

**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

Experience, ability
Leadership qualities
Personal qualities
Party connections
Government Management
Miscellaneous
Government Activity/Philosophy

Domestic policies
Foreign policies
Group connections

Broad Categories in My Code

Experience and Abilities
Performance in Office, Record
Strength of Leadership, Leadership Qualities
Personal Qualities
General Outlook/Philosophy

Party Connections
The Campaign
General
Stands on Domestic Issues
Stands on Foreign Issues and Defense
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”

“indiscretions”

“lack of restraint”

“romantic involvements”

“played around”

“promised to be faithful”

“screwed around on his old lady”

“shady moral past”

“who he slept with”

“can’t take care of his own house”

REPASS REVISION
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 change, 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 party 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 health 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"

REPASS REVISION
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 negative 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 party 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]

THE CAMPAIGN

- 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)

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

- 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]

GENERAL

- 220800. I just don’t like anything about him (vague, general)
- 220803. I am going to vote against Bush, not for 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/need, 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 health 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]

GROUP REFERENCES

Is not in favor of, will hurt:

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

Too favorable to, seeks support from (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]

MISSING DATA CODES

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"