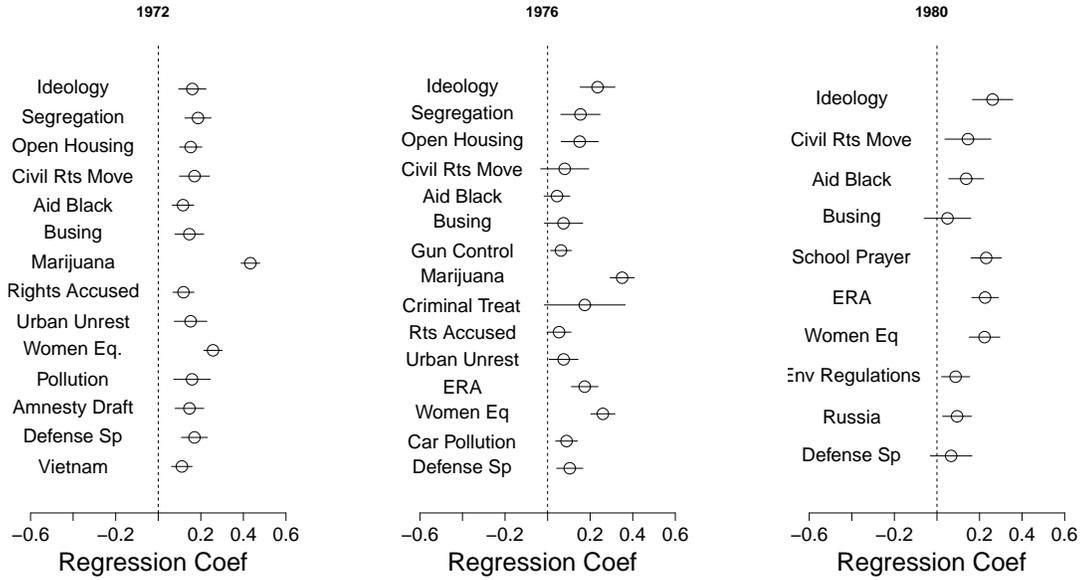


## **Appendix**

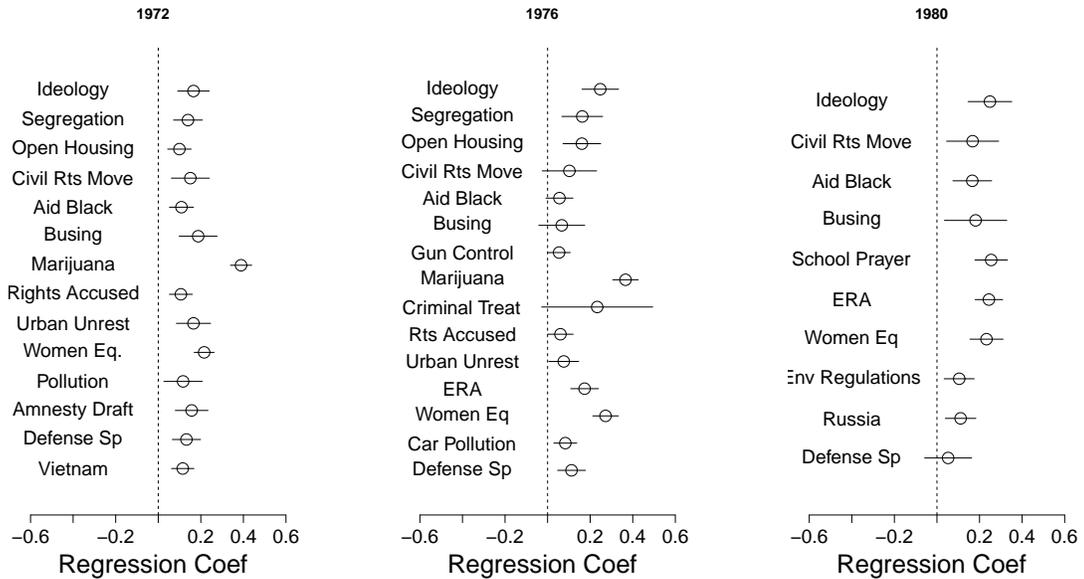
### **1 Multivariate Controls**

The figures below are the same as Figures 1 in the manuscript, controlling for party identification, region, income, education, urbanicity, sex, catholicism and union membership. In regressions using all respondents, I also control for whether the respondent identifies as white.

### All Respondents



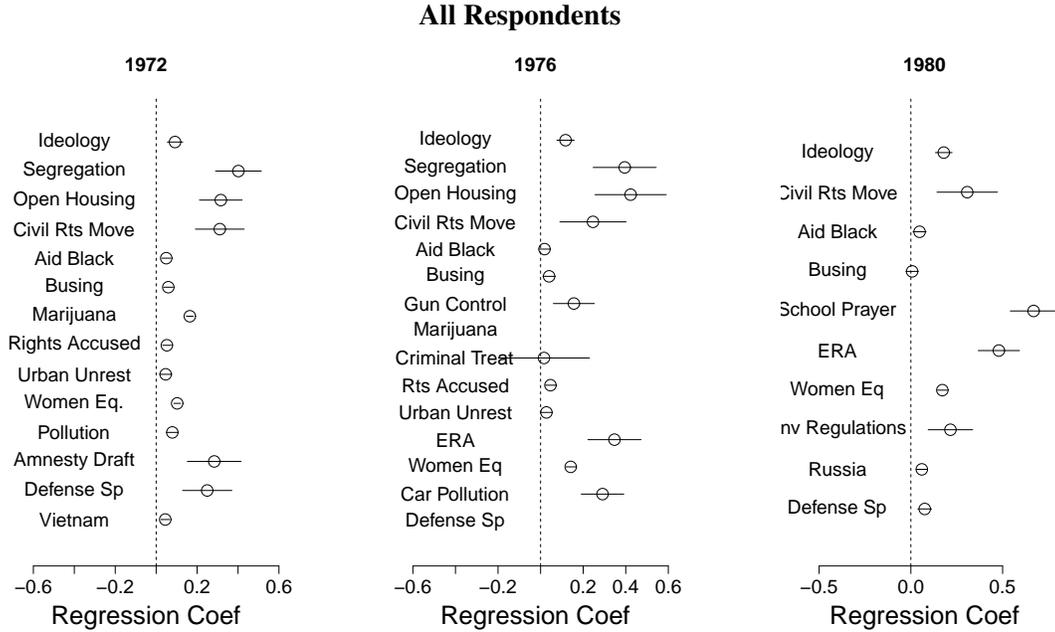
### White Respondents



Each point represents the regression coefficient from regressing abortion attitudes over the respective variable down the left-hand column, controlling for party identification, region, income, education, urbanicity, sex, catholicism and union membership. (Each point represents separate regression.) This is the same as Figure 1 in the manuscript, but includes controls. Positive values can be interpreted as those respondents who take conservative positions on segregation, for example, also take a conservative abortion position, all else equal.

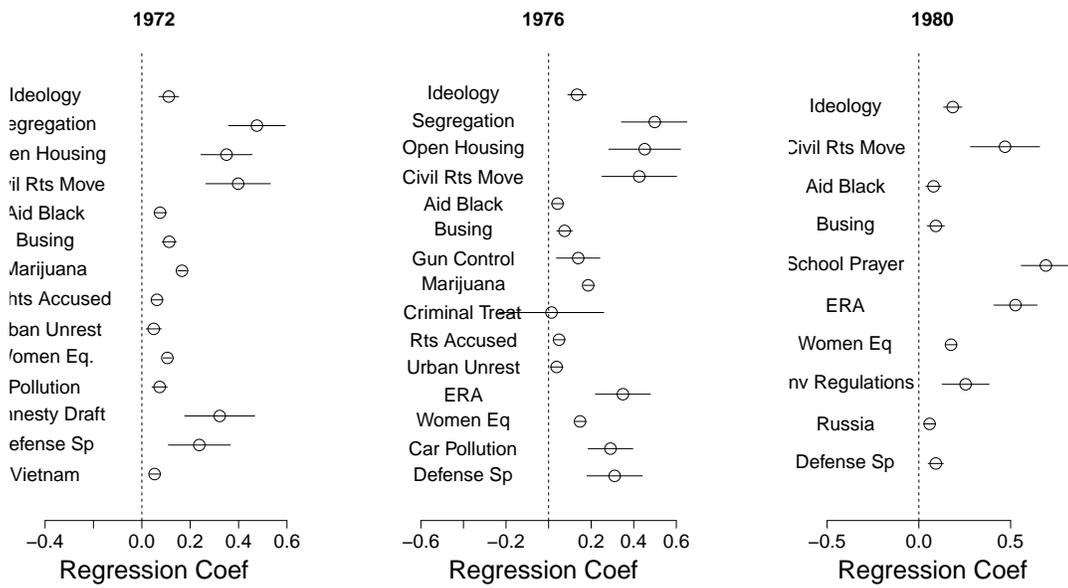
## 2 Uncoded Variables

The figures below replicate Figure 1 in the manuscript with the exception that variables are not recoded (they are presented as originally coded by the ANES). **Regression coefficients should be interpreted with caution because, for example, some are coded 0-1 while others are coded 1-7.** See section 9 of the appendix for question wording and response choices.



Same as Figure 1 in manuscript, but variables not recoded for interpretive purposes. Regression coefficients should be interpreted with caution because, for example, some are coded 0-1 while others are coded 1-7.

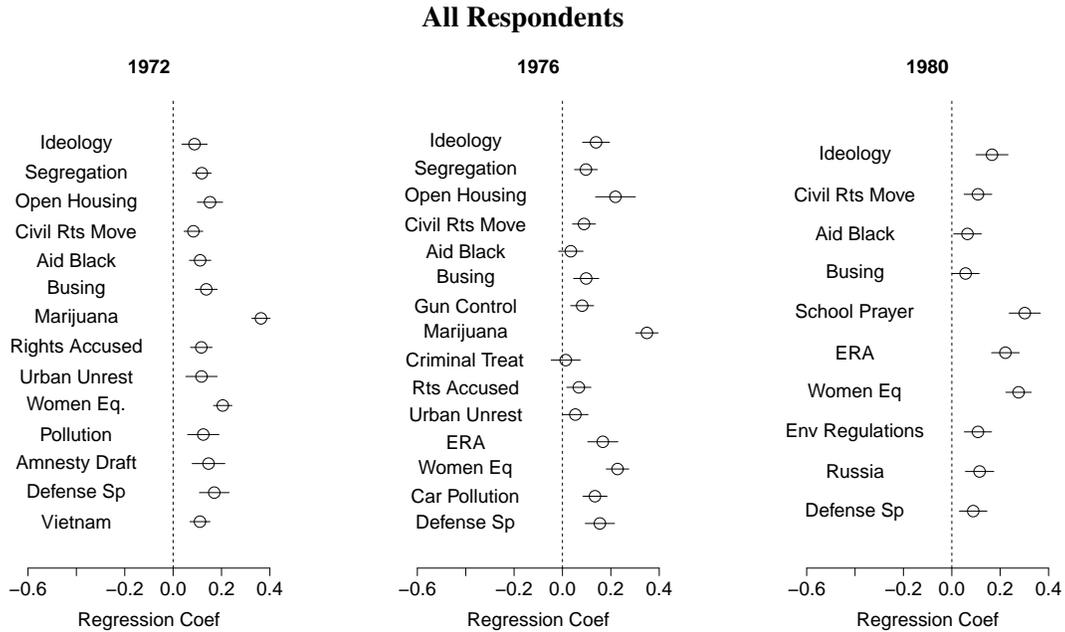
### White Respondents, Only



Same as Figure 1 in manuscript, but variables not recoded for interpretive purposes. Regression coefficients should be interpreted with caution because, for example, some are coded 0-1 while others are coded 1-7.

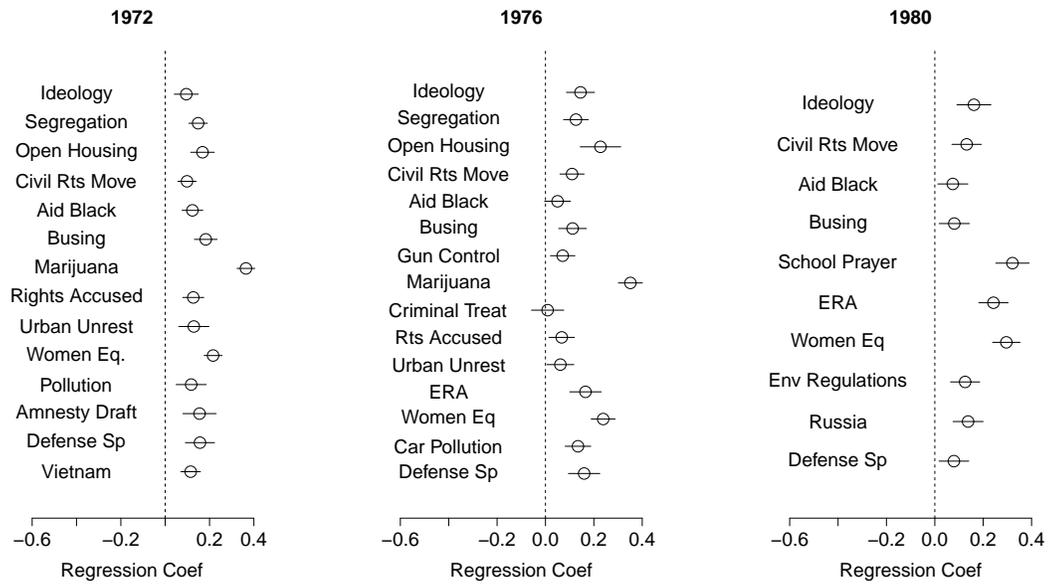
### 3 Conservative-Liberal Divides by average respondent

Figures below replicate Figures 1 and Table 1 with two coding modifications. 1) I standardize each variable to have a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1 and 2) I make each variable binary such that respondents are coded as 1 express a response that is more conservative than the average respondent and 0 otherwise.



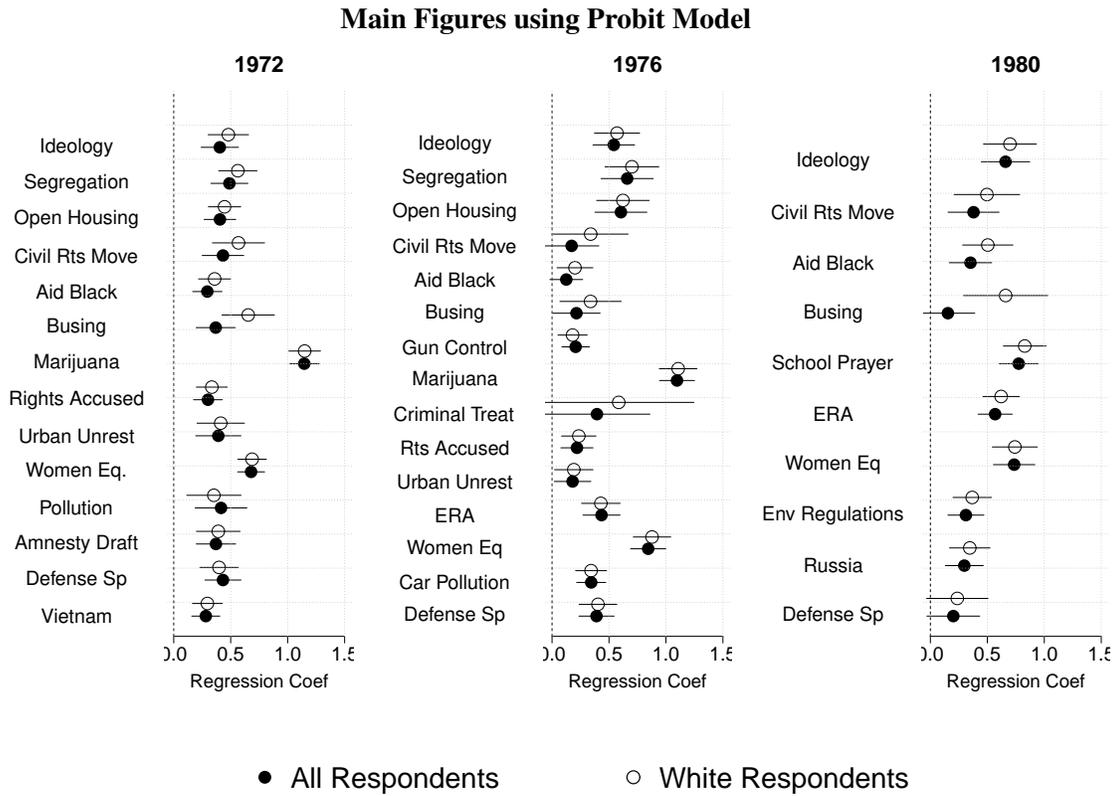
Replicates Figure 1 in the manuscript with two coding modifications. 1) I standardize each variable to have a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1. 2) I make each variable binary such that respondents are coded as 1 express a response that is more conservative than the average respondent and 0 otherwise.

### White Respondents



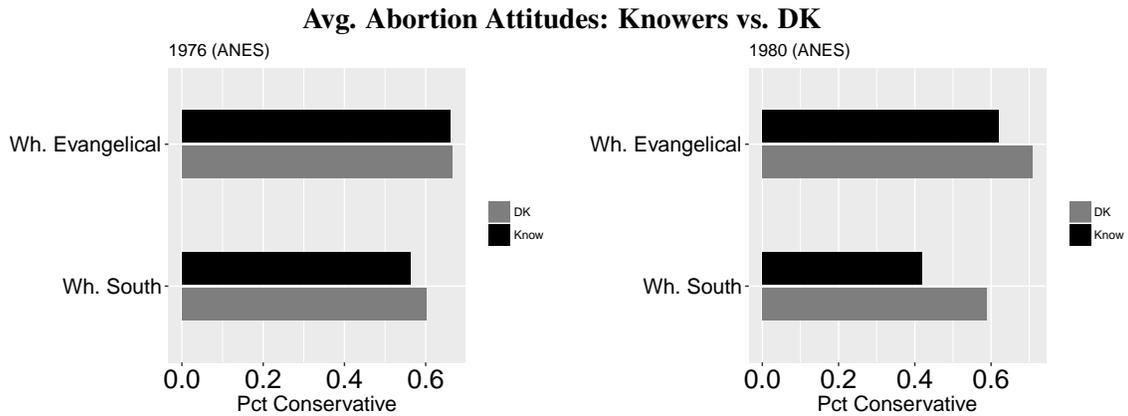
Replicates Figure 1 in the manuscript with two coding modifications. 1) I standardize each variable to have a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1. 2) I make each variable binary such that respondents are coded as 1 express a response that is more conservative than the average respondent and 0 otherwise.

## 4 Robustness Check: Probit



Replicates Figure 1 using probit model. Black dots are for all respondents, blue dots for white respondents, only.

## 5 Know v DK by constituency group



**Caption:** Bars show the percent of each sub group who take a conservative abortion view. I split the sample between those who know the parties relative position on the issue (black bars) and those who do not (gray bars). This graph shows that the conservative views of these subgroups do not result simply from partisan elite learning.

I split constituency groups between those who know and do not know the parties' positions. The Figure above shows that white evangelicals and white Southerners who do not know the parties' positions on abortion are more conservative than those who do. This provides further evidence that partisan elite learning cannot fully explain the conservative preferences of these constituencies.

## 6 Economic Issues

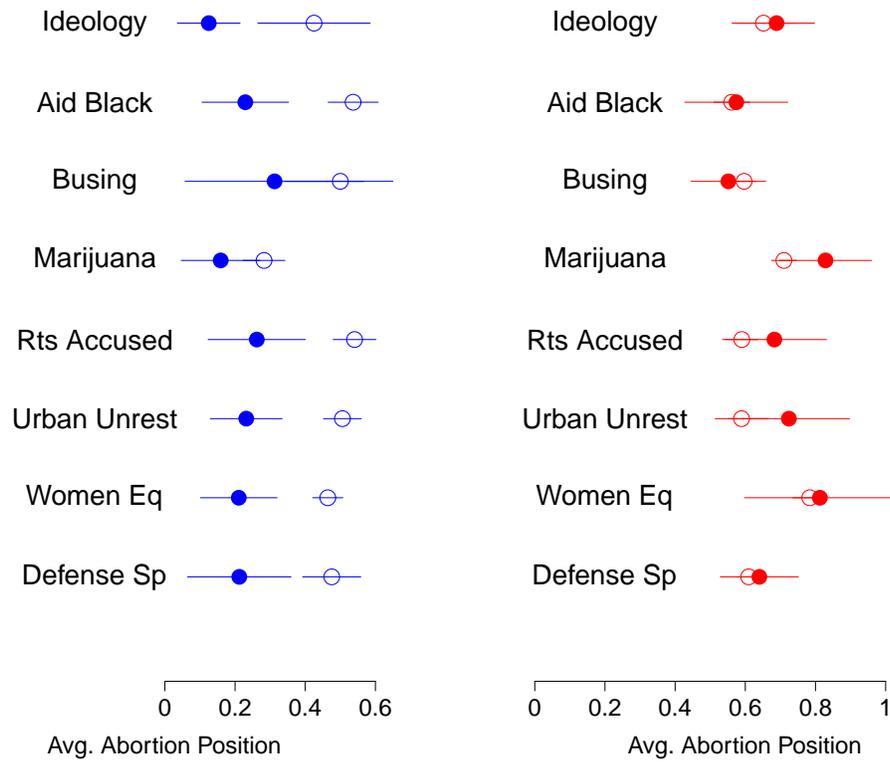
<b>Abortion Attitudes and Economic Positions</b>			
<b>Issue</b>	<b>All Respondents</b>	<b>White Respondents Know</b>	<b>White Respondents DK</b>
<b>1972</b>			
Gov't Hlth Ins	.058 (.033)		
Gov't Jobs	-.012 (.025)		
Tax Wealthy	.033 (.024)		
<b>1976</b>			
Gov't Hlth Ins	.028 (.028)	.381 (.089)	-.002(.04)
Gov't Jobs	-.03 (.031)	.25 (.103)	-.052(.05)
Tax Wealthy	-.03 (.028)	.4 (.102)	-.084(.039)
<b>1980</b>			
Gov't Services and Spending	.001 (.034)	.234 (.073)	.001 (.066)
Gov't Jobs	.015 (.034)	.192 (.081)	-.005 (.068)
Tax Rate	.019 (.039)	.155 (.094)	.02 (.065)

**Caption:** Each cell is a regression coefficient which represents the difference in abortion attitudes between economic liberals and conservatives. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. For example, the top left cell means that those who express conservative views on whether government should provide jobs are 5.8 percentage points more likely to express a conservative abortion position. Columns two and three show that, unlike non-economic issues, economic related issue bundles with abortion are restricted to those that learned the parties' position.

## 7 Heterogeneity by Party

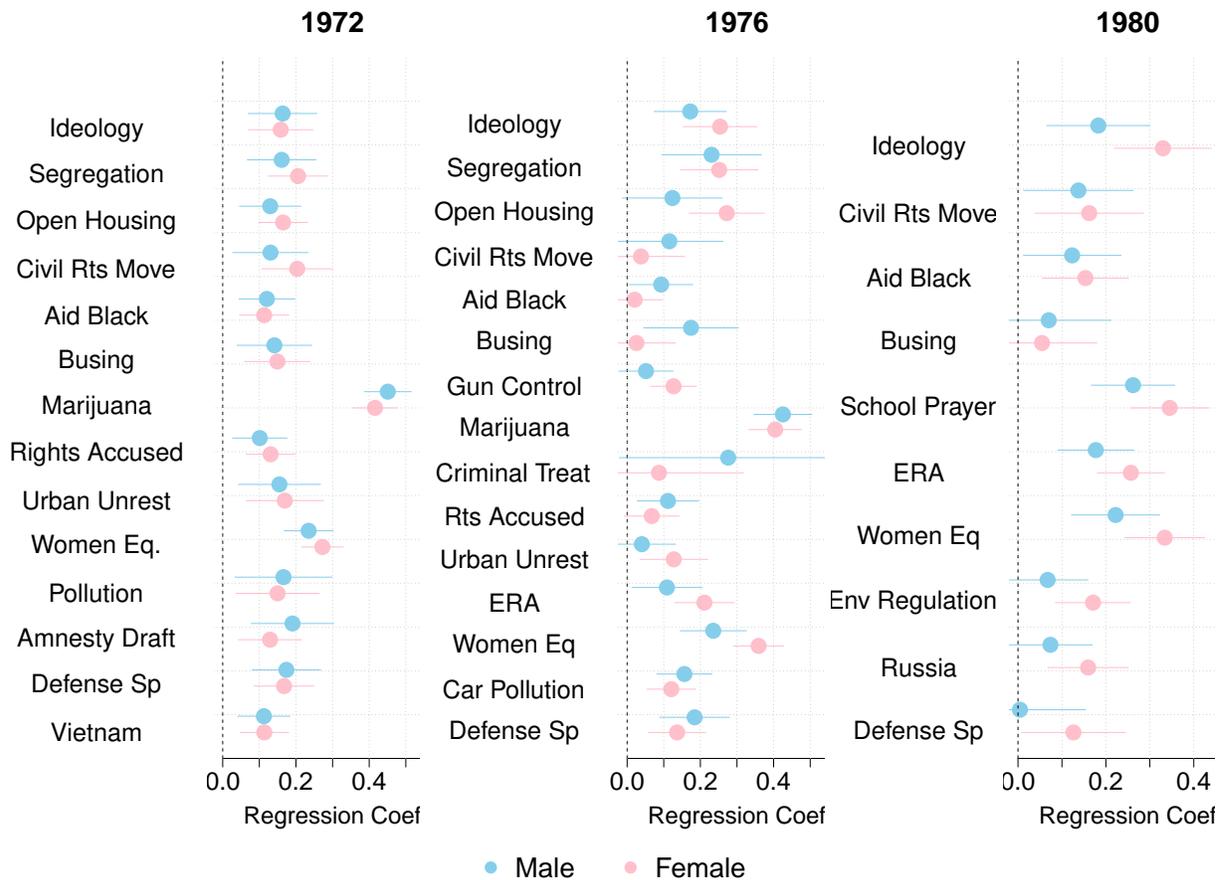
The figures below break down average abortion positions between those respondents the know and do not know the parties' position on both abortion and each secondary policy. The left panel includes liberals, only (as defined by those who take a left of center position down each policy) and the right panel includes conservatives, only. It appears that liberals who learn the parties' positions tend to shift their attitudes much more than conservatives.

**Knowers by Party**



● Know Party Differences ○ DK Party Differences

## 8 Results by Gender



## 9 Question Wording

Question wording for each question asked in the manuscript is listed below. More details can be found on the ANES website.

1. Abortion: "There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page (1972: card) best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose. [OPTIONS: 1-4].
2. Ideology: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is (1972,1974: I'm going to show you) a 7-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? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
3. Segregation: Are you in favor of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between? [OPTIONS: 1-3]
4. Open Housing: Some people say that Negroes should be allowed to live in any part of town they want to. How do you feel? Should Negroes be allowed to live in any part of town they want to, or not? [OPTIONS: 1-2]

5. Aid Black: Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every possible effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks (1970: Negroes) and other minority groups (1980: even if it means giving them preferential treatment). Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves (1970: but they should be expected to help themselves). Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. ALL YEARS: Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about it? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
6. Busing: There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Others think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
7. Some people think that the use of marijuana should be made legal. Others think that the penalties for using marijuana should be set higher than they are now. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? [OPTIONS: 1-7].
8. Rights Accused: Some people are primarily concerned with doing everything possible to protect the legal rights of those accused of committing crimes. Others feel that it is more important to stop criminal activity even at the risk of reducing the rights of the accused. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? [OPTIONS: 1-7].
9. Urban Unrest: There is much discussion about the best way to deal with the problem of urban unrest and rioting. Some say it is more important to use all available force to maintain law and order – no matter what results. Others say it is more important to correct the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to the disturbances. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
10. Women Equal: Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry and government. Others feel that a women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this? Where would you place yourself on this scale? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
11. Pollution: There are many sources of air and water pollution; one of them is private industry. Some say the government should force private industry to stop its polluting. Others believe industries should be left alone to handle these matters in their own way. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
12. Amnesty Draft: Some people feel that after the Vietnam war is over, the government should declare an amnesty – that is, men who left the country to avoid the draft should be allowed to return without severe punishment. How do you feel—do you think the government should declare an amnesty after the war? [OPTIONS:1-2]
13. Defense Spending (1972 and 1976): Some people believe that our armed forces are already powerful enough and that we should spend less money for defense. Others feel that military spending should at least continue at the present level. How do you feel – should military spending be cut, or should it continue at least at the present level? [OPTIONS: 1-2].
14. Defense Spending (1980): Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this? [OPTIONS: 1-7].

15. Vietnam: (1972: With regard to Vietnam,) Some people think we should do everything necessary to win a complete military victory, no matter what results. Some people think we should withdraw completely from Vietnam right now, no matter what results. And, of course, other people have opinions somewhere between these two extreme positions. Suppose the people who support an immediate withdrawal are at one end of this scale (show card to R) at point number 1. And suppose the people who support a complete military victory are at the other end of the scale at point number 7. At what point on the scale would you place yourself on this scale (1972 only: or haven't you thought much about this)? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
16. Gun Control: Some people favor stricter hand gun control while others feel that each person should be able to own a gun free from government control. How about you, do you favor or oppose stricter hand gun control? [OPTIONS: 1-7]
17. Criminal Treat: In general, do you feel that the courts treat criminals too harshly, to easily, or just about right? [OPTIONS: 1-3]
18. ERA: An effort is being made to pass an amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would guarantee equal rights for all citizens regardless of sex. Do you approve or disapprove of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution? [OPTIONS: 1-2].
19. Car Pollution: Require pollution equipment on new cars even if it increases the price you will have to pay. Does R think the government should have this power? [OPTIONS: 1-2].
20. School Prayer: Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken care of by the family and the church. Have you been interested enough in this to favor one side over the other? (IF YES) Which do you think—schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer or religion does not belong in the schools? [OPTIONS: 1-2]
21. Russia: Some people feel it is important for us to try very hard to get along with Russia. Others feel it is a big mistake to try too hard to get along with Russia. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about this?
22. Environmental Regulations: Present government regulations with regard to pollution and other environmental problems limit full use of some energy sources. Do you think the government should relax environmental protection regulations to increase the use of these energy sources, or should the government keep environmental protection regulations unchanged even though this may delay the production of more energy. [OPTIONS: 1-3]

## 10 Figure 4 Coding

Data for historical surveys are from *Gallup* and *Harris* polling companies. I list the surveys below, and provide a hyperlink to those data.

In years where the survey asks more than one relevant question, answers are standardized to have a mean 0 and standard deviation of 1, averaged together, and then re-standardized.

1. <https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.29/H-2050>. For this survey, I weight by population proportion so that men and women are 50% of dataset.
2. <https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.29/H-1933>

3. <https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.29/H-1431>
4. <https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.29/H-2025>
5. <https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=hdl:1902.29/H-2047>
6. <https://www.ropercenter.cornell.edu/CFIDE/cf/action/ipoll/abstract.cfm?keyword=abortion%&keywordoptions=1&exclude=&excludeOptions=1&topic=Any&organization=Any&label=&fromdate=01/01/1935&toDate=&&archno=USAIPO1969-0788&start=summary>
7. <https://www.ropercenter.cornell.edu/CFIDE/cf/action/ipoll/abstract.cfm?keyword=abortion%&keywordoptions=1&exclude=&excludeOptions=1&topic=Any&organization=Any&label=&fromdate=01/01/1935&toDate=&&archno=USAIPO1965-0721&start=summary>
8. <https://www.ropercenter.cornell.edu/CFIDE/cf/action/ipoll/abstract.cfm?keyword=pregnancy&keywordoptions=1&exclude=&excludeOptions=1&topic=Any&organization=Any&label=&fromdate=01/01/1935&toDate=&&archno=USAIPO1969-0793&start=summary>