

# Public Opinion on Environmental Policy in the United States:

## A Bouquet of Multiple Dimensions

### Online Appendix

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**Table A1:** Effects of Social and Political Variables on Ten Environmental Attitudes

	Model 1 Effort: Protect Environment	Model 2 Effort: Air Pollution	Model 3 Effort: Natural Resources	Model 4 Effort: Lakes/Parks	Model 5 Effort: Toxic Waste	Model 6 Effort: Solid Waste	Model 7 Effort: Global Warming	Model 8 Spending on Environment	Model 9 Environment vs. Jobs Scale	Model 10 Business Regulation Scale
Democrat	0.02 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Republican	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)
Liberal	0.08** (0.03)	0.08** (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.05^ (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.07** (0.02)	0.05^ (0.03)
Conservative	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.02)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.06^ (0.03)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.04^ (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
High School	0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.08^ (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)
Some College	0.05 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.06 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
College Graduate (B.A.)	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.08^ (0.05)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.10* (0.04)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.01 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)
Advanced Degree	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.09^ (0.05)	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.05)
\$25,000 - \$49,999 per year	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
\$50,000 - \$74,999 per year	-0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
\$75,000 - \$104,999 per year	0.03 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.06^ (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)
Over \$105,000 per year	-0.02 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.07^ (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)
Female	-0.04^ (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.04^ (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.03^ (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Black	-0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.06* (0.03)	0.13** (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
American Indian / Alaskan native	-0.49*** (0.09)	-0.32*** (0.10)	-0.36*** (0.08)	-0.24* (0.11)	-0.32** (0.10)	-0.34*** (0.08)	-0.19^ (0.10)	-0.21 (0.15)	-0.20* (0.08)	-0.26** (0.08)

Asian / Pacific Islander	0.05	-0.03	-0.02	0.03	0.03	0.10*	0.01	0.12^	-0.07^	-0.02
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.07)
Hispanic	0.03	0.06^	0.00	0.00	0.05*	0.01	0.11*	-0.01	0.05	0.00
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Age	-0.01^	-0.01^	-0.01^	-0.01*	-0.00^	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01**	-0.00	-0.01**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00^	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00*	0.00	0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
(Intercept)	1.00***	0.92***	0.94***	0.97***	0.99***	0.85***	0.71***	0.95***	0.67***	0.85***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.08)
N	1093	1093	1086	1091	1086	1087	1044	1206	1113	1062
R <sup>2</sup>	0.18	0.13	0.10	0.08	0.11	0.09	0.12	0.16	0.12	0.18
Adj R <sup>2</sup>	0.17	0.12	0.08	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.10	0.14	0.11	0.16

Dependent variables in column headings. Parameter estimates are OLS. Source: 1996 ANES. For question wordings, see below. Post-election weights applied to models 1-7; pre-election weights applied to models 8-10.<sup>i</sup>

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

^ significant at  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table A2:** Effects of Ten Environmental Attitudes on Presidential Vote Choice

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Effort: Protect Environment	0.88*									
	(0.44)									
Effort: Air Pollution		0.26								
		(0.45)								
Effort: Natural Resources			0.67							
			(0.43)							
Effort: Lakes/Parks				0.08						
				(0.45)						
Effort: Toxic Waste					0.87					
					(0.59)					
Effort: Solid Waste						0.32				
						(0.48)				
Effort: Global Warming							0.54			
							(0.42)			
Spending on Environment								0.91^		
								(0.49)		
Environment vs. Jobs Scale									1.21^	
									(0.64)	
Business Regulation Scale										1.04
										(0.66)
Democrat	2.72***	2.70***	2.69***	2.72***	2.80***	2.71***	2.62***	2.76***	2.63***	2.73***
	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.46)
Republican	-1.79***	-1.88***	-1.86***	-1.92***	-1.87***	-1.91***	-1.97***	-1.80***	-1.92***	-1.78***
	(0.33)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Liberal	1.50**	1.59**	1.57**	1.59***	1.60***	1.57**	1.50**	1.53**	1.54**	1.84***
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.50)	(0.48)	(0.48)	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.49)	(0.50)	(0.54)
Conservative	-1.14***	-1.19***	-1.17***	-1.19***	-1.19***	-1.19***	-1.23***	-1.15***	-1.23***	-1.06***
	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.31)
High School	-0.02	0.07	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.08	0.26	-0.11	-0.49	-0.06
	(0.65)	(0.64)	(0.63)	(0.63)	(0.63)	(0.64)	(0.72)	(0.73)	(0.68)	(0.75)
Some College	-0.15	-0.08	-0.03	-0.07	-0.09	-0.07	0.17	-0.25	-0.69	-0.20
	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.68)	(0.75)	(0.77)	(0.72)	(0.80)
College Graduate (B.A.)	-0.20	-0.17	-0.11	-0.19	-0.12	-0.16	-0.05	-0.32	-0.70	-0.08

	(0.71)	(0.71)	(0.71)	(0.71)	(0.71)	(0.71)	(0.80)	(0.80)	(0.75)	(0.82)
Advanced Degree	-0.21	-0.14	-0.09	-0.13	-0.00	-0.10	0.15	-0.36	-0.88	-0.24
	(0.75)	(0.74)	(0.74)	(0.73)	(0.74)	(0.74)	(0.82)	(0.84)	(0.81)	(0.87)
\$25,000 - \$49,999 per year	-0.96*	-0.98*	-1.00*	-1.00*	-1.10**	-1.00*	-1.21**	-1.02*	-1.17**	-0.95*
	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.43)	(0.41)	(0.43)	(0.45)
\$50,000 - \$74,999 per year	-0.19	-0.18	-0.22	-0.19	-0.17	-0.19	-0.27	-0.18	-0.21	-0.12
	(0.45)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.48)	(0.45)	(0.48)	(0.50)
\$75,000 - \$104,999 per year	0.36	0.38	0.35	0.40	0.47	0.36	0.15	0.36	0.26	0.32
	(0.56)	(0.58)	(0.57)	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.62)	(0.57)	(0.57)	(0.59)
Over \$105,000 per year	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.13	-0.00	-0.01	-0.03
	(0.55)	(0.55)	(0.54)	(0.55)	(0.56)	(0.56)	(0.57)	(0.55)	(0.57)	(0.58)
Female	-0.03	-0.05	-0.03	-0.05	0.00	-0.07	-0.12	-0.02	-0.07	-0.15
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.31)
Black	2.80**	2.92**	2.87**	2.94**	2.93**	2.90**	2.74*	2.78**	2.47*	2.55*
	(1.01)	(1.04)	(1.03)	(1.03)	(1.04)	(1.04)	(1.07)	(1.02)	(1.02)	(1.03)
American Indian / Alaskan native	0.07	-0.46	-0.33	-0.51	-0.15	0.12	-0.40	-0.20	0.00	0.00
	(0.79)	(0.74)	(0.76)	(0.74)	(0.79)	(0.83)	(0.74)	(0.76)	(.)	(.)
Asian / Pacific Islander	0.00	-0.03	-0.01	-0.04	0.04	-0.06	0.08	-0.04	0.12	0.07
	(0.73)	(0.70)	(0.71)	(0.70)	(0.68)	(0.69)	(0.73)	(0.71)	(0.72)	(0.70)
Hispanic	0.88*	0.90*	0.94*	0.93*	0.90*	0.90*	0.93*	0.86*	0.84*	1.15**
	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.45)	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.45)
Age	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.06	-0.06	-0.06	-0.05	-0.05	-0.06	-0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
(Intercept)	1.31	1.77	1.27	1.94	1.23	1.78	1.54	1.42	1.94	1.35
	(1.31)	(1.35)	(1.35)	(1.41)	(1.41)	(1.37)	(1.49)	(1.43)	(1.41)	(1.48)
N	783	782	776	780	779	779	747	785	733	708
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.58	0.58	0.57	0.57	0.58	0.57	0.58	0.58	0.58	0.58

Dependent variable is vote choice, coded as 1 = Clinton, 0 = Dole; other vote choices excluded. Parameter estimates are logit. Source: 1996 ANES. For question wordings, see below. Post-election weights applied to models 1-10.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

^ significant at  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

**Table A3:** Effects of Ten Environmental Attitudes on Differences in Candidate Evaluations

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Effort: Protect Environment	18.54***									
	(3.16)									
Effort: Air Pollution		10.94***								
		(3.14)								
Effort: Natural Resources			9.94**							
			(3.33)							
Effort: Lakes/Parks				1.18						
				(3.52)						
Effort: Toxic Waste					8.48*					
					(3.78)					
Effort: Solid Waste						8.53*				
						(3.31)				
Effort: Global Warming							8.83**			
							(2.82)			
Spending on Environment								8.93**		
								(3.20)		
Environment vs. Jobs Scale									10.99*	
									(4.42)	
Business Regulation Scale										21.98***
										(4.35)
Democrat	23.11***	22.97***	22.95***	23.37***	23.38***	22.95***	23.25***	23.11***	22.64***	20.61***
	(2.27)	(2.27)	(2.30)	(2.29)	(2.27)	(2.29)	(2.35)	(2.28)	(2.38)	(2.41)
Republican	-23.82***	-25.69***	-25.83***	-26.73***	-26.53***	-26.34***	-25.77***	-25.92***	-26.43***	-24.91***
	(2.79)	(2.84)	(2.88)	(2.87)	(2.87)	(2.86)	(2.91)	(2.79)	(2.95)	(2.94)
Liberal	6.94**	7.50**	8.37**	8.51***	8.06**	8.53***	7.74**	8.01**	8.91***	9.52***
	(2.53)	(2.52)	(2.54)	(2.51)	(2.50)	(2.54)	(2.58)	(2.52)	(2.64)	(2.59)
Conservative	-17.26***	-18.09***	-17.82***	-18.37***	-18.01***	-18.36***	-18.54***	-17.79***	-18.27***	-17.17***
	(2.53)	(2.55)	(2.58)	(2.55)	(2.57)	(2.56)	(2.66)	(2.57)	(2.73)	(2.74)
High School	-8.81*	-8.37*	-8.55*	-7.90*	-8.40*	-8.32*	-7.88*	-9.61*	-10.89**	-12.07**
	(3.63)	(3.68)	(3.69)	(3.76)	(3.77)	(3.75)	(4.01)	(3.75)	(3.97)	(4.10)
Some College	-11.68**	-11.02**	-10.95**	-10.50**	-10.78**	-10.91**	-10.49**	-12.16**	-14.31***	-13.52***
	(3.61)	(3.67)	(3.69)	(3.78)	(3.76)	(3.74)	(3.99)	(3.73)	(3.96)	(4.04)
College Graduate (B.A.)	-13.18***	-13.58***	-13.47***	-13.48***	-13.45***	-13.03**	-13.15**	-14.48***	-17.15***	-16.80***

	(3.81)	(3.90)	(3.92)	(4.01)	(3.98)	(3.99)	(4.23)	(3.95)	(4.19)	(4.26)
Advanced Degree	-8.74*	-8.37*	-7.73^	-8.14^	-7.95^	-8.31^	-7.98^	-10.01*	-12.66**	-12.37**
	(4.15)	(4.19)	(4.22)	(4.33)	(4.28)	(4.29)	(4.48)	(4.25)	(4.49)	(4.58)
\$25,000 - \$49,999 per year	-0.94	-2.11	-2.48	-2.45	-2.59	-2.54	-2.53	-2.46	-2.02	-2.43
	(2.46)	(2.48)	(2.49)	(2.49)	(2.49)	(2.50)	(2.58)	(2.49)	(2.57)	(2.63)
\$50,000 - \$74,999 per year	-2.04	-3.17	-3.15	-2.93	-2.87	-3.36	-2.91	-2.93	-1.37	-3.05
	(3.02)	(3.10)	(3.10)	(3.13)	(3.12)	(3.12)	(3.16)	(3.11)	(3.24)	(3.20)
\$75,000 - \$104,999 per year	1.10	0.71	1.37	1.46	1.73	0.81	0.61	1.13	1.37	0.83
	(3.52)	(3.51)	(3.54)	(3.48)	(3.43)	(3.51)	(3.57)	(3.47)	(3.52)	(3.62)
Over \$105,000 per year	-8.92*	-9.32*	-9.48*	-9.47*	-9.61*	-10.00*	-9.89*	-9.48*	-8.69*	-8.83*
	(4.03)	(4.01)	(4.13)	(4.08)	(4.07)	(4.10)	(4.15)	(4.05)	(4.13)	(4.16)
Female	0.77	-0.05	0.55	0.11	0.09	-0.10	-0.03	0.38	0.20	-0.41
	(1.88)	(1.93)	(1.95)	(1.95)	(1.94)	(1.94)	(2.00)	(1.94)	(2.03)	(2.05)
Black	16.76***	16.22***	16.83***	16.71***	16.22***	16.03***	16.63***	16.16***	16.50***	16.00***
	(3.65)	(3.52)	(3.49)	(3.54)	(3.51)	(3.51)	(3.78)	(3.58)	(3.84)	(3.69)
American Indian / Alaskan native	-13.68^	-19.20*	-19.00**	-22.29**	-20.23**	-18.92*	-20.64**	-21.28**	-22.37**	-18.91*
	(6.98)	(7.53)	(7.15)	(7.19)	(7.55)	(7.60)	(7.43)	(6.49)	(7.70)	(8.06)
Asian / Pacific Islander	-3.46	-2.22	-2.39	-2.61	-2.82	-3.43	-3.28	-3.20	-4.38	-2.09
	(5.34)	(5.15)	(5.16)	(5.22)	(5.12)	(5.31)	(5.36)	(5.19)	(5.02)	(5.29)
Hispanic	1.53	1.39	2.24	2.09	1.46	1.86	1.66	1.92	1.77	3.10
	(4.01)	(4.02)	(4.19)	(4.06)	(4.02)	(4.14)	(4.18)	(4.04)	(4.10)	(4.39)
Age	-0.07	-0.13	-0.13	-0.18	-0.14	-0.19	-0.11	-0.11	-0.16	0.03
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.35)
Age <sup>2</sup>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
(Intercept)	4.69	13.18	13.21	21.44*	14.53^	16.28^	15.61^	15.87^	17.30^	6.06
	(8.31)	(8.47)	(8.44)	(8.77)	(8.81)	(8.46)	(8.50)	(8.74)	(8.95)	(9.07)
N	1084	1084	1077	1083	1077	1078	1037	1086	1008	964
R <sup>2</sup>	0.56	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.55	0.57
adj R <sup>2</sup>	0.55	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.54	0.55	0.56

Dependent variable is difference between Clinton and Dole feeling thermometer evaluations (Clinton minus Dole). Parameter estimates are OLS.

Source: 1996 ANES. For question wordings, see below. Post-election weights applied to models 1-10.

Robust standard errors in parentheses.

^ significant at  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Variables and Coding

The data source for Tables A1, A2, and A3 is the 1996 National Election Study, Pre- and Post-Election Surveys, available at <http://www.electionstudies.org/>. A total of 1,714 people completed pre-election interviews, of whom 1,534 also completed post-election interviews.

### Effort: Protect Environment

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... improving and protecting the environment?” [V961105]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

### Effort: Air Pollution

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... reducing air pollution?” [V961106]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

### Effort: Natural Resources

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... managing natural resources that are important to our economy, such as timber and fisheries?” [V961107]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

### Effort: Lakes/Parks

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... cleaning up lakes and parks for recreation such as hiking and boating?” [V961108]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

### Effort: Toxic Waste

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... cleaning up hazardous or toxic waste?” [V961109]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

### Effort: Solid Waste

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... reducing solid waste and garbage?” [V961110]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

#### Effort: Global Warming

“Do you think the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into ... addressing global warming?” [V961111]

Coded as: (0) less; (0.5) the same; (1) more.

#### Spending on Environment

“Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?” [V960561]

Coded as: (0) cut out entirely (volunteered); (0) decreased; (0.5) kept about the same; (1) increased.

#### Environment vs. Jobs Scale

“Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1.) Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?” [V960523]

Rescaled to [0, 1], with endpoints coded as: (0) “protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living”; (1) “it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living.”

#### Business Regulation Scale

“Some people think we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others think that current regulation to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, a point number 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2,3,4,5 or 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?” [V960537]

Rescaled to [0, 1], with endpoints coded as: (0) “current regulation to protect the environment are already too much of a burden on business”; (1) “we need much tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment.”

#### Vote Choice

[if respondent voted for a candidate for president] “Who did you vote for?” [V961082]

Coded as (1) Clinton; (0) Dole; other responses excluded.

### Feeling Thermometers

“I’d like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I’ll read the name of a person and I’d like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don’t feel favorable toward that person and that you don’t care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don’t feel particular warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don’t recognize, you don’t need to rate that person. Just tell me and we’ll move on to the next one.”

Clinton Feeling Thermometer: “How would you rate Bill Clinton?” [V961019]

Dole Feeling Thermometer: “How would you rate Bob Dole?” [V961020]

### Democrat, Republican

“Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?” [V960417]

Democrat coded as: (1) Democrat; (0) not a Democrat.

Republican coded as: (1) Republican; (0) not a Republican.

### Liberal, Conservative

“We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?” [V960365]

Liberal coded as: (1) responses of 1, 2, or 3; (0) responses of 4, 5, 6, or 7.

Conservative coded as: (1) responses of 5, 6, or 7; (0) responses of 1, 2, 3, or 4.

### High School, Some College, College Graduate (B.A.), Advanced Degree

[V960610] includes a summary of respondent’s education level as follows: (1) 8 grades or less and no diploma or equivalency; (2) 9-11 grades, no further schooling; (3) High school diploma or equivalency test; (4) More than 12 years of schooling, no higher degree; (5) Junior or community college level degrees; (6) Bachelor’s level degrees; (7) Advanced degree.

High School coded as (1) if respondent is in category 3 above; otherwise, coded as (0).  
Some College coded as (1) if respondent is in category 4 or 5 above; otherwise, coded as (0).  
College Graduate (B.A.) coded as (1) if respondent is in category 6 above; otherwise, coded as (0).  
Advanced Degree coded as (1) if respondent is in category 7 above; otherwise, coded as (0).

\$25,000 - \$49,999 per year, \$50,000 - \$74,999 per year, \$75,000 - \$104,999 per year, Over \$105,000 per year

“Please look at page 21 of the booklet and tell me the letter of the income group that includes the income of all members of your family living here in 1995 before taxes. This figure should include salaries, wages, pensions, dividends, interest, and all other income.”  
[V960701]

Coded into appropriate categories.

### Female

Respondent’s gender recorded by the interviewer and coded as (1) female; (0) male. [V960066]

### Black, American Indian / Alaskan native, Asian / Pacific Islander

Respondent’s race was identified by interviewer observation. [V960067]

Black coded as (1) Black; (0) not Black.

American Indian / Alaskan native coded as (1) American Indian or Alaskan native; (0) not American Indian or Alaskan native.

Asian / Pacific Islander coded as (1) Asian or Pacific Islander; (0) not Asian / Pacific Islander.

### Hispanic

Coded as (1) if respondent is of Spanish or Hispanic descent, (0) otherwise. [V960708]

### Age

“What is the month, day and year of your birth?” [V960605]

The month and year of respondent’s birth was subtracted from the month and year of interview to generate age in years.

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<sup>i</sup>To create weights for the 1996 ANES, we computed benchmarks using the 1997 CPS March Supplement. We recoded variables in this dataset to create categories for each of the variables to which we intended to rake. We created six age categories (18-24 years old, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, and 65 or older), three race categories (white, black, and other), four education categories (less than high school diploma, high school diploma or equivalent, some college without degree, and any college degree), and the four census region categories (Northeast, North Central, South, and West). Then, we created a new variable that separated each of the age categories into separate gender categories for a total of 12 age-by-gender categories. Then, we created a new variable that separated each of the education categories into separate gender categories for a total of 8 education-by-gender categories. We then dropped all respondents who were either under age 18 or were non-citizens. Then, we ran tabulations of age-by-gender, education-by-gender, race, and census region, weighting by the provided person-level weights.

Next, we recoded the 1996 ANES dataset and created categories that were identical to those created above. We also created a binary filter variable to indicate to the ANESRAKE program (the software we used to compute the weights) which individuals to include in the weighting process. When creating the pre-election weights, the filter variable was coded “1” for every respondent. Then, we wrote R script to instruct the ANESRAKE program. To do so, we inputted the benchmarks we had computed, and we instructed the program to use the filter variable and to use the ANES variable for the number of eligible adults in the household as the base weight. Then, we ran the script to create the pre-election weights.

Because there was some attrition of respondents between the pre- and post-election interviews, we created new weights for the smaller number of respondents who completed the post-election questionnaire. To do so, we altered the filter variable so that all respondents who had completed the post-election questionnaires were coded “1”, and all respondents who had only completed the pre-election questionnaire were coded “0.” We then ran the R script again with this new filter included, and thus produced the post-election weights.