

# CODEBOOK

## A. Voting Behavior and Related Items

### V001 Voted in election

Did you vote in the elections this November?

814	1	Voted
252	2	Did not vote

### V002 Presidential vote

Whom did you vote for in the presidential election? (Nonvoters are recorded as NA)

395	1	Bush
392	2	Kerry
13	3	Other
266	9	NA

### V003 House vote

Whom did you vote for in the elections for the House of Representatives? (Responses are categorized by the party of the candidate. Nonvoters are recorded as NA)

365	1	Democrat
324	2	Republican
377	9	Missing

### V004 Type of House race

Classification of the type of race for the House of Representatives in the respondent's congressional district. Districts were classified as to whether: (a) a Democratic incumbent was running for reelection; (b) no incumbent was running for reelection; or (c) a Republican incumbent was running for reelection.

440	1	Democrat incumbent
164	2	Open Seat
461	3	Republican incumbent
1	9	NA

### V005 Senate vote

Whom did you vote for in the U.S. Senate race? (Responses are categories by the party of the candidate. All nonvoters, including those who lived in a state that did not have a Senate election in 2004, are recorded as NA.)

272	1	Democrat
236	2	Republican
558	9	Missing

**V006 Type of Senate race**

Classification of the type of race for the U.S. Senate in the respondent's state. States were classified as to whether: (a) a Democratic incumbent was running for reelection; (b) no incumbent was running for reelection; (c) a Republican incumbent was running for reelection; or (d) no Senate race was being held in 2004.

412	1	Democratic incumbent
149	2	Open seat
169	3	Republican incumbent
335	4	No Senate race
1	9	NA

**V007 Party identification**

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what? If Democrat or Republican, would you call yourself a strong or a weak Democrat or Republican? If Independent, are you closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

168	1	Strong Democrat
156	2	Weak Democrat
180	3	Independent Democrat
101	4	Independent
125	5	Independent Republican
139	6	Weak Republican
180	7	Strong Republican
17	9	NA

**V008 Feeling thermometer: Dem. Party**

On a scale of 0 to 100 degrees, how warm or cold do you feel toward the Democratic Party?

86	1	0-24
201	2	25-49
164	3	50
354	4	51-75
234	5	76-100
27	9	NA

**V009 Feeling thermometer: Rep. Party**

On a scale of 0 to 100 degrees, how warm or cold do you feel toward the Republican Party?

144	1	0-24
175	2	25-49
188	3	50
306	4	51-75
223	5	76-100
30	9	NA

**V010 Like-dislike: Dem. Party**

Classification of the Democratic Party on a scale running from strongly dislike to strongly like.  
The original 11-point scale has been collapsed to form a 5-point scale.

139	1	Strongly dislike
198	2	Dislike
179	3	Neutral
230	4	Like
292	5	Strongly like
28	9	NA

**V011 Like-dislike: Rep. Party**

Classification of the Republican Party on a scale running from strongly dislike to strongly like.  
The original 11-point scale has been collapsed to form a 5-point scale.

219	1	Strongly dislike
174	2	Dislike
177	3	Neutral
176	4	Like
294	5	Strongly like
26	9	NA

**V012 2000 Presidential vote**

Whom did you vote for in the 2000 presidential election?

358	1	Bush
303	2	Gore
22	3	Other
353	4	Did not vote
29	9	NA

**B. Political Involvement and Participation Items****V013 Campaign interest**

How interested have you been in the political campaigns this year?

541	1	Very interested
424	2	Somewhat interested
101	3	Not much interested

**V014 Frequency of following politics**

How much would you say that you follow what is going on in government and public affairs?

273	1	Most of the time
437	2	Some of the time
353	3	Very little
3	9	NA

**V015 Frequency of political discussion**

How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with family or friends?

203	1	6-7 days
270	2	3-5 days
249	3	1-2 days
338	4	0 days
6	9	NA

**V016 Attempts to influence others**

How often did you talk to other people to persuade them to vote for or against a particular party or candidate?

152	1	Frequently
318	2	Occasionally
595	3	Never
2	9	NA

**V017 Support for candidate**

How often did you show your support for a particular party or candidate by attending a meeting, putting up campaign signs, or in some other way?

106	1	Frequently
209	2	Occasionally
747	3	Never
4	9	NA

**V018 Campaign contributions**

Index of respondent's financial contribution to the campaign, built from "yes" answers to the following questions: (1) Did you give any money to an individual candidate running for public office? (2) Did you give any money to a political party during this election year? and (3) Did you give money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates? Respondents who answered yes to any of the three questions are classified as "yes" (i.e., made a contribution).

166	1	Yes
900	2	No

**V019 Community Involvement**

In the past year, did you either: (a) work with other people on some issues facing your community; or (b) attending a meeting on some issue facing your community or schools?

392	1	Yes
674	2	No

**V020 Contacted public official**

During the past year, have you telephoned, written a letter to, or visited a government official to express your views on a public issue?

205	1	Yes
861	2	No

## C. Media Involvement Items

### V021 Attention paid to campaign news

How much attention did you pay to news about the campaign for president?

326	1	Great deal
348	2	Quite a bit
302	3	Some
91	4	Very little or none

### V022 Number of campaign programs watched

How many television programs about the presidential campaign did you watch?

288	1	Good many
393	2	Several
235	3	One or two
150	4	None

### V023 Attention paid to national television campaign news

How much attention did you pay to news on national television news shows about the campaign for president?

179	1	Great deal
270	2	Quite a bit
266	3	Some
94	4	Very little
257	5	None
1	9	NA

### V024 Days watched national television news last week

How many days in the past week did you watch the national news on television?

337	1	6-7 days
274	2	3-5 days
208	3	1-2 days
246	4	0 days
1	9	NA

### V025 Attention paid to local television campaign news

How much attention did you pay to news on local television news shows about the campaign for president?

110	1	Great deal
233	2	Quite a bit
314	3	Some
199	4	Very little
210	5	None

**V026 Days watched local television early news last week**

How many days in the past week did you watch the local television early news?

295	1	6-7 days
276	2	3-5 days
176	3	1-2 days
317	4	0 days
2	9	NA

**V027 Days watched local television late news last week**

How many days in the past week did you watch the local television late news?

227	1	6-7 days
276	2	3-5 days
180	3	1-2 days
382	4	0 days

**V028 Attention paid to newspaper campaign news**

How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for president?

89	1	Great deal
159	2	Quite a bit
270	3	Some
548	4	Very little or none

**V029 Days read newspaper last week**

How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

304	1	6-7 days
180	2	3-5 days
245	3	1-2 days
337	4	0 days

**V030 Read online newspaper last week**

Did you read an online newspaper in the past week?

224	1	Yes
842	2	No

**V031 Viewed campaign information on Web**

Did you view any information about the election campaign on the Internet or Web?

479	1	Yes
587	2	No

**V032 Listen to talk radio**

Do you ever listen to political talk radio programs?

462	1	Yes
604	2	No

**V033 Trust in media**

How much of the time do you think you can trust the media to report the news fairly?

372	1	Most or all of the time
596	2	Some of the time
96	3	Rarely or never
2	9	NA

**D. Candidate Image Items****V034 Bush: Moral**

How well does the phrase “he is moral” describe George Bush?

733	1	Quite well
309	2	Not very well
24	9	NA

**V035 Bush: Strong leader**

How well does the phrase “he provides strong leadership” describe George Bush?

682	1	Quite well
372	2	Not very well
12	9	NA

**V036 Bush: Really cares**

How well does the phrase “he really cares about people like you” describe George Bush?

496	1	Quite well
553	2	Not very well
17	9	NA

**V037 Bush: Knowledgeable**

How well does the phrase “he is knowledgeable” describe George Bush?

634	1	Quite well
420	2	Not very well
12	9	NA

**V038 Bush: Intelligent**

How well does the phrase “he is intelligent” describe George Bush?

648	1	Quite well
407	2	Not very well
12	9	NA

**V039 Bush: Dishonest**

How well does the phrase “he is dishonest” describe George Bush?

330	1	Quite well
703	2	Not very well
33	9	NA

**V040 Bush: Indecisive**

How well does the phrase “he can’t make up his mind” describe George Bush?

282	1	Quite well
761	2	Not very well
23	9	NA

**V041 Kerry: Moral**

How well does the phrase “he is moral” describe John Kerry?

657	1	Quite well
322	2	Not very well
87	9	NA

**V042 Kerry: Strong leader**

How well does the phrase “he provides strong leadership” describe John Kerry?

512	1	Quite well
486	2	Not very well
69	9	NA

**V043 Kerry: Really cares**

How well does the phrase “he really cares about people like you” describe John Kerry?

573	1	Quite well
433	2	Not very well
61	9	NA

**V044 Kerry: Knowledgeable**

How well does the phrase “he is knowledgeable” describe John Kerry?

800	1	Quite well
220	2	Not very well
46	9	NA

**V045 Kerry: Intelligent**

How well does the phrase “he is intelligent” describe John Kerry?

856	1	Quite well
168	2	Not very well
42	9	NA



**V046 Kerry: Dishonest**

How well does the phrase “he is dishonest” describe John Kerry?

250	1	Quite well
716	2	Not very well
100	9	NA

**V047 Kerry: Indecisive**

How well does the phrase “he can’t make up his mind” describe John Kerry?

477	1	Quite well
535	2	Not very well
53	9	NA

**V048 Feeling thermometer: Bush**

On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel towards George Bush?

234	1	0-24
151	2	25-49
86	3	50
223	4	51-75
366	5	76-100
5	9	NA

**V049 Feeling thermometer: Kerry**

On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel towards John Kerry?

173	1	0-24
192	2	25-49
146	3	50
335	4	51-75
196	5	76-100
24	9	NA

**V050 Feeling thermometer: Cheney**

On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel towards Dick Cheney?

202	1	0-24
152	2	25-49
164	3	50
292	4	51-75
191	5	76-100

**V051 Feeling thermometer: Edwards**

On a scale of 0 degrees to 100 degrees, how warm or cool do you feel towards John Edwards?

114	1	0-24
122	2	25-49
215	3	50
310	4	51-75
156	5	76-100
149	9	NA

**E. Presidential Approval and Government Performance Items****V052 Bush job approval**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that George Bush is handling his job as president?

371	1	Strongly approve
176	2	Approve
117	3	Disapprove
378	4	Strongly disapprove
25	9	NA

**V053 Approval of Congress**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that the U.S. Congress is handling its job?

181	1	Strongly approve
325	2	Approve
184	3	Disapprove
237	4	Strongly disapprove
138	9	NA

**V054 Bush handling of foreign affairs**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that George Bush is handling our relations with foreign countries?

341	1	Strongly approve
121	2	Approve
116	3	Disapprove
455	4	Strongly disapprove
34	9	NA

**V055 Bush handling of terrorism**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that George Bush is handling the war against terrorism?

448	1	Strongly approve
134	2	Approve
106	3	Disapprove
350	4	Strongly disapprove
28	9	NA

**V056 Bush handling of war with Iraq**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that George Bush is handling the war in Iraq?

290	1	Strongly approve
169	2	Approve
90	3	Disapprove
499	4	Strongly disapprove
18	9	NA

**V057 U.S. security under Bush**

Do you feel that the Bush administration has made the U.S. more or less secure from foreign enemies?

246	1	Much more secure
304	2	More secure
259	3	About the same
105	4	Less secure
139	5	Much less secure
13	9	NA

**V058 Bush handling of economy**

Do you approve or disapprove of the way that George Bush is handling the nation's economy?

272	1	Strongly approve
163	2	Approve
146	3	Disapprove
449	4	Strongly disapprove
36	9	NA

**V059 Country on right or wrong track**

Do you feel that things in this country are going in the right direction or are they on the wrong track?

416	1	Right track
621	2	Wrong track
29	9	NA

**V060 Most important problem facing country**

What do you think is the most important problem facing this country?

443	1	Terrorism
196	2	Iraq war
107	3	Other foreign or defense issues
164	4	Economy
123	5	Other domestic issues
32	9	NA

**V061 Government handling of problem**

How good a job is the government in Washington doing in dealing with this most important problem?

122	1	Very good job
496	2	Good job
249	3	Bad job
157	4	Very bad job
41	9	NA

**F. Economic Conditions Items****V062 Better or worse off financially**

Would you say that you are better off or worse off financially than you were last year?

133	1	Much better
345	2	Better
255	3	Same
223	4	Worse
101	5	Much worse
11	9	NA

**V063 Better or worse off next year**

Do you think that a year from now you will be better or worse off financially?

168	1	Much better
241	2	Better
527	3	Same
60	4	Worse
22	5	Much Worse
48	9	NA

**V064 Economy last year**

Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

39	1	Much better
221	2	Better
325	3	Same
269	4	Worse
196	5	Much Worse
15	9	NA

**V065 Economy next year**

Do you expect the economy to get better, get worse, or stay about the same in the next year?

93	1	Much better
288	2	Better
465	3	Same
137	4	Worse
35	5	Much worse
47	9	NA

**V066 Economy since 2000**

Would you say that since 2000 the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

26	1	Much better
139	2	Better
318	3	Same
328	4	Worse
242	5	Much Worse
13	9	NA

**V067 Best Party for economy**

Which political party do you think would be most likely to do a better job in handling the economy?

379	1	Democrats
392	2	No difference
269	3	Republicans
26	9	NA

**G. Ideology Items****V068 Ideology**

Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "very liberal" to "very conservative"

25	1	Very Liberal
89	2	Liberal
84	3	Slightly Liberal
268	4	Moderate
131	5	Slightly conservative
183	6	Conservative
31	7	Very conservative
255	9	NA

**V069 Bush: Ideological placement**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "very liberal" to "very conservative."

56	1	Very Liberal
69	2	Liberal
52	3	Slightly liberal
101	4	Moderate
117	5	Slightly conservative
357	6	Conservative
198	7	Very conservative
115	9	NA

**V070 Kerry: Ideological placement**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "very liberal" to "very conservative."

158	1	Very liberal
273	2	Liberal
207	3	Slightly liberal
195	4	Moderate
57	5	Slightly conservative
47	6	Conservative
24	7	Very conservative
105	9	NA

**V071 Dem. Party: Ideological placement**

Respondent's placement of the Democratic Party on a scale running from "very liberal" to "very conservative."

158	1	Very liberal
273	2	Liberal
207	3	Slightly liberal
195	4	Moderate
57	5	Slightly conservative
47	6	Conservative
24	7	Very conservative
105	9	NA

**V072 Rep. Party: Ideological placement**

Respondent's placement of the Republican Party on a scale running from "very liberal" to "very conservative."

35	1	Very liberal
58	2	Liberal
61	3	Slightly liberal
113	4	Moderate
160	5	Slightly conservative
412	6	Conservative
121	7	Very conservative
107	9	NA

**V073 Left-right placement**

Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "left" to "right."

76	1	Left
123	2	Somewhat left
257	3	Middle of the road
218	4	Somewhat right
236	5	Right
156	9	NA

**V074 Bush: Left-right placement**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "left" to "right."

91	1	Left
74	2	Somewhat left
92	3	Middle of road
166	4	Somewhat right
485	5	Right
159	9	NA

**V075 Kerry: Left-right placement**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "left" to "right."

298	1	Left
265	2	Somewhat left
110	3	Middle of road
91	4	Somewhat right
141	5	Right
161	9	NA

**V076 Dem. Party: Left-right placement**

Respondent's placement of the Democratic Party on a scale running from "left" to "right."

268	1	Left
271	2	Somewhat left
128	3	Middle of road
94	4	Somewhat right
126	5	Right
179	9	NA

**V077 Rep. Party: Left-right placement**

Respondent's placement of the Republican Party on a scale running from "left" to "right."

69	1	Left
99	2	Somewhat left
113	3	Middle of the Road
211	4	Somewhat right
402	5	Right
172	9	NA

## H. Foreign Policy and National Security Issue Items

### V078 Diplomacy-force scale

Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "The U.S. should solve international problems by using diplomacy and should use military force only if absolutely necessary" to "Diplomacy often fails and the U.S. must be ready to use military force."

118	1	Use diplomacy
130	2	
139	3	
223	4	
198	5	
104	6	
82	7	Use force

### V079 Bush: diplomacy-force scale

Respondent's placement of George Bush on the diplomacy-force scale.

18	1	Use diplomacy
19	2	
16	3	
58	4	
160	5	
341	6	
424	7	Use force
32	9	NA

### V080 Kerry: diplomacy-force scale

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on the diplomacy-force scale.

189	1	Use diplomacy
243	2	
248	3	
163	4	
105	5	
32	6	
21	7	Use force

### V081 U.S. security over last year

During the past year, would you say that the U.S. position in the world has grown weaker, stayed about the same, or grown stronger?

488	1	Weaker
286	2	Same
279	3	Stronger
13	9	NA



**V082 Limit U.S. world role**

Do you agree or disagree that the U.S. would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world?

218	1	Agree
838	2	Disagree
10	9	NA

**V083 Defense spending scale**

Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "We should spend much less on defense" to "We should greatly increase defense spending."

35	1	Decrease
51	2	
83	3	
251	4	
271	5	
146	6	
97	7	Increase
131	9	NA

**V084 Bush: defense spending**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "We should spend much less on defense" to "We should greatly increase defense spending."

21	1	Decrease
12	2	
35	3	
74	4	
196	5	
384	6	
305	7	Increase
39	9	NA

**V085 Kerry: Defense spending**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "We should spend much less on defense" to "We should greatly increase defense spending."

89	1	Decrease
153	2	
217	3	
262	4	
157	5	
59	6	
36	7	Increase
92	9	NA

**V086 Spending on war on terrorism**

Should federal spending on the war on terrorism be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

454	1	Increase
399	2	No change
200	3	Decrease
13	9	NA

**V087 Spending on foreign aid**

Should federal spending on foreign aid be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

130	1	Increase
440	2	No change
481	3	Decrease
16	9	NA

**V088 U.S. goal: promote human rights**

How important of a U.S. foreign policy goal should promoting human rights in other countries be?

454	1	Very important
606	2	Not very important
6	9	NA

**V089 U.S. goal: strengthen U.N.**

How important of a U.S. foreign policy goal should strengthening the U.N. be?

508	1	Very important
547	2	Not very important
11	9	NA

**V090 U.S. goal: combat world hunger**

How important of a U.S. foreign policy goal should combating world hunger be?

632	1	Very important
432	2	Not very important
3	9	NA

**V091 U.S. goal: promote democracy**

How important of a U.S. foreign policy goal should helping to bring democracy to other countries be?

235	1	Very important
819	2	Not very important
13	9	NA

**V092 Iraq war worth the cost**

Do you think the war in Iraq has been worth the cost?

426	1	Worth it
610	2	Not worth it
30	9	NA

**V093 Effort of Iraq war on terrorism**

As a result of the United States military action in Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

414	1	Increased
377	2	Stayed the same
264	3	Decreased
11	9	NA

**V094 Best party to fight terrorism**

Which party do you think would do a better job of fighting terrorism, or would there be little difference between them?

256	1	Democrats
351	2	Neither party
435	3	Republicans
23	9	NA

**I. Taxation and Budget Issue Items****V095 Bush tax cuts**

Did you favor or oppose the tax cuts that bush initiated?

293	1	Strongly favor
119	2	Favor
87	3	Oppose
183	4	Strongly oppose
385	9	NA

**V096 Pay right tax amount**

Do you feel you are asked to pay more than you should in federal income taxes, less than you should, or about the right amount?

420	1	Pay more
548	2	Pay right amount
51	3	Pay less
47	9	NA

**V097 Rich pay right tax amount**

Do you feel that the rich are asked to pay more than they should in federal income taxes, less than they should, or about right amount?

110	1	Pay more
266	2	Pay right amount
648	3	Pay less
42	9	NA

**V098 Poor pay right tax amount**

Do you feel that the poor are asked to pay more than they should in federal income taxes, less than they should, or about the right amount?

497	1	Pay more
449	2	Pay right amount
74	3	Pay less
46	9	NA

**V099 Increase deficit and domestic spending**

Do you favor increasing the federal budget deficit in order to increase spending on domestic programs?

598	1	Favor
444	2	Oppose
24	9	NA

**V100 Increase deficit and cut taxes**

Do you favor increasing the federal budget deficit in order to decrease the taxes paid by ordinary Americans?

468	1	Favor
564	2	Oppose
34	9	NA

**V101 Reduce domestic spending and cut taxes**

Do you favor reducing spending on domestic programs in order to decrease the taxes paid by ordinary Americans?

218	1	Favor
822	2	Oppose
26	9	NA

**V102 Reduce spending and deficit**

Do you favor reducing spending on domestic programs in order to reduce the federal budget deficit?

210	1	Favor
835	2	Oppose
21	9	NA

**V103 Increase taxes and reduce deficit**

Do you favor increasing the taxes paid by ordinary Americans to reduce the federal budget deficit?

230	1	Favor
821	2	Oppose
16	9	NA

**V104 Increase taxes and spending**

Do you favor increasing the taxes paid by ordinary Americans to increase spending on domestic programs?

396	1	Favor
654	2	Oppose
16	9	NA

**J. Economic and Social Welfare Issue Items****V105 Government services and spending scale**

Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "Government should provide many fewer services to reduce spending a lot" to "Government should provide many more services, even if it means increasing spending."

46	1	Many fewer services
68	2	
108	3	
252	4	
196	5	
126	6	
129	7	Many more services
143	9	NA

**V106 Bush: services and spending scale**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "Government should provide many fewer services to reduce spending a lot" to "Government should provide many more services, even if it means increasing spending."

129	1	Many fewer services
173	2	
216	3	
217	4	
139	5	
76	6	
45	7	Many more services
70	9	NA

**V107 Kerry: services and spending scale**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "Government should provide many fewer services to reduce spending a lot" to "Government should provide many more services, even if it means increasing spending."

21	1	Many fewer services
42	2	
68	3	
168	4	
232	5	
244	6	
164	7	Many more services
127	9	NA

**V108 Jobs and living standard scale**

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

117	1	Government should see to it
86	2	
125	3	
186	4	
169	5	
158	6	
128	7	Individuals on own
97	9	NA

**V109 Bush: jobs and living stand. Scale**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "Government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living" to "Government should let people get ahead on their own."

37	1	Government should see to it
27	2	
51	3	
155	4	
239	5	
266	6	
193	7	Individuals on own
98	9	NA

**V110 Kerry: jobs and living stand. scale**

Respondent' placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "Government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living" to "Government should let people get ahead on their own."

108	1	Government should see to it
186	2	
256	3	
210	4	
77	5	
36	6	
23	7	Individuals on own
170	9	NA

**V111 Environment versus jobs scale**

Respondent's self-placement on a scale running from "It is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living" to "Protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living."

89	1	Protect environment
146	2	
172	3	
248	4	
128	5	
64	6	
48	7	Protect jobs
171	9	NA

**V112 Bush: environment-jobs scale**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "It is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living" to "Protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living."

43	1	Protect environment
91	2	
152	3	
206	4	
155	5	
123	6	
95	7	Protect jobs
199	9	NA

**V113 Kerry: environment-jobs scale**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "It is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living" to "Protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living."

45	1	Protect environment
75	2	
158	3	
250	4	
162	5	
117	6	
71	7	Protect jobs
188	9	NA

**V114 Health care scale**

Respondent's placement on a scale that runs from "There should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone" to "All medical expenses should be paid by individuals or by private insurance plans."

200	1	Government plan
121	2	
131	3	
184	4	
139	5	
118	6	
78	7	Private plans
94	9	NA

**V115 Social security privatization**

Do you favor or oppose allowing people to put a portion of their social security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in private stocks and bonds?

324	1	Strongly favor
223	2	Favor
201	3	Neutral
99	4	Oppose
213	5	Strongly oppose
7	9	NA

**V116 Spending on social security**

Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or kept the same?

682	1	Increase
327	2	Keep the same
38	3	Decrease
19	9	NA



**V117 Spending on public schools**

Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or kept the same?

782	1	Increase
222	2	Keep the same
53	3	Decrease
9	9	NA

**V118 Spending on welfare programs**

Should federal spending on welfare programs be increased decreased, or kept the same?

229	1	Increase
485	2	Keep the same
333	3	Decrease
20	9	NA

**V119 Spending on aid to poor**

Should federal spending on programs to help the poor be increased, decreased, or kept the same?

610	1	Increase
356	2	Keep the same
84	3	Decrease
16	9	NA

**V120 Limits on imports**

Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs?

328	1	Favor
470	2	Not thought about it
248	3	Oppose
20	9	NA

**K. Social and Civil Rights Issue Items****V121 Abortion attitude**

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

150	1	Never
336	2	Only for rape, etc.
186	3	If clear need
379	4	Always
15	9	NA

**V122 Bush: abortion position**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on the abortion scale.

407	1	Never
364	2	Only for rape, etc.
95	3	If clear need
57	4	Always
142	9	NA

**V123 Kerry: abortion position**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on the abortion scale.

61	1	Never
129	2	Only for rape, etc.
217	3	If clear need
459	4	Always
200	9	NA

**V124 Ban partial-birth abortions**

Do you favor or oppose making partial-birth abortions illegal?

561	1	Strongly favor
67	2	Favor
115	3	Oppose
250	4	Strongly oppose
73	9	NA

**V125 Gay marriage**

Should same-sex couples be allowed to marry? (Some respondents responded that they opposed marriage but would permit civil unions.)

344	1	Yes
31	2	No but permit unions
634	3	No
56	9	NA

**V126 Gay job protection**

Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?

512	1	Strongly favor
249	2	Favor
95	3	Oppose
167	4	Strongly oppose
42	9	NA

**V127 Gays in military**

Do you favor or oppose allowing homosexuals to serve in the United States Armed Forces?

545	1	Strongly favor
277	2	Favor
58	3	Oppose
140	4	Strongly oppose
45	9	NA

**V128 Moral traditionalism scale**

Index of respondent's support for traditional moral values, built from agreement or disagreement with the following statements: (1) The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes; (2) We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards even if they are very different from our own; (3) This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties; and (4) The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society. Those who rank low on this index were less likely to select the traditional moral position on these items than those who rank high on the index.

155	1	Low
186	2	
265	3	
267	4	
186	5	High
8	9	NA

**V129 Aid to blacks scale**

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

75	1	Government should help
54	2	
86	3	
230	4	
164	5	
169	7	Blacks should help themselves
124	9	NA

**V130 Bush: aid to blacks position**

Respondent's placement of George Bush on a scale running from "Government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks" to "Government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves."

24	1	Government should help
28	2	
69	3	
227	4	
195	5	
208	6	
133	7	Blacks should help themselves
182	9	NA

**V131 Kerry: aid to blacks position**

Respondent's placement of John Kerry on a scale running from "Government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks" to "Government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves."

91	1	Government should help
130	2	
234	3	
238	4	
71	5	
33	6	
28	7	Blacks should help themselves
242	9	NA

**V132 Aid to Hispanics scale**

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

47	1	Government should help
64	2	
83	3	
241	4	
152	5	
181	6	
164	7	Hispanics should help themselves
135	9	NA

**V133 Job preferences for blacks**

Do you favor or oppose preferential hiring and promotion of blacks because of past discrimination?

111	1	Strongly favor
78	2	Favor
238	3	Oppose
570	4	Strongly oppose
68	9	NA

**V134 Death penalty**

Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

519	1	Strongly favor
208	2	Favor
122	3	Oppose
171	4	Strongly oppose
46	9	NA

**V135 Gun control**

Do you think that the federal government should make it easier or more difficult for individuals to buy a gun?

451	1	Much harder
134	2	Somewhat harder
432	3	About the same
26	4	Somewhat easier
13	5	Much easier
11	9	NA

**V136 Immigration policy**

Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased or decreased?

100	1	Increased
444	2	About the same
500	3	Decreased
22	9	NA

**V137 School vouchers**

Do you favor or oppose having the government give parents in low-income families money to help pay for their children to attend a private or religious school instead of their local public school?

173	1	Strongly favor
150	2	Favor
197	3	Oppose
498	4	Strongly oppose
48	9	NA

## L. General Political Orientation Items

### V138 Equality index

Index of respondent's commitment to equality, built from agreement or disagreement with the following statements: (1) Our society should do whatever necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed; (2) This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are; (3) It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others; (4) We have gone too far in this country in pushing equality; (5) If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems; and (6) One of the big problems in this country is we don't give everyone an equal chance.

189	1	Favor
195	2	
243	3	
209	4	
217	5	Oppose
11	9	NA

### V139 Symbolic Patriotism Scale

Index of respondent's symbolic patriotism, built from responses to the following questions: (1) How good does it make you to see the flag flying? (2) How strong is your love for your country? (3) How important is it to you to be an American? (4) Are there things about America that make you ashamed? (5) Are there things about America that make you angry? Those who rank high on this index were more likely to agree with the first three items and to disagree with the last two.

229	1	More
186	2	
241	3	
230	4	
156	5	
26	9	NA

### V140 Big government index

Index of respondent's attitude towards size of government, built from selections from the following pairs of statements: (1) The less government the better, versus There are more things government should be doing; (2) We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems, versus the free market can handle these problems without government being involved; and (3) The main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves, versus government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger. Those who rank low on this index were more likely to feel that big government was not necessary on each of these items.

471	1	Low
540	2	High
54	9	

### **V141 Trust in Government**

Index of respondent's trust in government, built from responses to the following questions: (1) How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? (2) Do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it? (3) Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people? (4) Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked or that not very many of them are? Those who rank low on this index were more likely to select the distrusting position for each of these items.

189	1	Low
218	2	
248	3	
198	4	
154	5	High
59	9	

### **V142 Political efficacy**

Index of respondent's political efficacy, built from agreement with or responses to the following statements: (1) I don't think public officials care much what people like me think. (2) People like me don't have any say about what the government does? (3) How much attention does the government pay to what people think? (4) Does having elections make the government pay attention to what people think? Those who rank low on this index were more likely to select the position on each item that indicated that people have little influence on the government.

257	1	High
269	2	
341	3	
187	4	Low
12	9	

## **M. Demographic Items**

### **V143 Gender**

Respondent's gender.

527	1	Male
540	2	Female

### **V144 Church attendance**

How often do you go to religious services?

248	1	Every week
289	2	Several times a month
150	3	A few times a year
375	4	Never
4	9	NA

**V145 Religion**

What is your religious preference or affiliation? (Note: Mainline Protestants include Episcopalians, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and other smaller sects; Evangelical Protestants include Baptists, Pentecostal churches, and other smaller churches; Catholic includes Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox churches; Other includes mostly Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, and Muslims.)

275	1	Mainline Protestant
282	2	Evangelical Protestant
272	3	Catholic
24	4	Jewish
38	5	Other
162	6	None
13	9	NA

**V146 Age**

Respondent's age.

123	1	18-24
183	2	25-34
206	3	35-44
205	4	45-54
168	5	55-64
180	6	65 and older

**V147 Marital Status**

Respondent's marital status.

612	1	Married
255	2	Single
131	3	Divorced; separated
67	4	Widowed

**V148 Education**

What is the highest grade of school you have completed?

153	1	Less than HS
336	2	HS graduate
209	3	Some college; No degree
94	4	Some college, AA degree
168	5	College graduate
105	6	Advanced degree

**V149 Military service**

Have you served in the U.S. military?

149	1	Yes
917	2	No



**V150 Gun ownership**

Do you own a gun?

403	1	Yes
637	2	No
26	9	NA

**V151 Employment status**

Are you employed, looking for work, retired, or what?

692	1	Employed
44	2	Unemployed
212	3	Retired, disabled
90	4	Homemaker
26	5	Student
2	9	NA

**V152 Occupational Prestige**

Classification of the respondent's occupation on an occupational prestige scale. Retired, disabled, and unemployed individuals are classified according to their previous employment.

181	1	Low
163	2	
172	3	
156	4	
149	5	
127	6	High
118	9	NA

**V153 Union membership**

Does anyone in your household belong to a labor union?

200	1	Yes
861	2	No
5	9	NA

**V154 Household income**

What was the total income for your family last year?

152	1	Less than \$15K
177	2	\$15K to \$35K
208	3	\$35K to \$60K
212	4	\$60K to \$90K
183	5	\$90K and over
135	9	NA

**V155 Social class**

Do you think of yourself as working class or middle class?

486	1	Working Class
389	2	Middle Class
151	3	Upper Middle Class
39	9	NA

**V156 Race**

Respondent's race or ethnicity.

769	1	White, non-Hispanic
165	2	Black
72	3	Hispanic
19	4	Asian
33	5	Other, mixed
8	9	NA

**V157 Ethnicity**

Respondent's ethnic background or ancestry.

221	1	Northern European
196	2	British Isles
159	3	Southern, Eastern European
142	4	African, African-American
69	5	Hispanic
27	6	Asian
137	7	Other
115	9	NA

**V158 Region**

Region of the country that the respondent lives in.

236	1	Northeast
279	2	Midwest
337	3	South
214	4	West

**V159 Type of place**

Type of community that the respondent lives in, based on the interviewer's classification of the urban nature of the place where the respondent lives.

255	1	Central city
306	2	Suburb
442	3	Town or rural area
63	9	NA

**V160 Type of community**

Size of community the respondent lives in. (Note: Large urban areas are the Metropolitan Statistical Areas with a population of over two million people, and medium urban areas are all other MSAs. Respondent not living in an MSA area classified as living in a town or rural area.)

330	1	Large urban area
561	2	Medium urban area
175	3	Town or rural area