Appendix 2. Variable Descriptions and Coding

Note: Variable numbers refer to the 1996 National Election Studies (NES) dataset. Except as noted, cases with missing data are deleted listwise. My sample excludes individuals who stated that they were not registered. *Registration* was coded one for individuals who claimed to vote in the 1996 presidential election (V961074=1) or did not vote but claimed to be registered (V961075=1).

Electoral Choice is recoded from V961082, and equals zero for individuals who voted for Clinton, equals one for individuals who did not vote, and equals two for individuals who voted for Dole. Individuals who voted for Perot or other minor candidates are excluded.

Age/100 is the respondent's age measured in years (V960605), divided by 100.

Income is recoded into percentiles based on V960701, in accordance with the percentiles used in the NES cumulative datafile. 0^{th} through 16^{th} percentile=1; 17^{th} through 33^{rd} percentile=2; 34^{th} through 67^{th} percentile=3; 68^{th} through 95^{th} percentile=4; 96^{th} through 100^{th} percentile=5. Individuals who refused to answer were coded 3.

Black equals one for individuals who are identified as black (V960067=2), and equals zero otherwise.

Female equals one for individuals who are identified as female (V9600066=2) and equals zero otherwise.

Political Party is recoded from V960420. –3=Strong Democrat; –2=Weak Democrat; –1=Independent-Democrate; 0=Independent-Independent; 1=Independent-Republican; 2=Weak Republican; 3=Strong Republican. Individuals who answered "Apolitcal" or "Other" were coded 0.

National Economic Performance is recoded from V961478, which asks about the respondent's perception of the performance of the U.S. economy over the last 12 months. –2=Much Worse; –1=Worse; 0=Same; 1=Better; 2=Much Better.

Personal Economic Situation is recoded from V960337, which asks about the respondent's family financial situation compared to one year previously. –2=Much Worse; –1=Worse; 0=Same; 1=Better; 2=Much Better.

Ideological Distance Differential is created from V961269, V961273, and V961275. First these variables are recoded into *Respondent Ideology*, *Clinton Ideology*, and *Dole Ideology* as follows: -3=extremely liberal, -2=liberal, -1=slightly liberal, 0=moderate, 1=slightly conservative, 2=conservative, 3=extremely conservative. Respondents who answered "haven't thought much about it" were coded 0. From these I created the variables *Clinton Ideological Distance* = |*Respondent Ideology – Clinton Ideology*| and *Dole Ideological Distance* = |*Respondent Ideology – Dole Ideology*|. A distance measure was set to zero if the respondent did not place the candidate on the ideology scale, and both distance measures were set to zero if the respondent

did not place herself on the ideology scale (an alternative coding, in which individuals with missing data on either of the ideological distance variables were excluded from the analysis, generated nearly identical results to those presented here, and none of my statistical or substantive conclusions were affected). *Ideological Distance Differential* is equal to *Clinton Ideological Distance – Dole Ideological Distance*.

Character Differential is based on V961112 (Clinton Gets Things Done), V961114 (Clinton Moral), V961118 (Dole Gets Things Done), and V961114 (Dole Moral). For each candidate and each trait "Extremely Well" was coded 3, "Quite Well" was coded 2, "Not Too Well" was coded 1, and "Not Well At All" was coded 0. *Character Differential* = ((*Dole Moral + Dole Gets Things Done*) – (*Clinton Moral + Clinton Gets Things Done*)).

High School Graduate equals one for individuals who graduated from high school (V960610=3,4,5,6,7) and equals zero otherwise.

College Graduate equals one for individuals who graduated from a four-year college (V960610=6,7) and equals zero otherwise.

Political Awareness is defined as the proportion of correct responses to a series of questions of factual political information: V961189 (Al Gore), V961190 (William Rehnquist), V961191 (Boris Yeltsin), V961192 (Newt Gingrich), V961072 (House party control), and V961073 (Senate party control).

Internal Political Efficacy is built from V961246 ("Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.") and is coded as in Rosenstone and Hansen 1993. Agree Strongly=0, Agree Somewhat=1, Neither Agree nor Disagree=2, Disagree Somewhat=3, Disagree Strongly=4.

External Political Efficacy is built from V961245 ("People like me don't have any say about what the government does.") and is coded as in Rosenstone and Hansen 1993. Agree Strongly=0, Agree Somewhat=1, Neither Agree nor Disagree=2, Disagree Somewhat=3, Disagree Strongly=4.

Cares About the Election is built from V960202. 0=Don't Care Very Much, 1=Care a Good Deal.

Mobilized by a Political Party equals one for individuals who answer yes to the question "Did anyone from one of the political parties call you up or come around and talk to you about the campaign this year?" (V961162=1) and equals zero otherwise.

Ideology Uncertainty is based on V961274 (Clinton Ideology Uncertainty) and V961276 (Dole Ideology Uncertainty). For each candidate, "Very Certain" is coded 0, "Somewhat Certain" is coded 1, and "Not Very Certain" is coded 2. Respondents who did not place a candidate on the ideology scale were coded 2 for that candidate's uncertainty. *Ideology Uncertainty = (Dole Uncertainty + Clinton Uncertainty)/*2.

Character Uncertainty is based on V961113 (Clinton "Moral" Uncertainty), V961117 (Clinton "Gets Things Done" Uncertainty), V961115 (Dole "Moral" Uncertainty), and V961119 (Dole

"Gets Things Done" Uncertainty). For each candidate and each trait, "Very Certain" is coded 0, "Somewhat Certain" is coded 1, and "Not Very Certain" is coded 2. *Character Uncertainty = (Dole Moral Uncertainty + Dole Gets Things Done Uncertainty + Clinton Moral Uncertainty + Clinton Gets Things Done Uncertainty)/*4.

Appendix Table 2. Descriptive Statistics (N=1093)

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation
Dependent Variable				
Electoral Choice				
0: Vote Clinton 48.4%				
1: Abstain 14.4%				
2: Vote Dole 37.2%				
Independent Variables				
Age/100	0.18	0.94	0.49	0.17
Income	1	5	3.02	1.07
Black	0	1	0.11	0.31
Female	0	1	0.55	0.50
Political Party	-3	3	-0.23	2.24
National Economic Performance	-2	2	0.20	0.72
Personal Economic Situation	-2	2	0.27	1.03
Ideological Distance Differential	-6	6	0.28	2.44
Character Differential	-3	3	0.38	1.14
High School Graduate	0	1	0.90	0.30
College Graduate	0	1	0.33	0.47
Political Awareness	0	1	0.65	0.25
Internal Political Efficacy	0	4	1.65	1.25
External Political Efficacy	0	4	2.09	1.26
Cares About the Election	0	1	0.84	0.37
Mobilized by a Political Party	0	1	0.32	0.47
Ideology Uncertainty	0	2	0.90	0.63
Character Uncertainty	0	2	0.78	0.50

Note: Sample includes only individuals who report being registered.