collar people
360 FARMERS
370 BLACKS
371 Racist, prejudiced, bigoted
380 Other racial and ethnic groups; "minority groups," other or NFS
381 THE SOUTH, some portion of the south
382 THE NORTH, some portion of the north
383 WHITE PEOPLE, white people only
384 MINORITIES, minority groups (NA which)
385 OLD PEOPLE
386 The educated, INTELLECTUALS, students
390 Other groups

FOREIGN POLICY REFERENCES

800 WAR; get us into war (faster); liberal/conservative associated with war, military

810 PEACE; more likely to keep peace, liberal/conservative associated with peace (no mention of Vietnam specifically)

820 Internationalist; MORE FOR FOREIGN AID/trade, government activities abroad; cooperate with allies; U.N. "more for foreign aid/trade"

830 ISOLATIONIST; avoid foreign activities, cut foreign aid/trade (military or economic); "cut foreign aid/trade"

840 NATIONAL SECURITY; for strong national defense (spending); strong (firm) (too aggressive) posture toward communism (Russia); too much defense spending

850 INADEQUATE NATIONAL SECURITY; fail to maintain (spend for) defense; weak posture toward communism (Russia)

860 Specific trouble spots

870 Control of nuclear weapons

880 Strong foreign policy

881 Weak foreign policy

890 Other foreign policy--other substantive foreign policy mentions (direction of response usually indicated)

891 Mention of "foreign policy" difference, but no substance or direction given (e.g., usually response is "they differ on foreign policy or in how they will handle foreign policy")

MISCELLANEOUS

900 Other miscellaneous reference pertaining to liberals

901 Other miscellaneous reference pertaining to conservatives

902 Liberal defined in terms of specific national figure or Democratic party

903 Conservative defined in terms of specific national figure or Republican party

998 DK
999 NA

000 INAP