Online Codebook

Personal Experience and Public Opinion:
A Theory and Test of Conditional Policy Feedback

Amy E. Lerman and Katherine T. McCabe

2012 CCES

Dependent Variables

Support the ACA: *suppafford* (from *CC332I)*
"Congress considered many important bills over the past two years. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the legislation in principle:"
"Affordable Care Act of 2010. Requires all Americans to obtain health insurance. Allows people to keep current provider. Sets up health insurance option for those without coverage. Increases taxes on those making more than $280,000 a year."

Responses (Coding)	**Raw N**
Support (1)	30,566
Oppose (0)	23,200
Skipped (Coded as Missing)	769
	54,535

Don't Cut Medicare: *dontcutmedicare* (from *CC329)*
"The federal budget deficit is approximately $1 trillion this year. If the Congress were to balance the budget it would have to consider cutting defense spending, cutting domestic spending (such as Medicare and Social Security), or raising taxes to cover the deficit. What would you least prefer that Congress do – cut domestic spending, cut defense spending, or raise taxes?"

Responses (Coding)	**Raw N**
Cut Domestic Spending (1)	19,130
Cut Defense Spending (0)	10,493
Raise Taxes (0)	23,876
Skipped /Not Asked (Coded as Missing)	1036
	54,535

Insurance Coding

Health Insurance: Do you currently have health insurance? (Please check all that apply)

- Private: *healthins_1 (employer/family member's employer), healthins_3 (school), healthins_4 (purchased on own)*
- Public: *healthins_2 (government)*
- Not sure/no insurance: *healthins_5 (not sure), healthins_6 (no insurance)*

Primary Coding: (*privpubins3r*) Has private insurance only vs. public (with/without private)

	Raw N
Private insurance only (0)	28,748
Public (with/without private) (1)	17,403
	46,151

Party and Ideology

Party Identification: (*rep, dem, ind, from: pid7*)

- Republican (includes leaners): 1 = yes; 0 = Democrat/Independent; missing otherwise
- Independent (no leaners, includes "not sure"): 1 = yes; 0 = Republican/Democrat; missing otherwise
- Democrat (includes leaners): 1 = yes; 0 = Republican/Independent; missing otherwise

Ideology: (*lib, mod, con*, from: *ideo5*)

- Liberal: 1= yes; 0 = conservative/moderate; missing otherwise
- Moderate (includes "not sure"): 1= yes; 0 = conservative/liberal; missing otherwise
- Conservative: 1 = yes; 0 = liberal/moderate; missing otherwise
- Ideological Strength (1 to 3)

Age Coding

Age Instruments: *byr4647* from*: birthyr*

Birth Year (Coding)	**Raw N**
1946 (1)	1272
1947 (1)	1464
1948 (0)	1648
1949 (0)	1506
	5890

Covariates

Variable (corresponding CCES variables)	**Coding for Analysis**	**% of N=54,535 that is missing**
Retired (*employ*)	1 = retired; 0 = otherwise	0.00%

Put off care due to cost (*healthcost*)	1 = yes; 0= no; missing otherwise	0.29%
General health (*genhealth*)	1= excellent; 2 = very good; 3 = good; 4 = fair; 5 = poor; missing otherwise	0.43%
Bad Health Index (*CC326_1-7*)	0 to 7 based on number of health conditions respondent has	17.5% (not included in main analyses)
Occupation in healthcare support (*occupationcat*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Work in health care and social assistance industry (*industryclass*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Work in finance and insurance industry (*industryclass*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Follow what's going on in government and public affairs (*newsint*)	1 = most of the time; 2 = some of the time; 3 = only now and then; 4 = hardly at all; missing otherwise	2.25%
Hispanic (*race* and *hispanic*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Black (*race*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Military household (*milstat_1-4*)	1 = yes if personally serving/served or family member serving/served; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Residential mobility (*CC351*)	1 = lived at present address less than 1 month; 2 = 2 to 6 months; 3 = 7 to 11 months; 4 = 1 to 2 years; 5 = 3 to 4 years; 6 = 5 or more years; missing otherwise	0.20%
Registered to vote (*votereg*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Marital status (*marstat*)	1 = married/separated; 0 = otherwise	0.00%

Child under 18 (*child18*)	1 = yes; 0 = no	0.00%
Homeowner (*ownhome*)	1 = own; 0 = rent/other; missing otherwise	1.12%
Respondent is current or former union member (*union*)	1 = yes; 0 = no; missing otherwise	0.47%
Respondent is employed by government (*employercat*)	1 = yes; 0 = otherwise	0.00%
Voted in 2008 election (*CC316*)	1 = yes; 0 = no/not sure; missing otherwise	0.25%
Born again (*pew_bornagain*)	1 = yes; 0 = no; missing otherwise	0.24%
Importance of religion (*pew_religimp*)	1 = very important; 2 = somewhat important; 3 = not too important; 4 = not at all important; missing otherwise	0.09%
Gender (*gender*)	1 = male; 0 = female	0.00%
Family income (*faminc*)	16 categories from less than $10,000 to more than $500,000; missing otherwise	12.1%
Highest level of education completed (*educ*)	1 = no high school; 2 = high school graduate; 3 = some college; 4 = 2-year; 5 = 4-year; 6 = post-grad	0.00%
Political knowledge (*CC309a-b; CC310a-d*)	0 to 6, based on number of correct answers to 6 factual questions	2.8%
High knowledge (*CC309a-b; CC310a-d*)	1 = having 5 or 6 correct answers; 0 = 0 to 4 correct answers; missing otherwise	2.8%
Low knowledge (*CC309a-b; CC310a-d*)	1 = having 0 to 4 correct answers; 0 = 5 or 6 correct answers; missing otherwise	2.8%

Robustness Checks

Instrument for Social category coding *(socat)*
0 = neither retired nor on public insurance
1 = either retired or on public insurance

2 = retired and on public insurance

Public vs. Other Insurance Coding *(pubvother)*
1 = has public insurance
0 = does not have public insurance (has private only, no insurance, or not sure)

Placebo Dependent Variables

Border controls (*bordersec* from: *CC322_2*)
"Increase the number of border patrols on the US-Mexican border."

1 = yes; 0 = otherwise

Birth control exemption (*birthconexemp* from: CC332E)
"Birth Control Exemption. A Bill to let employers and insurers refuse to cover birth control and other health services that violate their religious beliefs."

1 = support; 0 = oppose; missing otherwise (2.19% of 54,535)

Keystone Pipeline (*keystone* from: *CC332H*)
"Keystone Pipeline. A bill to approve the Keystone XL pipeline from Montana to Texas and provide for environmental protection and government oversight."

1 = support; 0 = oppose; missing otherwise (3.14% and not asked of 7.46% of 54,535)

Same-Sex Marriage (*samesex* from: *CC326*)
"Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?"

1 = favor; 0 = oppose; missing otherwise (1.09% of 54,535)

Pew 2011 Survey

Keep Medicare and Social Security (keepmedss): What is more important, taking steps to reduce the budget deficit or keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits as they are?

- 1= Keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits as they are
- 0 = Taking steps to reduce the budget deficit

Receives Medicare (recmedicare): Please tell me whether you or anyone in your household currently receives Medicare benefits.

- Yes = 1; 0 otherwise

Receives Social Security (recss): Please tell me whether you or anyone in your household currently receives Social Security payments.

- Yes = 1; 0 otherwise

Receives Private Insurance (recprivins): Are you or someone in your household covered by a private health insurance plan, such as insurance provided through an employer or purchased for an individual or family?

- Yes = 1; 0 otherwise

Over 65: Dichotomous instrument = 1 for 65 and over; 0 if under 65 *(age65over)*

- Uses two covariates to control for specific age, in both first and second stage regressions (where applicable):
    - Xl = 0 if above the threshold; = age - 65 if under the threshold
    - Xr = 0 if under the threshold; = age - 65 if above the threshold

Kaiser Family Foundation

ACA Favorability (dichotomous: acafavyesno): Given what you know about the new health reform law, do you have a generally (favorable) or generally (unfavorable) opinion of it? [ROTATE VERBIAGE IN PARENS] (GET ANSWER THEN ASK: Is that a very favorable/unfavorable or somewhat favorable/unfavorable opinion?)

- 'very favorable'
- 'somewhat favorable'
- 'somewhat unfavorable'
- 'very unfavorable'
- 'dk/ref'

Health Insurance: Which of the following is your MAIN source of health insurance coverage? Is it a plan through your employer, a plan through your spouse's employer, a plan you purchased yourself either from an insurance company or a state or federal marketplace, are you covered by Medicare or (Medicaid/[INSERT STATE-SPECIFIC MEDICAID NAME]), or do you get your health insurance from somewhere else?

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