

Appendix: Codebooks

ANES20

Variable	Variable Descriptions
version	Version of ANES 2020 Time Series Release
V200001	2020 Case ID
V200010a	Full sample pre-election weight
V200010b	Full sample post-election weight
V200010c	Full sample variance unit
V200010d	Full sample variance stratum
V201006	PRE: How interested in following campaigns
V201114	PRE: Are things in the country on right track
V201119	PRE: How happy R feels about how things are going in the country
V201120	PRE: How worried R feels about how things are going in the country
V201121	PRE: How proud R feels about how things are going in the country
V201122	PRE: How irritated R feels about how things are going in the country
V201123	PRE: How nervous R feels about how things are going in the country
V201129x	PRE: SUMMARY: Approve or disapprove President handling job
V201151	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Joe Biden, Democratic Presidential candidate
V201152	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Donald Trump, Republican Presidential candidate

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V201153	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Kamala Harris, Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate
V201154	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Mike Pence, Republican Vice-Presidential candidate
V201155	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Barack Obama
V201156	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Democratic Party
V201157	PRE: Feeling Thermometer: Republican Party
V201200	PRE: 7pt scale liberal-conservative self-placement
V201201	PRE: If R had to choose liberal or conservative self-placemt
V201202	PRE: 7pt scale liberal-conservative: Democratic Presidential candidate
V201203	PRE: 7pt scale liberal-conservative: Republican Presidential candidate
V201217	PRE: Who does R think will be elected President
V201219	PRE: Which Presidential candidate will carry state
V201231x	PRE: SUMMARY: Party ID
V201232	PRE: Party identity importance
V201233	PRE: How often trust government in Washington to do what is right [revised]
V201237	PRE: How often can people be trusted
V201249	PRE: 7pt scale defense spending: self-placement
V201252	PRE: 7pt scale gov-private medical insurance scale: self-placement
V201262	PRE: 7pt scale environment-business tradeoff: self-placement
V201308x	PRE: SUMMARY: Federal Budget Spending: Tightening border security
V201314x	PRE: SUMMARY: Federal Budget Spending: welfare programs
V201320x	PRE: SUMMARY: Federal Budget Spending: aid to the poor

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V201327x	PRE: SUMMARY: National economy better or worse in last year
V201330x	PRE: SUMMARY: Economy better or worse in next 12 months
V201333x	PRE: SUMMARY: Unemployment better or worse in last year
V201336	PRE: STD Abortion: self-placement
V201337	PRE: Importance of abortion issue to R
V201340	PRE: Abortion rights Supreme Court
V201346	PRE: During last year, US position in world weaker or stronger
V201351	PRE: Votes counted accurately
V201352	PRE: Trust election officials
V201353	PRE: How often people denied right to vote
V201354	PRE: Favor or oppose vote by mail
V201359x	PRE: SUMMARY: Favor/oppose requiring ID when voting
V201360	PRE: Favor or oppose allowing felons to vote
V201377	PRE: How much trust in news media
V201382x	PRE: SUMMARY: Corruption increased or decreased since Trump
V201384	PRE: Favor or oppose House impeachment decision
V201387	PRE: Favor or oppose Senate acquittal decision
V201390	PRE: Federal government response to COVID-19
V201393	PRE: Limits placed on public activity due to COVID-19 too strict or not
V201397	PRE: Income gap today more or less than 20 years ago
V201401	PRE: Government action about rising temperatures
V201405x	PRE: SUMMARY: Require employers to offer paid leave to parents of new children
V201406	PRE: Services to same sex couples
V201409	PRE: Transgender policy
V201412	PRE: Does R favor/oppose laws protect gays/lesbians against job discrimination

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V201415	PRE: Should gay and lesbian couples be allowed to adopt
V201416	PRE: R position on gay marriage
V201418	PRE: Favor or oppose ending birthright citizenship
V201421	PRE: Should children brought illegally be sent back or allowed to stay
V201424	PRE: Favor or oppose building a wall on border with Mexico
V201433	PRE: Is religion important part of R life [revised]
V201435	PRE: What is present religion of R
V201436	PRE: If R has no particular religion does R mean atheist or agnostic
V201452	PRE: Ever attend church or religious services
V201453	PRE: Attend religious services how often
V201457x	PRE: SUMMARY: Full religion summary
V201458x	PRE: SUMMARY: Major group religion summary
V201462	PRE: Religious identification
V201502	PRE: R how much better or worse off financially than 1 year ago
V201507x	PRE: SUMMARY: Respondent age
V201508	PRE: Marital status
V201510	PRE: Highest level of Education
V201511x	PRE: SUMMARY: Respondent 5 Category level of education
V201516	PRE: Armed forces active duty
V201544	PRE: Anyone in HH belong to labor union
V201545	PRE: Who in HH belongs to union
V201546	PRE: R: Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino
V201549x	PRE: SUMMARY: R self-identified race/ethnicity
V201553	PRE: Native status of parents
V201554	PRE: Rs: born US, Puerto Rico, or some other country
V201567	PRE: How many children in HH age 0-17

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V201569	PRE: Does R use Internet at home
V201570	PRE: Does R use Internet at any other location
V201594	PRE: How worried is R about current financial situation
V201600	PRE: What is your (R) sex? [revised]
V201601	PRE: Sexual orientation of R [revised]
V201602	PRE: Justified to use violence
V201606	PRE: Money invested in Stock Market
V201617x	PRE: SUMMARY: Total (family) income
V201620	PRE: Does R have health insurance
V201622	PRE: R concerned about paying for health care
V201624	PRE: Anyone in household tested pos for COVID-19
V201627	PRE: How often self censor
V201628	PRE: How many Guns owned
V202013	POST: R attend online political meetings, rallies, speeches, fundraisers
V202014	POST: R go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners
V202015	POST: R wear campaign button or post sign or bumper sticker
V202016	POST: R do any (other) work for party or candidate
V202017	POST: R contribute money to individual candidate running for public office
V202019	POST: R contribute money to political party during this election year
V202021	POST: R contribute to any other group that supported or opposed candidates
V202022	POST: R ever discuss politics with family or friends
V202023	POST: How many days in past week discussed politics with family or friends
V202051	POST: R registered to vote (post-election)
V202072	POST: Did R vote for President

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V202073	POST: For whom did R vote for President
V202143	POST: Feeling thermometer: Democratic Presidential candidate: Joe Biden
V202144	POST: Feeling thermometer: Republican Presidential candidate: Donald Trump
V202158	POST: Feeling thermometer: Dr. Anthony Fauci
V202159	POST: Feeling thermometer: Christian fundamentalists
V202160	POST: Feeling thermometer: feminists
V202161	POST: Feeling thermometer: liberals
V202162	POST: Feeling thermometer: labor unions
V202163	POST: Feeling thermometer: big business
V202164	POST: Feeling thermometer: conservatives
V202165	POST: Feeling thermometer: U.S. Supreme Court
V202166	POST: Feeling thermometer: gay men and lesbians
V202167	POST: Feeling thermometer: congress
V202168	POST: Feeling thermometer: Muslims
V202169	POST: Feeling thermometer: Christians
V202170	POST: Feeling thermometer: Jews
V202171	POST: Feeling thermometer: police
V202172	POST: Feeling thermometer: transgender people
V202173	POST: Feeling thermometer: scientists
V202174	POST: Feeling thermometer: Black Lives Matter
V202175	POST: Feeling thermometer: journalists
V202178	POST: Feeling thermometer: National Rifle Association (NRA)
V202183	POST: Feeling thermometer: #MeToo movement

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V202185	POST: Feeling thermometer: Planned Parenthood
V202232	POST: What should immigration levels be
V202234	POST: Favor or oppose allowing refugees to come to US
V202237	POST: Effect of illegal immigration on crime rate
V202240	POST: Favor or oppose providing path to citizenship
V202243	POST: Favor or oppose returning unauthorized immigrants to native country
V202246	POST: Favor or oppose separating children of detained immigrants
V202253	POST: Less government better OR more that government should be doing
V202255x	POST:SUMMARY: Less or more government
V202261	POST: We'd be better off if worried less about equality
V202300	POST: Agree/disagree: blacks should work their way up without special favors
V202301	POST: Agree/disagree: past slavery & discrimination make it difficult for blacks
V202302	POST: Agree/disagree: blacks have gotten less than they deserve
V202303	POST: Agree/disagree: if blacks tried harder they'd be as well off as whites
V202325	POST: Favor or oppose tax on millionaires
V202337	POST: Should federal government make it more difficult or easier to buy a gun
V202342	POST: Favor or oppose banning 'assault-style' rifles
V202352	POST: How would R describe social class [EGSS]
V202353	POST: Is R lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class? [EGSS]

Variable	Variable Descriptions
V202371	POST: Does increasing diversity made US better or worse place to live
V202375	POST: Favor or oppose federal program giving all citizens \$12K/year (STRENGTH)
V202384	POST: Attention to sexual harrassment has gone too far or not far enough
V202388	POST: Favor/oppose allowing transgender people to serve in military
V202416	POST: CSES5-Q05a: Out-group attitudes: minorities should adapt
V202418	POST: CSES5-Q05c: Out-group attitudes: immigrants good for America's economy
V202419	POST: CSES5-Q05c: Out-group attitudes: America's culture harmed by immigrants
V202475	POST: Does R consider themself a feminist or anti-feminist
V202477	POST: Feeling thermometer: Asian-Americans
V202478	POST: Feeling thermometer: Asians
V202479	POST: Feeling thermometer: Hispanics
V202480	POST: Feeling thermometer: blacks
V202481	POST: Feeling thermometer: illegal immigrants
V202482	POST: Feeling thermometer: whites
V202491	POST: Do police treat blacks or whites better
V202549	POST: Did Russia try to interfere in 2016 presidential election or not
V202553	POST: Does most scientific evidence show vaccines cause autism or not
V203000	SAMPLE: Sample location FIPS state
V203001	SAMPLE: Sample location state postal abbreviation
V203003	SAMPLE: Census region
vote2pty	Two-party vote
vote	Trump-Biden-Other vote

County20large

Variable	Variable Description
statefips	State numeric ID
countyfips	State numeric ID
fips	State/County numeric ID
stateab	State Abbreviation
CountyName	County Name
low_brthwt	% low weight births
adult_smoke	% Adult smokers
adult_obesity	% obese adults
teenbirth1k	teen (15-19yrs) births/10,000 births
docs_10k	doctors per 10,000 population
flu_vacc_elder	% Midcare patients with flu vaccine
kid_poverty	% minors in poverty
vcrim100k	Violent crimes per 100,000
airpollution	Average daily density of fine particulate matter in micrograms per cubic meter
lifeexp	Life expectancy at birth
kid_mort100k	Death per 100,000 minors
Infmort1k	Infant deaths per 1000 live births
diabetes	% Adults w/diabetes
food_insec	% who did not have access to a reliable source of food during the past year
drug_death100k	Drug overdose deaths per 100,000
mv_death100k	Motor vehicle deaths per 100,000
med_HH_inc	Median household income
kidlunch	% of students eligible for free/discounted lunch
wht_nwht_seg	Higher values indicate greater residential segregation between non-white and white county residents.
homicide_100k	Homicides per 100,000
suicide100k	Suicides per 100,000
gundeath100k	Gun deaths per 100,000
traffic_volume	Average traffic volume per meter of major roadways in the county.
internet	% households with subscription broadband internet connection
rural	% living in rural area
County type	County classification
pop_2019	population, 2019

Variable	Variable Description
case_sept821	COVID-19 cases through 9/8/21
cases100k_sept821	COVID-19 cases per 100,000 through 9/8/21
deaths_sept821	COVID-19 deaths through 9/8/21
deaths100k_sept21	COVID-19 deaths per 100,000 through 9/8/21
uninsured	% under age 65 without health insurance
povtyAug21	Poverty rate August 2021
SVI_sept21	Vulnerability human suffering and financial loss in the event of a disaster (CDC)
CVD_vulnerability	COVID-19 vulnerability index
totalvote	Total votes, 2016
hrcvote	Clinton votes, 2016
djtvote	Trump votes, 2016
d2pty16	Democratic % of two-party vote, 2016
thirdpct16	Third-party % of total vote, 2016
county_state	County Name/State name
hs	% HS or equiv degree
4yrcoll	% 4-year college degree
postgrad	% with post-graduate degree
whitepct	% White (non-Hispanic)
blackpct	% Black (non-Hispanic)
nativepct	% Native-American (non-Hispanic)
apipct	% Asian-Pacific Islander (non-Hispanic)
otherpct	% Other race/ethnicity (non-Hispanic)
latinopct	% Latino/Hispanic
under6_pvty	% kids under 6 in poverty
senior_pvty	% 65+ years-old in poverty
poverty_15	% in poverty 2015
gini_coefficient	Income inequality
kid_poverty15	% minors in poverty, 2015
manage_prof	% workers in managerial/professional sector
service_occupations	% workers in service sector
sales_office	% workers in sales/office sector
farming_	% workers in agriculturall sector
construction	% workers in construction ector
production_transp	% workers in manufacturing/transport sector
pop2010	population 2010
pop2000	population 2000

Variable	Variable Description
nomove_1yr	One-year residential stability
foreign_born	%foreign-born
foreign_lang	% speaking non-English at homw
veterans	# military veterans
home_own	% Owner-occupied housing
pc_income15	per-capita income 2015
density	population per square mile
cvap16	Citizen voting-age population
cvap_turnout16	% turnout 2016, CVAP
State	State name
pop_2019	population, 2019
Cdeaths_jan521	COVID-19 deaths through 1/5/21
cases_jan521	COVID-19 cases through 1/5/21
votes_gop20	Republican votes 2020
votes_dem20	Democratic votes 2020
total_votes20	Total votes, 2020
other_vote20	Third-party votes, 2020
djtpct20	Trump % 2020
jrbpct20	Biden % 2020
d2pty20	Democratic % of two-party vote, 2020
cvap18	Citizen voting-age population, 2018
cvap_turnout20	% turnout 2020, CVAP

Countries2

Variable	Variable Description
wbcountry	Country Name
ccode	Country Code
hdi_rank	HDI Rank
hdi	Human Development Index (HDI)
lifexp	Life expectancy at birth
mnschool	Mean years of schooling
gini1019	Gini coefficient: Income inequality
femexp	Female life expectancy at birth
malexp	Male life expectancy at birth
fem_mnschool	Female mean years of schooling
male_mnschool	Male mean years of schooling
gender_inequality	Gender Inequality Index: inequality in reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market

Variable	Variable Description
matmort	Maternal mortality ratio: Number of deaths due to pregnancy-related causes per 100,000 live births.
teen_fert	Adolescent birth rate: Number of births to women ages 15–19 per 1,000 women ages 15–19.
fem_leg	% female Share of seats in parliament:
fem_seced	% of Female Population with at least some secondary education education.
male_seced	Male Population with at least some secondary education
fem_labor	Female labour force participation rate
male_labor	Male labour force participation rate
chg_pop	Population average annual growth
urban	% Urban population
fert1520	Total fertility rate 2015-2020
inf_no_dtp	% Infants lacking immunization against DTP
inf_no_measel	% Infants lacking immunization against measles
infant_mort	Infant mortality rate: Probability of dying between birth and exactly age 1, expressed per 1,000 live births.
kid_mort	Under-five mortality rate: Probability of dying between birth and exactly age 5, expressed per 1,000 live births.
TB100k	Tuberculosis incidence: new and relapse tuberculosis cases per 100,000 people.
health_exp	Current health expenditure (% of GDP)
sec_ed	Population with at least some secondary education
educ_exp	Government expenditure on education (% of GDP)
jail100k	Prison population per 100,000 people.
homicide100k	Homicides per 100,000 people.
fem_suicie	Female suicide rate per 100,000 females
male_suicide	Male suicide rate (per 100,000 males)
food_def	Average supply of calories for food consumption, expressed as a percentage of the average dietary energy requirement

Variable	Variable Description
net_mig	Net migration rate: Ratio in-migrants and out-migrants per 1,000 people.
internet	Internet users: % of People with access to the worldwide network.
mobile_phone	Mobile phone subscriptions: Number of subscriptions for the mobile phone service, expressed per 100 people.
docs10k	Physicians: Number of medical doctors (physicians), both generalists and specialists, expressed per 10,000 people.
hosp10k	Hospital beds: Number of hospital beds available, expressed per 10,000 people.
rural_electric	% Rural population with access to electricity
fem_loc_gvt	% seats held by women in local government
fem_finance	% Women with account at financial institution or with mobile money-service provider
redlist	Red List Index: Measure of the aggregate extinction risk across groups of species.
skilled1019	Skilled labour force: Percentage of the labour force ages 15 and older with intermediate or advanced education
mil_exp	Military expenditures: All current and capital expenditures on the armed forces
pop19_M	Population (millions) 2019
gdp_billions	Gross Domestic Product (Billions of US \$)
gdp_pc	Gross Domestic Product per capita

States20

Variable Name	Variable Description
state	State name
stateab	State abbreviation
abortion_laws	# Abortion restrictions in state law
age1825	% 18 to 24 years old

Variable Name	Variable Description
age65plus	% older than 65
Approve	Biden approval, January-June 2021
Approve_T	Trump Approval , January-May 2020
attend_low	% who rarely or never attend religious services
aug_cases	#COVID19 Cases through 8/30/21
aug_CVD_deathrate	COVID deaths/cases through 8/30/21
aug_deaths	Cum. #Covid19 deaths 8/30/21
beer	gallons of beer consumed per capita
blknh	% non-hispanic black
bornagain18	% born again Christian, 2018
Cases10k	Covid cases per 10,000, through October 2020
closing_date20	# days prior to election for end of voter registration
coll_4yr	% with 4-year college degree
cong10k	# religious congregations per 10,000 pop
covid_hosp	COVID hospitalizations per 100K pop 9/2/2021
d2pty16	% of 2-party vote for Clinton
d2pty20	% of 2-party vote for Biden
DemLeg2020	% Democratic state legislators, 2020
diabetes	% with diabetes in population
Disapprove	Biden disapproval, January-June 2021
Disapprove_T	Trump disapproval , January-May 2020
docs100k	#physician per 100,000 population
early_pct20	early votes as % of total votes 2020
environment	Environmental liberalism (0-1) High=liberal
fb	% foreign born
FemLeg2020	% female sate legislators, 2020
gaymarr	% support for legal gay marriage
gini16	gini index 2016
gtba	% with advanced degrees
gundeath100k	gun deaths per 100,000 population
immig	Immigration liberalism: high=more liberal
infant_mort	# infant deaths per 1000 live births
jun_cases	#COVID19 Cases through 6/01/21
jun_CVD_deathrate	COVID deaths/cases through 6/01/21

Variable Name	Variable Description
jun_death	#Covid19 deaths through 6/01/21
latino	% Latino population
legprof	Legislative professionalism (high=more professional
lgbtq_rgts	# legal protection for LGBTQ persons (Human Rights Campaign)
lifeexp	life expectancy
lowbirthwt	% low birth weight births
margin20	margin of victory (Winner % minus loser %), 2020 pres race
metro	% living in metro area
mngt	% with management jobs
netage	age65plus minus age1825
netdem	% Democratic minus % Republican identifiers
netlib	% liberal minus %conservative
nonwhite	% non-white
NonWhtLeg2020	% non-white in state legislature
nurses1k	# Nurses per thousand population
obesity	% obese in population
other_occ	% other occupations
othnh	% not Hispanic, white, black, or API
PCincome2020	per capita income
PerPupilExp	per pupil \$, k-12 schools
pol_cult	Political Culture classification
policy_innov	Policy innovation score: high values=innovative states
policy_lib	Policy liberalism: high scores->liberal policies
poverty1819	% living in poverty, 2018-19
prison100k	incarcerated people per 100,000 pop
prochoice18	%pro choice, 2018
prof	% with professional jobs
race_att	racial liberalism (0-1) High=liberal
relig_imp	% who say religion is important to them
single	% single
south	South=1, Other=0
suicide100k	suicides per 100k population
Taxburden	total state taxes as % of total state income
taxprog	tax progressivity (rich pay greater share than poor)->high=progressive
teenbirth	% of births to teen mothers

Variable Name	Variable Description
union	% union in workforce
vacc_rate	proportion of population with full COVID vaccine
vcrime100k	violent crimes per 100,000 population
vep_turnout16	% Eligible voter turnout, 2016
vep_turnout20	% Eligible voter turnout, 2020
whitemale	% white male
whtmale_nocol	% white male, no college
whtnh	% non-Hispanic white population