Problems with Open-ended ANES Questions Measuring What
Respondents Like and Dislike about Candidates and Political Parties
David RePass

David RePass is one of the community of political scientists who has been involved in open-ended data for the longest and deepest. We are delighted that he was willing to come and talk about his perspective on this. He will especially focus on coding.

First of all I want to thank Jon and Skip for having this conference. I never thought I would see the day when open-ended questions would be the topic of discussion in these halls. I have been trying to get the attention of the ANES to open-ended questions for many years. I should also say for those who are not familiar with the ANES questioning or procedures for gathering data that almost all of the interviews they have are in-person where interviewers go to people's houses. They get to know the people. They set them aside in a room and they establish rapport and respondents are willing to spill their guts. But interviewers do have to record. They used to have to write it down by hand, now they use laptops. I have looked through many of these interviewers and I did not sense that interviewers did not record everything that was said.

Today I will be talking about coding attitudes toward political objects, particularly presidential candidates. These are very complex and multifaceted objects. Questioning people about anything political is going to trigger a wide range of attitudes and beliefs. What I recommend about coding materials solicited from open-ended questions about political objects may not apply to less multifaceted objects and vice versa; methods used to code the material from less multifaceted may not be applicable to political objects.

Let me first offer this overall advice when working with open-ended data: let respondents use their own words, use their own way of seeing and relating to the political world. We cannot and should not try to jam them into our boxes or our code categories. The data I will be talking about is stream of consciousness. I don't expect tidy essays, prepared speeches, and I don't expect respondents to color between the lines. For example, when giving negative views about a candidate respondents may suddenly think of a positive view of the opposition candidate. Expect the unexpected. For example, in 1964 we had Goldwater as the candidate. He was an arch conservative. But what do you think voters labeled him? A radical. Goldwater was in the minds of a great many voters a radical. Reason – he was talking about giving control of atomic weapons to generals in Europe. He was talking about defoliating Vietnam. That is the sort of thing that made people think he was a radical.

Now you have the handout. It is headed reflective and qualitative coding. [See RePass Handout attached at end of this transcript.] If you could follow me along, I'm not a PowerPoint person. I thought I would give you the material. You don't have to write anything down. You can take it home. Turning to the first page you will see a definition of reflective coding. Now this is a term that I coined for this conference. I have never seen it before. I think it reflects what we are doing. You see the definition – coding that encapsulates and reflects, comment by comment, the attitudes and expressions expressed by the respondent. Now I also have a definition of qualitative coding. I did have some material at the end that I am probably not going to get to. I thought originally they were going to give me 35 minutes and I am going to get cut off. I am not going to get to qualitative coding at all. Although it is not too vital to this conference because that is a very individualized kind of process that individual researchers would do. But I would point out however that Jon showed you levels of conceptualization coding. That is qualitative coding.

Reflective coding – this is a process of developing a set of words that best reflects respondent's comments and giving those words a number. Keep in mind when developing these codes they must serve two purposes. They must be looked at from the direction of the coder and from the direction of the user. From the coder's standpoint, the coder must easily be able to find the code text that reflects the respondent's comment. On the user's side the text of the code must be clear, short and direct. If the code is too broad or includes too many items it will be useless. The user needs to be able to rely

on the code text to be able to tell him a good approximation of what the respondent has said. I will be talking a lot more about that later.

Now let's turn to how to write a reflective code. Now I am going to use the ANES party candidate master code as a model – a model of how you should not do this kind of coding. Again, Jon and Skip were not here when these codes were developed. The ANES has been very good at many things but open-ended codes is not one of them. I will use examples from the ANES master codes to show you what not to do so then you will know what to do. In 1972 someone at ANES (it was CPS then), totally revised the structure of the master code for open-ended party and candidate questions. After that those codes were badly neglected for decades. Poor practices have been repeated and made worse. As a consequence their coding has been full of errors and cannot be interpreted. I have tried to work with these codes over several decades. In many instances I have had to come to Ann Arbor to look at the actual interviews in order to tell what respondents were talking about and to correct errors in the coding.

In preparation for this conference I have totally restructured and rewritten the candidate code so that it can be applied to the 1992 Clinton data that you all received. [See RePass' Revision of 1992 Clinton master code attached at end of this transcript.] The ANES master code in 1992 which was used for Clinton was 32 pages long. (The ANES master code is now 40 pages long.) With such a long code to wade through coders' are bound to make errors and it is going to take a lot of time. It is terribly inefficient. Joe has prepared for you that handout with the 1992 ANES master code. But it is in very small type and he stretched out the lines so you don't see how long the actual code is.
Now let's talk about the basic set up of a reflective code. First rule – develop a different master code for each question. That is pretty much common sense but starting in 1972 ANES master code combined codes to be used for the likes and dislikes of candidates and likes and dislikes of parties. It is all jumbled together. So always have codes for one object at a time. Also you should use, in this case, a different code for each candidate. You have to tailor the master code for each candidate. Each candidate has too many unique features to jam into one code. In my revised 1992 code, for example, you will notice there is a code called Smooth or Slick Willy. That was Clinton. You are not going to find that again. You have to tailor the code to the individual candidate.

Another major thing is to make sure that if you have positive views and negative views that they are put into widely separated codes. Otherwise enormous errors result. That is one of the big problems ANES coders have had.

The first major step in setting up a code is to develop some broad categories. That is similar to what you do in outlining for any writing project: set up your major categories. I have on the handout sheet the ANES major categories that they have used for years. Then you have the major categories of my code on the right. The main difference is that I included a broad category called "The Campaign." Now here we have presidential elections with coding of responses about it and there has never been in the ANES code the topic: The Campaign. That includes things like the debates, dirty tactics, attack ads, choice of the running mate, attitudes towards the running mate. Do you think voter's views of the vice president are important? You bet ya. As you will see in the codes that I set up I have many, many items for Bill Clinton in 1992 that are specific to that campaign which I call "issues that surround the candidate." That is things like Jennifer Flowers and many other personal problems that Clinton had. In 1988 it would have been the furlough issue, the Willy Horton ads and so forth. There was never any place for this sort of thing in the ANES codes. In other words, in setting up these major categories try not to leave major categories out.

Next, how to write the explicit codes under these major headings. First you must base it on examining the verbatim comments. It cannot be set up ahead of time. You never know what people will be talking about and how they will say it until you see the interviews. You have to look at the interviews to develop these explicit codes. Read through 100-200 interviews. Copy each comment separately on a card or, virtually, on a computer. Put it in piles of similar topics. Find the words that best reflect those topics and then you give that a number. After you have set up this code based on 200 interviews, your coders start coding. They are going to encounter new topics that didn't come up in

the first 200 interviews. Have them make a card. Look at the cards every hour or so. If several of the cards are on the same topic, then you add a code into the master code. There are always going to be idiosyncratic comments that don't warrant a code other than "Other."

Now I am going to talk about the criteria to be used in setting up these explicit codes. First, they should be short – as few words as possible and mutually exclusive. That is pretty obvious. Next, clear and unambiguous. Look at the first ANES code I gave you [in handout]: law and order – soft-line – criminals/organized crime/hoodlums/street crime. Well, what is this talking about – the mafia or muggings? What does soft-line mean? There are many, many problems with that code being very ambiguous. You remember the Willy Horton ads in 1988 and the furlough issue? Guess what code was used with that? The one in front of you. It doesn't even mention the furlough issue. But that is the one they used.

I give you other examples of these ambiguous codes like "management performance in the Supreme Court." I don't know what that is all about.

Turn to Item d. – no add-ons. That is one of my pet peeves. Remember all these codes must be looked at from the standpoint of the user as well as the author. There is the famous 602 code that I have given to you. In 1972 it had to do with bureaucratic administration. In 1976 they added the national debt and budget deficit. Then in 1984 they added overspending. So now they have a code with three objects, all very different. You have handling of Katrina along with the budget, etc. The user has no idea which of these items the respondent was actually talking about. I give you another example of an add-on code: 505.

The next is what I call the use of "layering." This is another term I have invented. You see the code 1106: strong military position/preparedness/Star Wars. Well now from the standpoint of the user they see SDI/Star Wars so they would have to assume that almost everyone was talking about SDI and Star Wars. They weren't. They made a general comment about military posture and preparedness. When I say "layering" it means you should have a general code and then specific codes under that. I give you some examples of how this layering might be set up for Clinton and McCain. They are in the handout.

Item f. – leave gaps in the code numbers. When you see my 1992 codes which are also in the handouts, you will see gaps in the sequence of numbers. I do know how to count. The reason I did that is to leave room for additional codes that fall into logical positions at that point in the codes. The ANES is full of out of sequence codes. (You have the handout there that Joe gave you of the ANES master code.) You will see a bunch of numbers/codes – so and so appears after that code and so on. It is a mess. You can look at the code and see what I am talking about.

And finally prune out codes that are left over from previous studies. Leave out codes that are no longer applicable. The ANES codes are full of these inapplicable/ancient history items. For example, there are lots of items on the Cold War and Vietnam War, Korea, WWII, Fort Sumter. I'm just kidding. But it is ridiculous to carry on year after year these same codes.

Now let's talk about the education and knowledge level of coders. I would say that advanced undergraduate majors or college-educated people in general could do this coding. The important thing to know about them is that they followed the campaign and know a great deal about it. Coders must be able to understand what people are talking about. It is going to be difficult to find people who remember past campaigns. The coder is going to encounter a lot of nuance, vernacular, colloquialism, and unusual ways of expression. The coder will have to have insight into the campaign and to know what the respondent was referring to. Responses are often very oblique.

As far as reliability is concerned – hire coders as follows: give them an exercise to read through 20 interviews, check the results. If there are many errors, then the interviewer has no aptitude for coding or didn't know much about the campaign – just don't hire him or her. Once you have a quality staff, check every 5th or 10th interview. Have it coded twice for reliability but you don't have to double code

every interview. You shouldn't have too much of a problem if you have hired people who know the campaign and if the code is short and direct. I have prepared my 1992 master code as an example of one that meets that criteria.

Finally, the problem of using computers or machine coding. I do not believe computers can be used for coding complex political material. I give you some examples that would baffle a computer. [see last page of my handout] Later you can use my codes to look up what these people were actually saying. I doubt if you could ever code enough interviews or put enough information into a computer to allow it to code these kinds of things. For example, the Russia thing that came up in 1992. Do you know what that had to do with? Not Russian policy or the Cold War or anything like that. Clinton had gone to Russia during the Vietnam period.

The last set of codes in that section is very interesting. This is talking about one thing – Clinton's extra marital affairs. These examples were taken from only 200 interviews. There are going to be a lot more such idiosyncrasies in the full sample. I don't know if it is possible to get a program written to cover all of those possibilities.

RePass Handout

Reflective and Qualitative Coding: Definitions

Reflective coding: Coding that encapsulates and reflects, comment by comment, the attitudes expressed by respondent.

Qualitative coding: Evaluating a set of comments as a contextual whole in an effort to find a certain quality of mind.

Basic Set-Up for a Reflective Code

1. **Develop a separate master code for each question.**
2. If positive and negative attitudes are called for, **develop a set of separate (but parallel) codes for the positive and for the negative comments.**
3. **Develop a set of Broad Categories** (similar to setting up major topics in an outline).

Example:

Major Categories in ANES codes	Broad Categories in My Code
Experience, ability	Experience and Abilities
Leadership qualities	Performance in Office, Record
Personal qualities	Strength of Leadership, Leadership Qualities
Party connections	Personal Qualities
Government Management	General Outlook/Philosophy
Miscellaneous	
Government Activity/Philosophy	Party Connections
	The Campaign
	General
Domestic policies	Stands on Domestic Issues
Foreign policies	Stands on Foreign Issues and Defense
Group connections	Group references

Writing Explicit Code Categories

1. **Must be based on examining actual verbatim comments**. Cannot set up codes ahead of time.

2. **Criteria**
   a. **Short, as few words as possible**.
   b. **Mutually exclusive.**
   c. **Clear, unambiguous.**

Examples of ambiguous codes:

ANES code: LAW AND ORDER – SOFT-LINE – criminals/organized crime/hoodlums/street crime

ANES code: A politician/political person; (too) much in politics; and good politician; part of Washington crowd; politically motivated; just wants to be re-elected.

ANES code: Reference to management performance in Congress / Supreme Court / other gov't agency

ANES code: Reference to damaging incident in candidate's personal life (sexual escapades) financial problems, substance abuse, etc.

d. One object per category; no add-ons.

Examples of "Add-on" codes:

ANES code 0602 in 1972: Bad/Inefficient/Unbusinesslike administration; wasteful; bureaucratic"

ANES code 0602 in 1976: Bad/Inefficient/Unbusinesslike administration; wasteful; "bureaucratic; deficit budget; higher/increased national debt

ANES code 0602 in 1984: Bad/Inefficient/Unbusinesslike administration; wasteful; "bureaucratic"; deficit budget; higher/increased national debt; overspend

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

e. Use "layering" sequence to record level of specificity.

Bad Example – Not Layered

ANES code 1106. Strong Military position/ Preparedness/SDI ("Star Wars") [SDI ("Star Wars") should have been a separate code]

Good Examples of "Layering":

My 1992 Clinton Code:

001. Well educated (general)
002. Well educated, went to Oxford (Rhodes Scholar)

Should be used in 2008 McCain Code:

005. Has military experience (non-specific)
006. Was a prisoner in Viet Nam

Should be used in 2008 for both candidates:

102. Would work to reduce gasoline/oil prices (general)
103. Would work to reduce gasoline/oil prices, drill offshore
104. Would work to reduce gasoline/oil prices, drill offshore AND Alaska Wildlife Refuge

f. Leave many gaps in code numbers.

g. Prune out codes that are left over from previous studies

Problems with using Computers to Code

Examples of comments that would baffle a computer

"I think he's all show and no go. I think he's theatrical. Puts on a good front."
                [Use my code 220414 and/or 220416]

"If your going to be a US citizen, should stand up and go into service when needed."
                [Use my code 220752]

"People have to work for a living, at least that's what he says he's going to do."
                [Use my code 211025]

"Like this Russian thing that's come up"
                [Use my code 220754]

"Like the idea about the insurance"
                [Use my code 211055]

All of the following comments refer to Clinton's extramarital dalliances. Would the computer understand that? How many keywords would have to be programmed?

"extra curricular affairs"   "promised to be faithful"
"indiscretions"   "screwed around on his old lady"
"lack of restraint"   "shady moral past"
"romantic involvements"   "who he slept with"
"played around"   "can't take care of his own house"

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CLINTON MASTER CODE, 1992

POSITIVE COMMENTS

EXPERIENCE AND ABILITIES

210100. Experienced (general, vague)
210101. Has experience in government/public service (no specific office mentioned)

210103. Was a governor, governor of Arkansas   [statement of fact, performance not mentioned]

210130. Qualified (general)

210140. Has good political skills, experienced politician

210199. Other Experience/Abilities [make a card]

PERFORMANCE IN OFFICE, RECORD

210200. Has a good public record, record in office (general)

210211. Has done a good job as governor (or Arkansas)
210213. Increased employment, jobs in Arkansas

210299. Other Performance in Office [make a card]

STRENGTH OF LEADERSHIP, LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

210300. Strong leader, will be a strong president
210301. Decisive
210302. Dependable
210303. Will keep promises
210304. Inspiring
210305. Brings hope

210310. He is self-confident
210311. People have confidence in him
210312. He has vision

210330. Good speaker (general)
210331. Clear speaker, explains himself well

210399. Other Leadership Qualities [make a card]

PERSONAL QUALITIES

210400. I like him (personally)
210402. Good man, heard good things about him
210405. Someone new, fresh face, new ideas   [If the word "change" is used, code 210535]

210410. Honest
210411. Trustworthy, you can trust him

210412. Sincere, means what he says
210413. Straight forward, tells it as it is
210414. He does not cater/pander to electorate

210420. Intelligent, smart
210421. Well-informed, knowledgeable
210422. Well educated (general)
210423. Well educated, went to Oxford (Rhodes Scholar)
210424. Articulate

210430. Man of high principles
210431. Moral
210432.
210434. Selfless, wants to help others, not in it for himself
210435. Humble
210436. Caring/compassionate

210440. Self-made man, started out poor
210441. Down to earth, in tune with the people
210442.
210443 Good sense of humor
210444. Friendly, outgoing, "I like the way he talks to people"

210451. Is young, his age
210452. Energetic, enthusiastic

Family

210461. I like his wife (general)
210462. Hillary Clinton is smart, well educated, has a career
210463. His wife supports him, helps him
210465. I like his family

210470. Good family man

210499. Other Personal Qualities [make a card]

GENERAL OUTLOOK/PHILOSOPHY

210500. General, vague comment about his ideas, policies, platform, programs
210501. Has a well defined set of beliefs, goals (general)

210510. He's for government activity, supports social programs
210514. He favors improvement in standard of living for working class, middle class
210515. Does not believe in "trickle down" economics, Reaganomics

210520. He's a liberal (in a positive sense)
210522. He's more conservative
210532. He's a moderate
210534. He's pragmatic

210530. He's for states rights, keep government at local level
210531. Believes in the separation of church and state (generally).
        [Specific issues like school prayer should be coded under Domestic Policies]

210535. He believes in <u>change</u>, will bring change, will turn things around, get us back on track

210540. For equality, equal treatment
210541. Believes in, favors diversity

210545. Is for freedom
210546. Believes in work ethic, self-discipline, self-reliance, working hard to get ahead

211050. Would prevent decline in morality
211051. Would maintain family values

210599. Other General Outlook/ Philosophy [make a card]

PARTY CONNECTIONS

210601. "He's a Democrat"
210602. "I always/almost always vote Democratic"
210603. "He's not a Republican"
210604.
210605. He's not controlled by his party

210610. Positive reference to men around him   [Who? Make a card]
210611. Positive reference to <u>party</u> figures around him   [Who? Make a card]

210620. Will continue/keep his party's policies
210621. Would change from his party's policies

210625. Represents the liberal wing of his party
210626. Represents the conservative wing of his party

210699. Other Party Connections [make a card]

THE CAMPAIGN

210700. Ran a good/effective campaign (in strategic sense)
210701. Ran a clean, positive campaign, took the high road

210710. Performed well in the debates

210720. Reference to specific ads   [make a card citing ad]

210722. Was unfairly criticized by the media
210723. Was unfairly attacked by opponent's ads
210725. He stood up to what was thrown at him

210730. Good choice of Vice-Presidential running mate, "I like Gore" (general)
210731. Likes Gore's environmental policies, concern for ecology

Issues that surround a particular candidate; issues that would not exist had the candidate not run

210751. I don't care about his extramarital affairs, personal life
210752. The draft issue should not be held against him, others did not go into military either

210799. Other Campaign [make a card]

GENERAL

210800. "I like everything about him" [both personally and policies]
210801. He's better than Bush, can't be worse
210802. I'm more against Bush than for Clinton, I would never vote for Bush
210805. Give him a chance
210806. Don't think he can keep promises, no politician keeps promises

210810. Lesser of two evils
210812. Don't change horses

210820. I vote for the man, not the party

210840. He will save America, America needs him.
210841. He will unite America, bring people together

210899. Other General comments [make a card]

STANDS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES

Budget, Spending
211000. Budget deficit (general)
211001. Will try to balance the budget, reduce deficit
211002. Will reduce spending

Taxes
211005. Tax policy (general)
211006. Would not raise taxes
211007. Would raise taxes on the wealthy, higher income, the rich
211008. Would lower taxes on the middle class
211009. Would lower taxes (on most Americans)

The Economy
211010. The economy (general)
211011. Economic conditions would be better under him, will deal with the economy
211012.
211015. Will create jobs, improve job situation

Welfare, the Poor
211020. Is for government aid to the poor (general)
211021.
211025. Will cut welfare, get people off welfare, put those people to work

Social Programs
211023. Would protect/improve Social Security
211024.
211025. Would provide more public housing
211026. Would provide for more affordable housing
211027. Would provide more help with day care

Education
211030. Will improve education, support (public) schools
211031. Would increase aid to education
211032.
211033 Would increase teacher pay
211034. Would help with college expenses

Civil Rights, African-American policies
211040. Would advance civil rights, reduce racial injustice
211041. Would continue affirmative action programs

211044. Would protect civil liberties (general)

Social Issues
211045. Pro-Choice, would keep abortion
211046. Gay rights   [If simply support of gays generally, code 211225]
211048. Would allow prayers in schools

The Environment
211050. Would protect the environment, work to improve environmental problems (general)

Health care/ Health Insurance program
211055. Would provide affordable heath insurance/health care for all

Urban problems
211060. Would work to solve urban problems (general)
211061. Would control crime (general)
211062.
211063. Will continue the "war on drugs"

Guns
211065. He would control guns   [Respondent agrees/likes that position]
211066. He would not control guns   [Respondent agrees/likes that position]

The Supreme Court
211070. Supreme Court appointments (general)
211071.
211072. Will appoint liberal judges
211073. Will appoint judges who will uphold women's rights such as affirming Roe v Wade
211074. Will appoint well qualified judges without regard to ideology

Farm and Union policies
211081. Is for farm price supports
211082. Would support union right to organize

211099. Other Domestic Issues [make a card]

STANDS ON FOREIGN ISSUES

211100. Generally likes his stands on foreign issues (non-specific)

211102. Would concentrate on problems in this country

211110. He's for cutting military spending (positive connotation)

211120. International trade (general)
211121. The trade deficit

211125. Free trade (general)
211126. He does not favor free trade agreement with Canada and Mexico (NAFTA)
211127. He would modify   "   "   "
211128. He supports   "   "   "

211199. Other Foreign Issues [make a card]

GROUP REFERENCES

Will support/help/is pro:

211200. "People like me"
211201. Working people, the worker, the working class

211202. Common people, ordinary people
211203. The average American, "the people"
211204. The little guy

211205. Middle class
211206. Upper class
211207. Lower class
211208. Wealthy people, the rich
211209. Poor people
211210. Underprivileged people, less fortunate

211214. Small business
211215. Farmers

211220. Blacks, African-Americans
211221. Hispanic
211222. Women
211225. Gays/homosexuals

211230. Young people
211231. Seniors, older people

211232. Southerners

211240. Veterans
211241. Unions/union members

Would not support:

211258. The rich

211299. Other group reference [make a card]

MISSING DATA CODES

218899. Other miscellaneous

219988. Refused, NA
219999. "Don't know anything about him" [or R has nothing meaningful to say]

210000. "Nothing", "No"

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CLINTON MASTER CODE, 1992

NEGATIVE COMMENTS

EXPERIENCE AND ABILITIES

220100. Inexperienced (general, vague)
220101. Doesn't have enough government/public experience

220110. Has no military experience
220111. Lack of experience at national/federal level
220112. Lacks foreign policy experience
220115. Lacks experience with the national economy

220130. Not qualified (general)

220140. Has poor political skills, can't work with others

220199. Other negative Experience/Abilities [make a card]

PERFORMANCE IN OFFICE, RECORD

220200. Poor record (general)
220201. Can't get things done

220211. Did a poor job as governor (of Arkansas)

220213.
220214. He raised taxes in Arkansas
220215. Has been a big spender

220230. Too much corruption

220299. Other Performance in Office [make a card]

STRENGTH OF LEADERSHIP, LEADERSHIP QUALITIES

220300. Weak leader
220301. Indecisive, wishy-washy, straddles the fence
220302. Undependable, easily swayed
220303. Will break promises, won't do what he says
220304. Uninspiring

220310. Lacks self-confidence
220311. People don't have confidence in him
220312. Lacks vision

220321. Will not be able to deal with Congress

220330. Poor speaker (general)
220331. Not a clear speaker, I can't understand what he is talking about
220333. Talks too much, a windbag, lot of hot air

220399. Other negative Leadership Qualities [make a card]

PERSONAL QUALITIES

220400. I don't like him (personally)
220401. I don't like his looks
220403. Not a good man, not a good person, poor character
220404.

220410. Dishonest, lacks integrity
220411. Can't trust him

220412. Insincere, doesn't mean what he says,
220413. Not straightforward
220414. Panders, just tries to please audience, will say anything to get elected
220415. He lies
220416. Slick, "Slick Willy", too smooth
220417. I don't respect him
220418. Too much of a politician

220420. Not intelligent, not smart
220421. Not well-informed, uninformed
220422. Not well educated

220430. Lacks principles
220431. Immoral, has no moral values
220432.
220434. Just in it for himself, for the power
220435. Arrogant, cocky, smart mouth
220436. Cold, uncaring

220440. Born wealthy, with silver spoon in his mouth
220441. Doesn't understand people like me
220442. Crude, ill-mannered
220443. No sense of humor, melancholy
220444. Distant, aloof, snob

220451. Is too young

Family

220461. I don't like his wife (general)
220462. His wife (Hillary) will be too involved, will try to run things, too aggressive, pushy

[If "Cheats on his wife", "infidelity": see code 220751 under The Campaign]

220499. Other Personal Qualities [make a card]

GENERAL OUTLOOK/PHILOSOPHY

220500. Vague <u>negative</u> comment about his ideas or policies
220501. Has poorly defined set of beliefs, goals, don't know where he stands, no clear positions

220510. He's for government activity, social programs, regulation
220511. He for Democratic party positions, platform   [Dems specifically mentioned]

220520. He's a liberal (in a negative sense)
220521. He's too liberal, too far left
220522. He's a conservative (in a negative sense)
220523. He's too conservative, too far right
220525. He's for socialism, socialistic programs
220527. He's a socialist
220528. He's a communist, Marxist

220531. He's an extremist
220532. He's too moderate, not ideological enough
220533. He's not realistic

220530. He's not for states' rights, government should be kept at the local level
220531. Believes in the separation of church and state (generally). [Specific issues like school prayer should be coded under Domestic Policies]

220535. Resists change (general)

220545. Would reduce freedom
220546. Doesn't believe in work ethic, self-discipline, self-reliance, working hard to get ahead

221050. Would bring about decline in morality
221051. Would undermine family values

220560. He's not patriotic, doesn't love his country

220599. Other General Outlook/ Philosophy [make a card]

PARTY CONNECTIONS

220601. He's a Democrat, I never vote for a Democrat [negative connotation]
220603. He's a Republican, I never vote for a Republican [negative connotation]

220605. He's controlled by his party, by party insiders

220610. Negative reference to men around him   [Who? Make a card]
220611. Negative reference to <u>party</u> figures around him   [Who? Make a card]

220620. Will continue/keep his party's policies [R wants change in party policy]
220621. Would change from his party's policies [R does not want change]

220625. Represents the liberal wing of his party [negative comment]
220626. Represents the conservative/right wing of his party [negative comment]

220699. Other negative Party Connections [make a card]

<u>THE CAMPAIGN</u>

220700. Ran a poor/ineffective campaign (in strategic sense)
220701. Ran a dirty, negative campaign, too much mudslinging
220702. Was too critical of Bush

220710. Controlled by/panders to special interests

220720. Performed poorly in the debates

220720. Reference to specific ads   [make a card citing ad]

220730. Poor choice of Vice-Presidential running mate (general)

<u>Issues that surround a particular candidate; issues that would not exist had the candidate not run</u>

220751. Having affairs with other women, Jennifer Flowers, "personal life", "womanizer"
          [In addition to using this code, if R concludes that Clinton is "immoral" or "can't be trusted",
           etc. code those remarks in appropriate Personal Qualities categories]

220752. The draft issue. He tried to dodge the draft during Viet Nam war; also was evasive about the
          draft issue

220753. The drug issue. The question of his smoking marijuana/pot. "Did not inhale"

220754. The trip to Russia. While Clinton was in England during the Viet Nam war, he took a trip to
          Russia

220755. The Sister Souljah incident
220756. Jesse Jackson, treatment of Jesse Jackson
220757. "Arkansas is the poorest state"

220799. Other negative aspects of Campaign [make a card]

<u>GENERAL</u>

220800. I just don't like anything about him (vague, general)
220803. I am going to vote <u>against</u> Bush, not <u>for</u> Clinton
220808. I used to like him but not now. I lost respect for him

220810. Lesser of two evils
220812. Don't change horses

220820. I vote for the man, not the party
220825. I have never voted for a Democrat

220830. President and Congress should not be controlled by the same party

220840. He will ruin America
220841.

220899. Other General comments with negative connotations [make a card]

STANDS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES

Budget, Spending
221000. Budget deficit (general)
221001. Will not balance the budget/not solve deficit problem/ national debt
221002. Will increase spending (general)

Taxes
221005. Tax policy (general)
221006. Would increase taxes (generally)
221007. Would raise taxes on the rich
221008. Would raise taxes on the middle class

The Economy
221010. Economic policies (general)
221011. Economic conditions would be worse under him
221012. He has no economic plan

221016. I don't like that he would extend unemployment benefits
221017. Inflation. Inflation would increase
221018. Interest rates too high

Welfare, the Poor
221020. He's too much for aid to the poor/needy, welfare, handouts, give away programs
221021.

Social Programs
221023. Would not keep Social Security system
221024. Would increase Social Security taxes

Education
221030. Would not do enough for education (general)
221031. Would increase aid to education (federal government should not get involved in education)

221032. Would not help private/parochial schools

Civil Rights, African-American policies
221041. Would continue affirmative action programs, quotas   [R does not like affirmative action]

Social Issues
221045. Abortion issue; he's pro-choice, would keep abortion rights, Roe v. Wade   [R is pro-life]
221046. He's for gay rights
221048. He would not allow prayers in schools, he is for separation of church and state

The Environment
221050. He would do too much to protect the environment (general)
221051.

Health care/Health Insurance program
221055. He would provide government heath insurance/ health care for all [R is against government
                                                                                         health care]

Urban problems
221060.
221061. Would not control crime (general)
221062.
221063. Will not continue the "war on drugs"

Guns
221065. He would control guns   [R does not want gun control]
221066. He would not control guns   [Respondent wants gun control]

The Supreme Court
221070. Supreme Court appointments (general)
221071.
221072. Will appoint liberal judges
221073. Will appoint judges who will uphold women's right to abortion (Roe v Wade)
221074.

Farm and Union policies
221081. Is for farm price supports [R is against price supports]
221082. Would support unions right to organize [R does not like unions]

221099. Other negative comments about Domestic Issues [make a card]

STANDS ON FOREIGN ISSUES

221100. Don't likes his stands on foreign issues (non-specific)
221102. He's not strong on foreign policy
221110. He's not for a strong military, would reduce military/defense spending

221115. Did not support the Gulf War/ wavered on his support of Gulf War

221120. International trade (general)
221128. Is for NAFTA [R is against it]
221129. He waffles on free trade agreement is Canada and Mexico (NAFTA)

221199. Other Foreign Issues [make a card]

<u>GROUP REFERENCES</u>

<u>Is not in favor of, will hurt</u>:

221201. Working people, working class

221205. Middle class
221208. Wealthy people, the rich
221209. Poor people

221213. Big business/corporations
221214. Small business

221220. Blacks, African-Americans
221221. Hispanic
221222. Women

221240. Veterans
221241. Unions

<u>Too favorable to, seeks support from</u> (negative connotation):

221251. Working people, working class
221255. Middle class

221258. Wealthy people, the rich
221259. Poor people

221263. Big business
221264. Small business

221270. Blacks, African-Americans
221271. Hispanic
221272. Women's lib, feminists
221275. Gays, homosexuals

221281. Older people
221290. Veterans

221299. Other group reference [make a card]

<u>MISSING DATA CODES</u>

228899. Other miscellaneous [make a card]

229988. Refused, NA
229999. "Don't know anything about him" [R has nothing meaningful to say]

220000. "Nothing", "No"