Supplementary Material for

Abortion Attitudes and Polarization in the American Electorate

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Online Appendices

Appendix A - Coding Methodology and Supplemental Analysis

Table A1. Dictionary Terms for Text Analysis of the Open-Ended Party Likes and Dislikes Questions

ABORT*	CHOOSES	INVITRO	OVARIES	REPRODUCTION
ADOPT*	CHOOSING	IVF	PARENT	REPRODUCTIVE
ANTI_CHOICE	CHOSE	KILL	PARENTHOOD	ROE
ANTICHOICE	CHOSES	KILLED	PARENTING	SEX
ANTI-CHOICE	CONTRACEPTION	KILLER*	PARENTS	SEXUALLY
BABIES	CONTRACEPTIVE*	KILLING	PILL	STD*
BABY	DOE	KILLS	PLAN_B	STI
BIRTH	EMBRYO*	LIFE	PLANNED	STIS
BODIES	EUGEN*	MATERNAL*	PLANNING	UNBORN
BODY	FAMILY	MATERNITY	PREGNANCIES	UTERUS*
BOLTON	FETAL	MIDWIFE*	PREGNANCY	WADE
CASEY	FETUS*	MIDWIVES	PRENATAL	WOMAN*
CHILD	GAG	MISOG*	PRO_CHOICE	WOMANS
CHILDBEAR*	GENDER*	MOM	PRO_LIFE	WOMAN'S
CHILDBIRTH*	GRISWOLD	MOTHER	PROCHOICE	WOMEN*
CHOICE	HATCH	MOTHERHOOD*	PRO-CHOICE	WOMENS
CHOICES	HEARTBEAT*	MOTHERS	PROLIFE	WOMEN'S
CHOOSE	IN_VITRO	NARAL	PRO-LIFE	

Note: Asterisks indicate lemmatization of word stems to incorporate variants with common stems. As a quality check on this approach, we assessed coverage of the survey responses selected using our abortion dictionary with human coders. We asked two research assistants to review a random sample of responses to the party and candidate likes and dislikes questions to determine if individual answers were relevant to the topic of abortion and reproductive rights. We then compared the answers considered relevant based on our dictionary to those selected by our coders. Our dictionary identified 100 percent of the answers the human coders identified as relevant. The dictionary-based approach also identified several answers as relevant that were not deemed relevant by the human coders. However, since the dictionary is used to make a first pass through the data, and human coders were then able to reject responses that were not relevant when coding the full dataset, we are confident that our procedures accurately identified the overwhelming majority of survey responses that include a reference to abortion or reproductive rights. All data were double-coded and any disagreements between coders were resolved by the authors, who discussed each conflict and reached an agreement about how to best code it.

Table A2. Instructions Used by Human Coders to Evaluate Open-Ended Party Likes and Dislikes Questions

Q1. Does the snippet mention anything related to abortion, reproductive rights, reproduction, pregnancy, women's issues, or women's rights?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q2. Does the snippet make a specific mention of abortion or reproductive issues?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q3. Does the snippet mention women's rights or women's issues?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q4. Does the snippet mention family values, protecting the family, or pro-family?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q5. Does the snippet mention their support for abortion rights or restrictions are qualified?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q6. Can you determine if the respondent attributes a pro-life position to the candidate or party being evaluated?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q7. Can you determine if the respondent attributes a pro-choice position to the candidate or party being evaluated?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q8. Can you determine if the respondent is pro-life?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q9. Can you determine if the respondent is pro-choice?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q10. Does the snippet mention a political ideology?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q11. Does the snippet mention religion?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q12. Does the snippet mention social or political issues other than abortion, reproductive rights, women's rights, and family values?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q13. Does the snippet mention law, the judicial branch, or court cases?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q14. Does the snippet use extreme language such as killing or murder?
1. Yes
2. No
3. Unsure

Q15. Is there anything interesting about this snippet that deserves a second look by the research team

Table A3. Factors Associated with Answering the Open-Ended Party Evaluations, 2008 – 2020 Pooled

	Answered at Least One Party Evaluation Question
Independent	-1.16***
	(0.09)
Republican	-0.33***
	(0.07)
Political Knowledge	0.35***
	(0.04)
Political Interest	0.84***
	(0.04)
Female	-0.25***
	(0.06)
Black	-0.23*
	(0.11)
Latinx	-0.18
	(0.10)
Other Race	-0.26**
	(0.10)
Married	0.09
	(0.07)
College	0.74***
	(0.07)
Income	0.97***
	(0.11)
Resides in the South	-0.03
	(0.06)
Kids < 18	-0.27***
	(0.07)
Employed	-0.24***
	(0.07)
Biblical Literalism	-0.20**
	(0.08)
Church Attendance	0.40***
	(0.11)
Evangelical	0.21*
	(0.09)
Catholic	-0.13
	(0.09)
Jewish	-0.28
	(0.24)
Other Religion	0.06
	(0.20)
No Religion	-0.14
	(0.09)

Generation Z	0.00
	(0.16)
Millennial	-0.28***
	(0.08)
Generation X	-0.15
	(0.08)
Silent Generation	0.29*
	(0.12)
y2012	-0.28**
	(0.10)
y2016	-0.34**
	(0.11)
y2020	-0.15
	(0.10)
Constant	-0.53**
	(0.17)
N	17648

Note: Entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.
Survey weights are applied. *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table A4. Predictors of Abortion Focus, Pooled 2008-2020

	Full Sample	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Independent	-0.01			
	(0.13)			
Republican	0.49***			
	(0.07)			
Political Know.	0.46***	0.16	1.05**	0.46***
	(0.09)	(0.16)	(0.40)	(0.12)
Political Interest	0.58***	0.55**	0.72	0.49***
	(0.10)	(0.18)	(0.38)	(0.13)
Female	0.35***	0.56***	0.36	0.19*
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.24)	(0.09)
Black	-1.34***	-1.01***	-0.62	-1.10**
	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.47)	(0.37)
Latinx	-0.51***	-0.41	-1.47**	-0.39*
	(0.13)	(0.21)	(0.50)	(0.18)
Other Race	-0.08	-0.26	-0.07	0.09
	(0.12)	(0.19)	(0.39)	(0.17)
Married	0.07	0.12	-0.30	0.11
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.29)	(0.10)
College	0.36***	0.38**	0.58*	0.29**
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.27)	(0.09)
Income	0.58***	0.57**	0.94*	0.47**
	(0.13)	(0.21)	(0.46)	(0.17)
Resides South	0.09	-0.26*	0.07	0.27**
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.26)	(0.09)
Kids < 18	-0.06	0.02	0.03	-0.12
	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.29)	(0.11)
Employed	-0.05	0.02	0.14	-0.11
	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.28)	(0.10)
Literalism	0.06	-0.56**	-0.01	0.16
	(0.08)	(0.21)	(0.40)	(0.10)
Church Attend.	0.80***	0.14	0.62	1.08***
	(0.11)	(0.22)	(0.46)	(0.14)
Evangelical	0.44***	-0.00	0.14	0.55***
	(0.09)	(0.18)	(0.37)	(0.11)
Catholic	0.18	0.09	0.51	0.19
	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.40)	(0.13)
Jewish	0.19	0.00	-0.33	0.05
	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.94)	(0.38)
Other Religion	-0.09	-0.75	-0.06	0.14
	(0.22)	(0.43)	(0.77)	(0.29)
No Religion	0.30**	0.09	0.17	0.32*
	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.34)	(0.16)
Generation Z	0.71***	0.91***	0.48	0.64*
	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.66)	(0.26)

Millennial	0.78***	0.76***	0.94**	0.80***
	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.35)	(0.13)
Generation X	0.40***	0.48**	0.78*	0.30*
	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.36)	(0.12)
Silent Gen.	-0.42***	-0.46*	-0.05	-0.44**
	(0.12)	(0.23)	(0.41)	(0.15)
y2012	0.01	0.16	1.01*	-0.20
	(0.12)	(0.22)	(0.45)	(0.17)
y2016	-0.59***	-0.27	-1.14*	-0.75***
	(0.13)	(0.23)	(0.56)	(0.18)
y2020	0.02	-0.03	0.22	0.03
	(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.46)	(0.16)
Constant	-4.24***	-3.83***	-5.52***	-3.67***
	(0.19)	(0.31)	(0.62)	(0.25)
N	17670	8165	2074	7426

Note: Entries are logit coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Survey weights are applied.
*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table A5. Variable Construction Information for Figure 5.3

Variable Name	Measurement
Political Knowledge	Correctly identifies party control of the U.S. House and/or U.S. Senate, rescaled to range from 0 to 1.
Political Interest	Answer to the question "Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you have been: (1) very much interested, (2) somewhat interested or (3) not much interested in the political campaigns so far this year? Reverse coded and rescaled to range from 0 to 1.
Independent	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent identified as independent and not leaning toward one of the major parties and 0 otherwise.
Republican	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent identified as Republican or leaning Republican and 0 otherwise.
Income	Household income consists of 22 categories ranging from: (1) under $9,999 to (22) $250,000 or more. These categories are rescaled to range from 0 to 1.
College Degree	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent earned a 4-year college degree or graduate degree, and 0 otherwise.
Employed	Dummy variable coded 1 is the survey respondent indicated they were employed full time and 0 otherwise.
Age	Age in years, rescaled to range from 0 to 1.
Female	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent identified as female and 0 otherwise.
South	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent lives in the South and 0 otherwise.
Kids <18	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent has children under the age of 18 living in their home and 0 otherwise.
Married	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent is married and 0 otherwise.
Black	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent identifies an Black and 0 otherwise. White is the racial baseline category.
Latinx	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent identifies an Latinx and 0 otherwise.
Other Race	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent identifies as a racial group other than Black, Latinx, or White and 0 otherwise.
Church Attendance	Six-category variable indicating frequency of church attendance, ranging from "never" to "more than once a week." Rescaled to range from 0 to 1.
Biblical Literalism	Dummy variable coded 1 if the survey respondent has a literal interpretation of the Bible and 0 if they do not.

Evangelical	Dummy variable for self-identified religious tradition, coded 1 for Evangelical Protestant and 0 otherwise. Mainline Protestant is the baseline category.
Catholic	Dummy variable for self-identified religious tradition, coded 1 for Catholic and 0 otherwise.
Jewish	Dummy variable for self-identified religious tradition, coded 1 for Jewish and 0 otherwise.
Other Religion	Dummy variable for self-identified religious tradition, coded 1 for some other religion captured in the religious tradition series and 0 otherwise.
No Religion	Dummy variable for self-identified religious tradition, coded 1 for no religious identification and 0 otherwise.
Generation Z	Dummy variable indicating age cohort, coded 1 for Generation Z and 0 otherwise. Baby Boomers are the omitted category.
Millennial	Dummy variable indicating age cohort, coded 1 for Millennial and 0 otherwise.
Generation X	Dummy variable indicating age cohort, coded 1 for Generation X and 0 otherwise.
Silent Generation	Dummy variable indicating age cohort, coded 1 for Silent Generation and 0 otherwise.

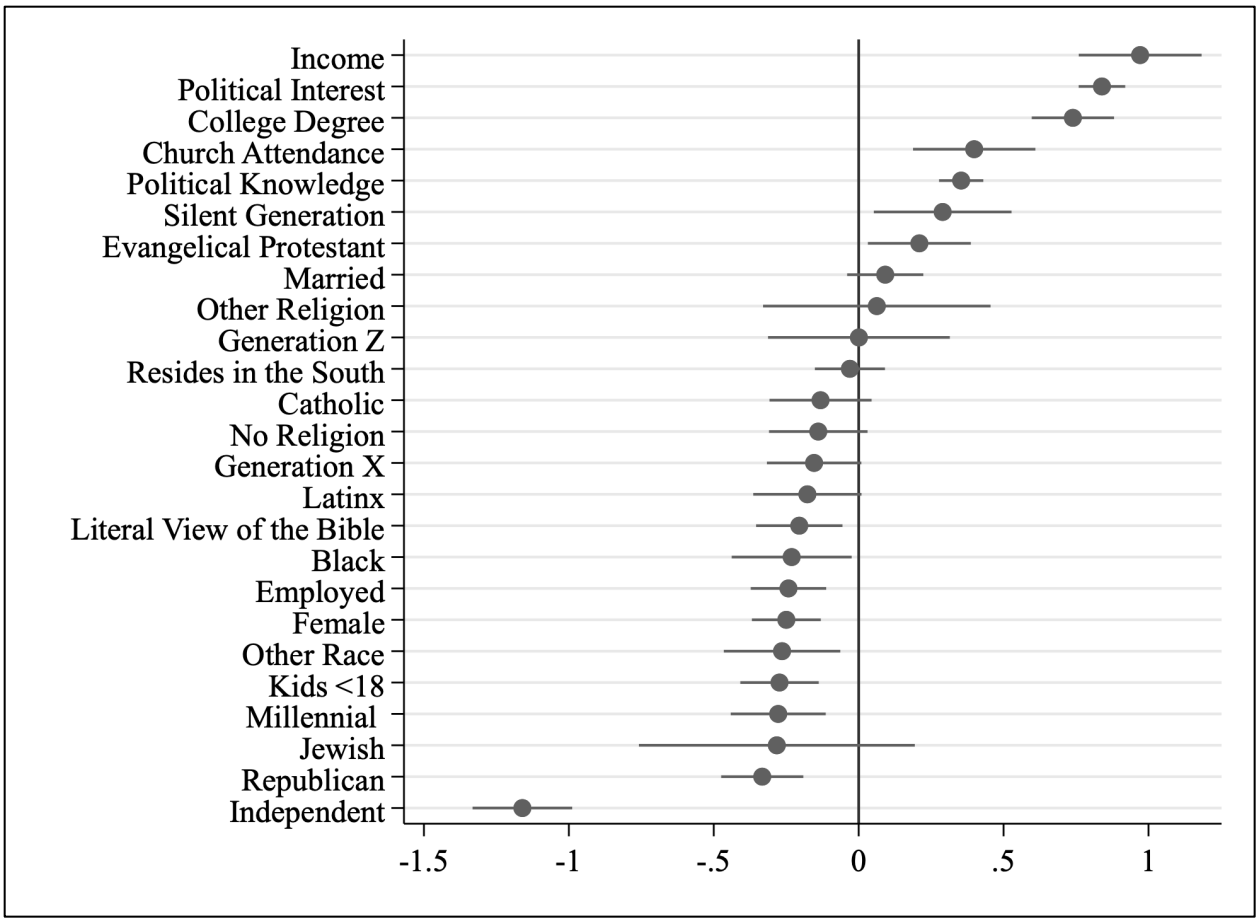

Figure A1. Factors Associated with Answering the Open-Ended Party Evaluations, 2008 – 2020 Pooled

Note: This figure presents logit coefficients for a model predicting whether a person answered at least one of the open-ended party evaluation questions. Survey respondents who provided at least one answer were assigned a value of one, and those who did not provide any answers were assigned a value of zero. Each independent variable is coded so that the minimum value is zero and the maximum value is one, and the plot includes the estimated coefficient along with a 95 percent confidence interval. Coefficients with confidence intervals that do not overlap the vertical line at zero are significantly related to abortion focus. Survey weights are applied.

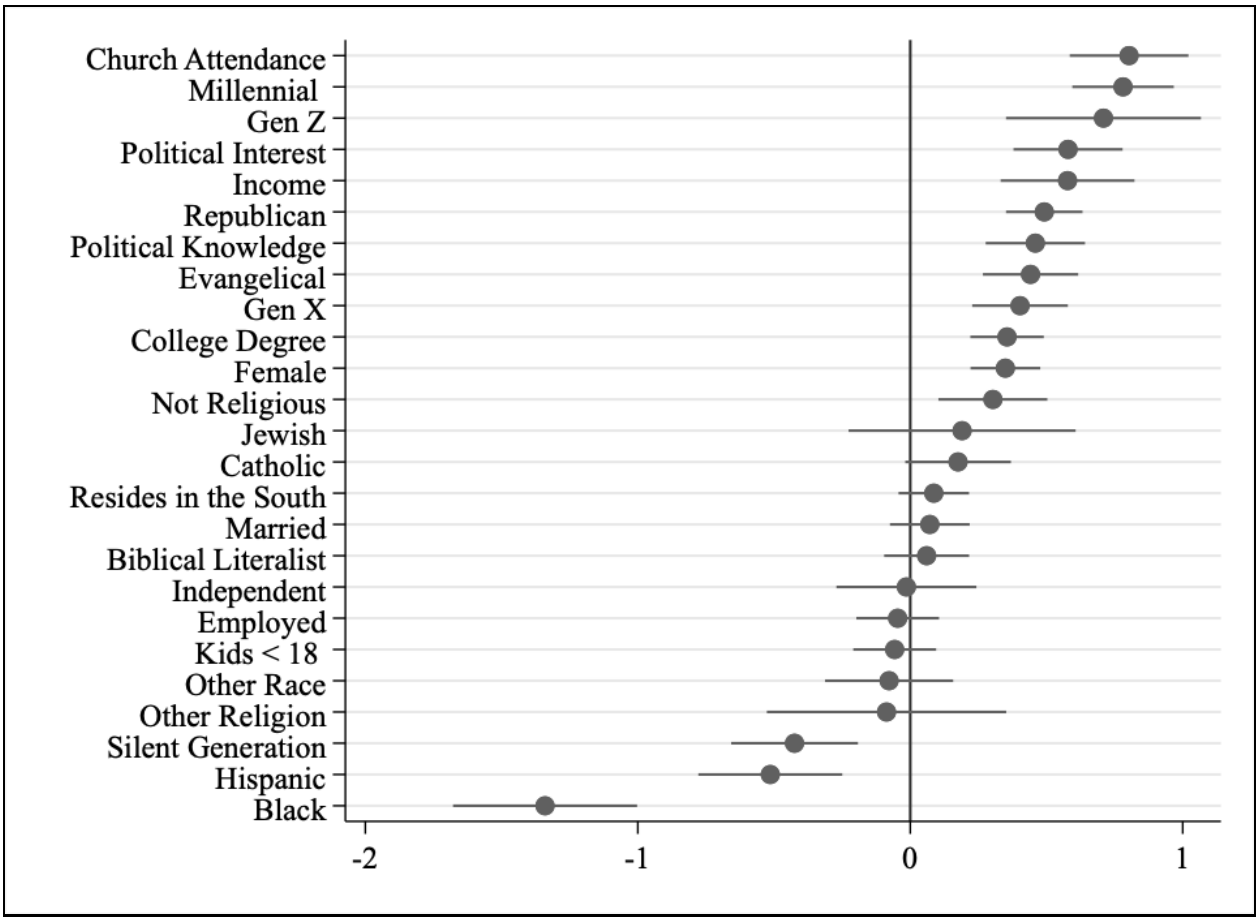

Figure A2. Characteristics of Abortion Mentioners among Full Sample, 2008 – 2020 Pooled

Note: This figure presents logit coefficients for a model predicting whether a person mentioned abortion in their party evaluations. Survey respondents who mentioned abortion at least once are assigned a value of one, and those who mentioned any other issue or nothing at all in their party evaluations are assigned a value of zero. One advantage of this approach is that it estimates the effect of each variable on the probability of mentioning abortion while holding all other variables constant. This shows us the effect of each factor with statistical controls applied. Each variable is coded so that the minimum value is zero and the maximum value is one, and the plot includes the estimated coefficient along with a 95 percent confidence interval. Coefficients with confidence intervals that do not overlap the vertical line at zero are significantly related to abortion focus. Survey weights are applied. This same approach was used in Figure 5.3, with the sample partitioned by partisanship (see also Table A4 in this Appendix).

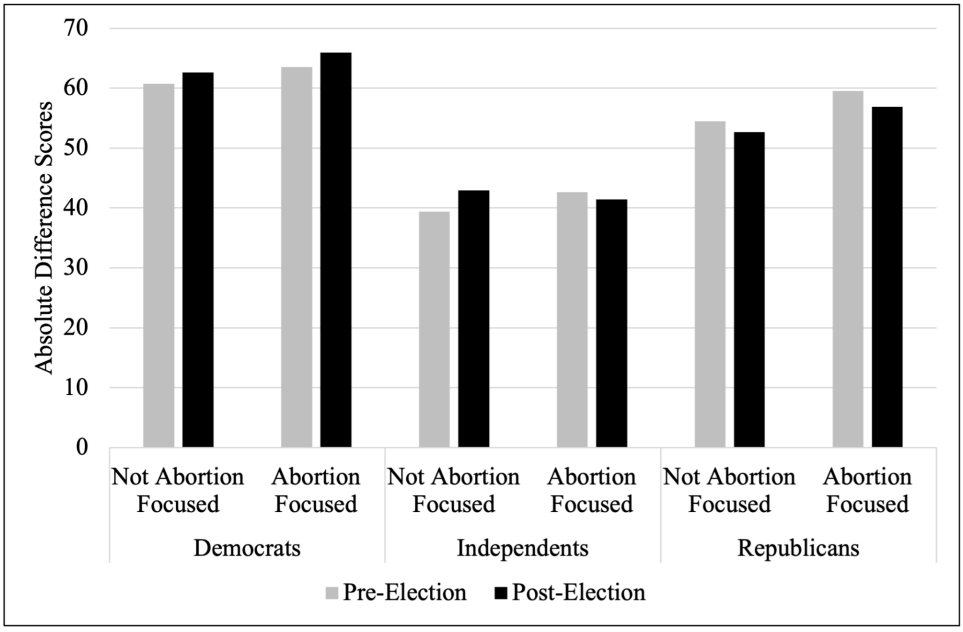

Figure A3. Candidate Thermometer Ratings, 2008-2020 Pooled

Note: Entries are average absolute differences in thermometer ratings. Survey weights are applied.

Appendix B - Supplemental Analysis of 2022 ANES

Table B1. Response Distributions for Importance Measures, 2022

	Personal Importance	National Importance
Not at all Important	11.35	12.18
Slightly Important	11.76	12.09
Moderately Important	22.37	18.10
Very Important	21.99	20.89
Extremely Important	31.52	36.74

Note: Entries are percentages. Survey weights are applied.

Table B2. Gender and Abortion Attitudes, 2022

	Democrats		Independents		Republicans	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Never Permitted	6.04	5.41	8.8	15.26	21.7	17.3
Narrow Set of Cases	16.01	14.54	25.18	15.87	46.95	46.34
Broader Set of Cases	17.45	7.71	27.44	19.46	18.43	15.67
Always Permitted	60.5	72.34	38.59	49.42	12.92	20.68
	$\chi^2(3)=15.68$, $p<.01$		$\chi^2(3)=8.27$, $p=.09$		$\chi^2(3)=6.88$, $p=.12$	

Note: Entries are percentages. Survey weights are applied.

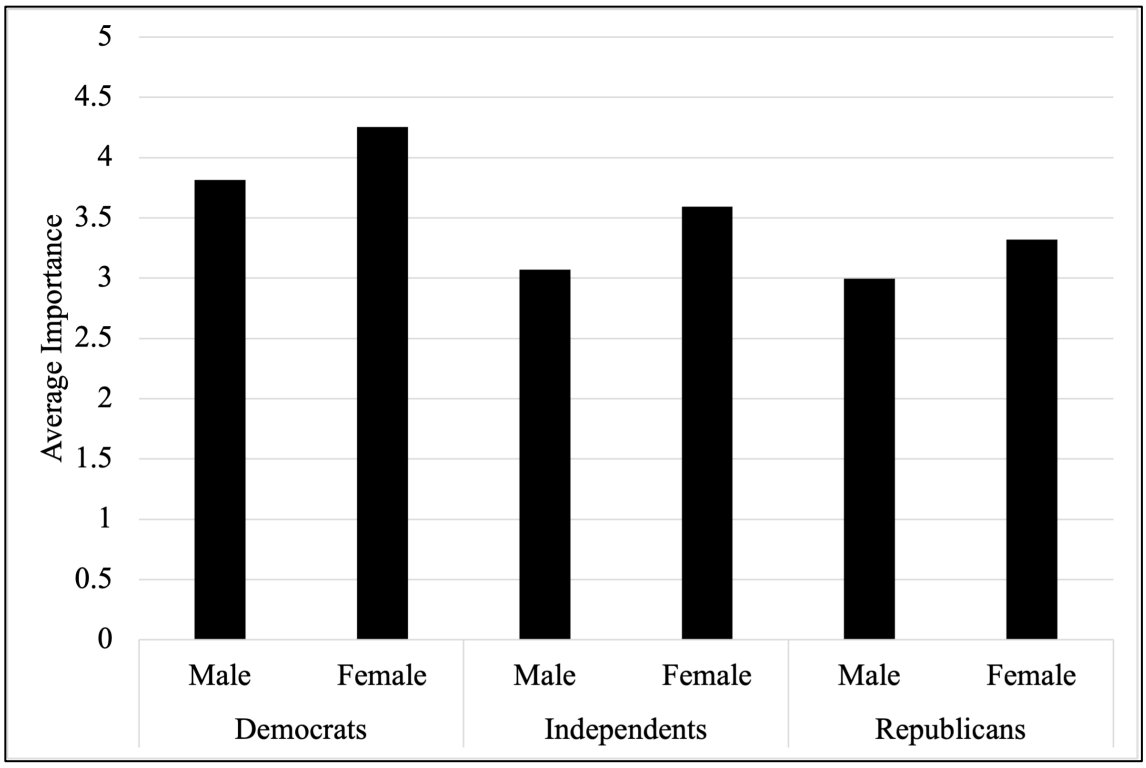

Figure B1. Gender Differences in National Importance Ratings by Party, 2022

Note: Survey weights are applied.