

Supplementary Materials for **Divided by Income? Policy Preferences of the Rich and Poor within the Democratic and Republican Parties**

Appendix A All Issues by Policy Domain and Ideology

Our primary dataset includes 144 specific policy questions, drawn from the 2010–2020 Cooperative Election Studies (CES). To produce this sample of questions, we first identified all policy-specific questions in the CES over these years and then categorized them into one of six policy domains: Cultural, Economic, Foreign Policy, Immigration, Law Enforcement, and Social Welfare. For questions asked in multiple surveys, we kept the most recent year in which the question was asked.

The table below lists the questions we used, by policy domain, and includes the full text of the question in the survey.

Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
Cultural Issues			
abortion: 20thweek	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Prohibit all abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy.	Conservative
abortion: choice	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Always allow a woman to obtain an abortion as a matter of choice.	Liberal
abortion: federalfunding	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Prohibit the expenditure of funds authorized or appropriated by federal law for any abortion.	Conservative
abortion: hospitals	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Prohibit states from requiring that abortions be performed only at hospitals (not clinics).	Liberal
abortion: illegal	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Make abortions illegal in all circumstances.	Conservative
abortion: insurance	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Allow employers to decline coverage of abortions in insurance plans.	Conservative
abortion: nopublicfunds	2018	If your state put the following questions for a vote on the ballot, would you vote FOR or AGAINST? Prohibit public funds from being spent on abortions, except when the health of the mother is in danger or in cases of rape or incest.	Conservative
abortion: onlyifneeded	2012	Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view on abortion? The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the womans life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.	Conservative
abortion: rapeincestorlife	2020	On the topic of abortion, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Permit abortion only in the case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.	Conservative
economy: equalpay	2020	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. Do you support each of the following proposals? Require equal pay for women and men who are doing similar jobs and have similar qualifications.	Liberal
lgbt: bandiscrimination	2020	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. Do you support each of the following proposals? Amend federal laws to prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender identity and sexual orientation.	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
lgbt: bantransmilitary	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Ban transgender people in the military.	Conservative
lgbt: dontaskdonttell	2012	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: End Dont Ask, Dont Tell. Would allow gays to serve openly in the armed services.	Liberal
lgbt: gaymarriage	2016	Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?	Liberal
supremecourt: barrett	2020	Do you support or oppose confirming Amy Coney Barrett to become a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States?	Conservative
supremecourt: gorsuch	2018	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Appoint Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court of the United States.	Conservative
supremecourt: kavanaugh	2020	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Confirm Brett Kavanaugh to become a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.	Conservative
supremecourt: merrickgarland	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Approve the nomination of Merrick Garland to the Supreme Court of the United States.	Liberal
Economic Issues			
agriculture: farmbill	2014	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: Agriculture Bill - Ends price supports for corn, wheat, sugar and other agricultural products. Creates a federally subsidized crop insurance program. Reauthorizes the food stamp program, but cuts 10% of the program's funding.	Conservative
budget: firstcutdefense	2016	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. Please rank the options below from what would you most prefer that Congress do to what you would least prefer they do: Cut Defense Spending first.	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
budget: firstcutdomestic	2016	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. Please rank the options below from what would you most prefer that Congress do to what you would least prefer they do: Cut Domestic Spending first.	Conservative
budget: firstraisetaxes	2016	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. Please rank the options below from what would you most prefer that Congress do to what you would least prefer they do: Raise Taxes first.	Liberal
budget: highwayfundingact	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Highway and Transportation Funding Act - Authorizes \$305 Billion to repair and expand highways, bridges, and transit over the next 5 years.	Liberal
budget: ryanplan	2014	For each proposal indicate whether you support or oppose it: Ryan Budget - Budget plan would cut Medicare and Medicaid by 42%. Would reduce debt by 16% by 2020.	Conservative
budget: simpsonbowlesplan	2014	For each proposal indicate whether you support or oppose it: Simpson-Bowles Budget Plan - Plan would make 15% cuts across the board in Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Defense, as well as other programs. Eliminate many tax breaks for individuals and corporations. Would reduce debt by 21% by 2020.	Conservative
covid: caresact	2020	During the past year, Congress considered two pieces of legislation to address the economic crisis. Do you support or oppose each of these proposals? In March, the CARES Act proposed to spend \$2 trillion in emergency and health care assistance for individuals, families, and businesses, including up to \$1,200 per individual and \$500 per child.	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
covid: heroesact	2020	During the past year, Congress considered two pieces of legislation to address the economic crisis. Do you support or oppose each of these proposals? In May, the HEROES ACT proposed to spend an additional \$3 trillion, including \$1 trillion for state and local governments and hospitals, spend \$200 billion in hazard pay for essential workers, and give households an additional \$1,200 to \$6,000.	Liberal
economicpolicy: cutregulation	2018	President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle: Requires that with each new regulation enacted, two must be cut. Any new costs created by new regulations must be matched with eliminations.	Conservative
economicpolicy: debtceiling	2014	For each proposal indicate whether you support or oppose it: Debt Ceiling - Allow the U.S. government to borrow funds as needed to meet spending obligations and avoid default on U.S. government bonds.	Liberal
economicpolicy: repealdoddfrank	2018	The Financial CHOICE Act repeals government authority under the Dodd-Frank Act to step in if a bank is near collapse. Gives the President the power to fire the directors of the Federal Housing Finance Agency and the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau. Reduces restrictions on the amount of risk that smaller banks can take in lending. Do you support or oppose the Financial CHOICE Act?	Conservative
economy: raiseminimumwage	2018	If your state put the following questions for a vote on the ballot, would you vote FOR or AGAINST? Raise the state minimum wage to \$12 an hour.	Liberal
economy: raiseminimumwage_15	2020	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. Do you support each of the following proposals? Raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour.	Liberal
environment: keystonepipeline	2018	President Trump has issued many orders over the first year of his presidency. Do you support or oppose each of the following decisions? Allow the construction of the Keystone XL pipeline.	Conservative
environment: lowerfuelefficiency	2018	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Lower the required fuel efficiency for the average automobile from 35 mpg to 25 mpg.	Conservative
environment: moreenforcement	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Strengthen the Environmental Protection Agency enforcement of the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act even if it costs U.S. jobs.	Liberal
environment: parisagreement	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Withdraw the United States from the Paris Climate Agreement.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
environment: protectoverjobs	2012	Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?	Liberal
environment: raisefuelefficiency	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Raise the average fuel efficiency for all cars and trucks in the US from 40 miles per gallon to 54.5 miles per gallon by 2025.	Liberal
environment: regulateco2	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Give the Environmental Protection Agency power to regulate Carbon Dioxide emissions.	Liberal
environment: repealcleanpowerplant	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Repeal the Clean Power Plant Rules (the Clean Power Plant rules would require power plants to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 32 percent by 2030).	Conservative
environment: requirerenewables	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Require that each state use a minimum amount of renewable fuels (wind, solar, and hydroelectric) in the generation of electricity even if electricity prices increase a little.	Liberal
environment: strengthencleanairact	2014	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Environmental Protection Agency strengthening enforcement of the Clean Air Act even if it costs U.S. jobs.	Liberal
spending: increasestatetransportation	2020	State legislatures must make choices when making spending decisions on important state programs. How would you like your legislature to spend money on each of the five areas below? Transportation/Infrastructure.	Liberal
taxes: cutcorporate	2018	Congress considered many changes in tax law over the past two years. Do you support or oppose each of the following? Cut the Corporate Income Tax rate from 39 percent to 21 percent.	Conservative
taxes: cutincometax_over500000	2018	Congress considered many changes in tax law over the past two years. Do you support or oppose each of the following? Reduce the income tax rate for households earning more than \$500,000 by 3 percent (from 40% to 37%).	Conservative
taxes: cutincometax_under500000	2018	Congress considered many changes in tax law over the past two years. Do you support or oppose each of the following? Reduce the income tax rate for households earning less than \$500,000 by 3%.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
taxes: extendbushtaxcutbelow200000	2014	For each proposal indicate whether you support or oppose it: The Middle Class Tax Cut Act - Would extend Bush era tax cuts for incomes below \$200,000. Would increase the budget deficit by an estimated \$250 billion.	Conservative
taxes: extendbushtaxcutforall	2014	For each proposal indicate whether you support or oppose it: The Tax Hike Prevention Act- Would extend Bush era tax cuts for all individuals, regardless of income. Would increase the budget deficit by an estimated \$405 billion.	Conservative
taxes: incometax_wealthy	2018	If your state put the following questions for a vote on the ballot, would you vote FOR or AGAINST? Increase taxes on incomes that exceed \$1 million by 4 percent to pay for schools and roads.	Liberal
taxes: limitsalt	2018	Congress considered many changes in tax law over the past two years. Do you support or oppose each of the following? Limit the amount of state and local taxes that can be deducted to \$10,000 (previously there was no limit).	Conservative
taxes: prohibitincometax	2018	If your state put the following questions for a vote on the ballot, would you vote FOR or AGAINST? Eliminate and prohibit all income taxes in your state.	Conservative
taxes: raisestandarddeduction	2018	Congress considered many changes in tax law over the past two years. Do you support or oppose each of the following? Increase the standard deduction on federal income taxes from \$12,000 to to \$25,000.	Conservative
taxes: reducemortgagededuction	2018	Congress considered many changes in tax law over the past two years. Do you support or oppose each of the following? Reduce the mortgage interest deduction. Allow people to deduct the interest on no more than \$500,000 of mortgage debt. The previous limit was \$1 million.	Conservative
taxes: salestax_schools	2018	If your state put the following questions for a vote on the ballot, would you vote FOR or AGAINST? Increase the sales tax by one percent to pay for schools and roads.	Liberal
taxes: trumpcuts	2018	Would you support or oppose a tax bill that does all of the following? Cuts the Corporate Income Tax rate from 39 percent to 21 percent. Reduces the mortgage interest deduction from \$1 million to \$500,000.Caps the amount of state and local tax that can be deducted to \$10,000 (previously there was no limit).Increases the standard deduction from \$12,000 to \$25,000.Cuts income tax rates for all income groups by 3 percent.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
trade: chinatariffs	2018	On the issue of trade, do you support or oppose the following proposed tariffs? \$50 billion worth of tariffs on goods imported from China.	Conservative
trade: chinatariffs200b	2020	On the issue of trade, do you support or oppose the following proposed tariffs? Tariffs on \$200 billion worth of goods imported from China.	Conservative
trade: europetariffs	2020	On the issue of trade, do you support or oppose the following proposed tariffs? Increase tariffs on European aircraft and agricultural products.	Conservative
trade: steeltariffs_all	2020	On the issue of trade, do you support or oppose the following proposed tariffs? 25% tariffs on all imported steel and 10% on imported aluminum, INCLUDING from Canada and Mexico.	Conservative
trade: steeltariffs_limited	2020	On the issue of trade, do you support or oppose the following proposed tariffs? 25% tariffs on all imported steel and 10% on imported aluminum, EXCEPT from Canada and Mexico.	Conservative
trade: tpp	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Trans-Pacific Partnership Act - Free trade agreement among 12 Pacific nations (Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and the US).	Liberal
trade: uskoreafreetrade	2014	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: U.S. Korea Free Trade Agreement - Would remove tariffs on imports and exports between South Korea and the U.S.	Conservative
trade: withdrawtpp	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Withdraw the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement, a free trade agreement that included the U.S., Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Chile, and others.	Conservative
Foreign Policy Issues			
foreignpolicy: assassinatesoleimani	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Assassination of Iranian General Qasem Soleimani.	Conservative
foreignpolicy: endirannucleardeal	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Withdraw the United States from the Iran Nuclear Accord and reimpose sanctions on Iran.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
foreignpolicy: iransanctions	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Iran Sanctions Act - Imposes new sanctions on Iran, if Iran does not agree to reduce its nuclear program by June 30.	Conservative
foreignpolicy: isisnoflyzone	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Enforce a no-fly zone.	Liberal
foreignpolicy: isisnoncombatstaff	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Send military support staff (non-combat).	Liberal
foreignpolicy: isisnotgetinvolved	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Do not get involved.	Conservative
foreignpolicy: isisprovidearms	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Provide arms to those opposing ISIS.	Liberal
foreignpolicy: isissendaid	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Send food, medicine and other aid to countries affected.	Liberal
foreignpolicy: isissendforce	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Send significant force to fight ISIS.	Conservative
foreignpolicy: isisusedrones	2016	As you may know, there are on-going conflicts in Syria and Iraq led by the organization Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or ISIS). What do you think the United States should do in response to ISIS? (Check all that apply): Use drones and aircraft to bomb ISIS troops.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
foreignpolicy: jerusalem	2018	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Impose sanctions on countries and firms doing business with North Korea. Increase President's authority to impose sanctions if North Korea violates U.N. Security Council resolutions regarding that country.	Conservative
foreignpolicy: northkoreasanctions	2018	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Impose sanctions on countries and firms doing business with North Korea. Increase President's authority to impose sanctions if North Korea violates U.N. Security Council resolutions regarding that country.	Conservative
foreignpolicy: russiasanctions	2018	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. If you were in Congress would you have voted FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Require that the President get approval from Congress to ease any existing sanctions on Russia.	Liberal
military: destroyterroristcamp	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): Destroy a terrorist camp.	Conservative
military: ensureoilsupply	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): Ensure the supply of oil.	Conservative
military: helpun	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): Help the United Nations uphold international law.	Liberal
military: intervenegenocidecivilwar	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): Intervene in a region where there is genocide or a civil war.	Liberal
military: noneofthese	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): None of the above.	Conservative
military: protectallies	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): Protect American allies under attack by foreign nations.	Liberal
military: spreaddemocracy	2020	Would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops in order to... ? (Please check all that apply): Assist the spread of democracy.	Conservative
military: withdrawnorthern Syria	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Withdraw troops from Kurdish-controlled region of northern Syria on the border with Turkey.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
nationalsecurity: usafreedomact	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? USA Freedom Act - Ends the US government's phone surveillance database program. Allows individual phone companies to keep such databases, and allows the government to access those records if there is reasonable suspicion an individual is connected to a terrorist organization.	Liberal
natsec: nsaphonesurveillance	2014	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: NSA Phone Surveillance - Would block funding of the National Security Agency's program that gathers details of every phone call made by or to a U.S. phone unless the records were part of a specific investigation.	Liberal
Immigration Issues			
immigration: borderpatrol	2020	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Increase the number of border patrols on the US-Mexican border.	Conservative
immigration: borderwall	2020	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Increase spending on border security by \$25 billion, including building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico.	Conservative
immigration: borderwallemergency	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Declare a national emergency to permit construction of border wall with Mexico.	Conservative
immigration: compromise	2018	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Grant legal status to DACA children, spend \$25 billion to build the border wall, and reduce legal immigration by eliminating the visa lottery and ending family-based migration.	Conservative
immigration: daca	2018	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Provide legal status to children of immigrants who are already in the United States and were brought to the United States by their parents. Provide these children the option of citizenship in 10 years if they meet citizenship requirements and commit no crimes (DACA).	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
immigration: defundsanctuarycities	2020	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Withhold federal funds from any local police department that does not report to the federal government anyone they identify as an illegal immigrant.	Conservative
immigration: denychildrencitizenship	2012	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Deny automatic citizenship to American-born children of illegal immigrants.	Conservative
immigration: deport	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Identify and deport illegal immigrants.	Conservative
immigration: dreamers	2020	Over the past two years, Congress voted on many issues. Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Provide permanent resident status to children of immigrants who were brought to the United States by their parents (also known as Dreamers). Provide these immigrants a pathway to citizenship if they meet the citizenship requirements and commit no crimes.	Liberal
immigration: endfamilybased	2020	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Reduce legal immigration by 50 percent over the next 10 years by eliminating the visa lottery and ending family-based migration.	Conservative
immigration: finebusinesses	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Fine U.S. businesses that hire illegal immigrants.	Conservative
immigration: grantstatusdiploma	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Grant legal status to people who were brought to the US illegally as children, but who have graduated from a U.S. high school.	Liberal
immigration: grantstatusworkers	2020	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least 3 years, and not been convicted of any felony crimes.	Liberal
immigration: hospitalsandschools	2012	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Prohibit illegal immigrants from using emergency hospital care and public schools.	Conservative

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
immigration: imprisonreentry	2018	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Do you support or oppose each of the following? Send to prison any person who has been deported from the United States and reenters the United States.	Conservative
immigration: increaseworkvisas	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Increase the number of visas for overseas workers to work in the U.S.	Liberal
immigration: muslimban	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Ban Muslims from immigrating to the U.S.	Conservative
immigration: noneofthese	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: None of these.	Liberal
immigration: nosyrianrefugees	2016	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Admit no refugees from Syria.	Conservative
immigration: policequestioning	2014	What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply: Allow police to question anyone they think may be in the country illegally.	Conservative
immigration: travelban	2018	President Trump has issued many orders over the first two years of his presidency. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the order in principle: Ban immigrants from Iran, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Syria and Libya from coming to the United States for 90 days. Permanently prohibits Syrian refugees from entering country.	Conservative
immigration: usbasedasylum	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the se decisions. Suspend a program that allows migrants to remain in the US while their asylum cases were being decided.	Conservative
Law Enforcement Issues			
criminaljustice: banchokeholds	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Ban the use of choke holds by police.	Liberal
criminaljustice: decreasepolice	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Decrease the number of police on the street by 10 percent, and increase funding for other public services.	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
criminaljustice: felonthreestrikes	2016	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Increase prison sentences for felons who have already committed two or more serious or violent crimes.	Conservative
criminaljustice: increasepolice	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Increase the number of police on the street by 10 percent, even if it means fewer funds for other public services.	Conservative
criminaljustice: mandatoryminimumsdrugs	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Eliminate mandatory minimum sentences for non-violent drug offenders.	Liberal
criminaljustice: policebodycameras	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Require police officers to wear body cameras that record all of their activities while on duty.	Liberal
criminaljustice: policemilitaryweapons	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? End the Department of Defense program that sends surplus military weapons and equipment to police departments.	Liberal
criminaljustice: policeregistry	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Create a national registry of police who have been investigated for or disciplined for misconduct.	Liberal
criminaljustice: suepolice	2020	Do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Allow individuals or their families to sue a police officer for damages if the officer is found to have "recklessly disregarded" the individual's rights.	Liberal
guncontrol: assaultban	2020	On the issue of gun regulation, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Ban assault rifles.	Liberal
guncontrol: backgroundchecks	2018	On the issue of gun regulation, are you for or against each of the following proposals? Background checks for all sales, including at gun shows and over the Internet.	Liberal
guncontrol: easierpermits	2020	On the issue of gun regulation, do you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Make it easier for people to obtain concealed-carry permit.	Conservative
guncontrol: magazineban	2014	On the issue of gun regulation, are you for or against each of the following proposals? Ban high-capacity magazines for guns (more than 20 bullets).	Liberal
guncontrol: morestrict	2012	In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of firearms should be... More Strict, Less Strict, Kept As They Are.	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
guncontrol: publishnames	2020	On the issue of gun regulation, are you for or against each of the following proposals? Prohibit state and local governments from publishing the names and addresses of all gun owners.	Conservative
spending: increasestatelawenforcement	2020	State legislatures must make choices when making spending decisions on important state programs. How would you like your legislature to spend money on each of the five areas below? Law Enforcement.	Conservative
Social Welfare Issues			
economy: foodstampjob	2020	For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose these decisions. Require able-bodied adults 18 to 49 years of age who do not have dependents to have a job in order to receive food stamps.	Conservative
economy: jobretraining	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Trade Adjustment Assistance Act - Provides education assistance and retraining to workers who have lost their jobs as a result of foreign trade.	Liberal
education: repealnclb	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Education Reform - Repeals the No Child Left Behind Act, which required testing of all students and penalized schools that fell below federal standards. Allows states to identify and improve poor performing schools.	Liberal
healthcare: acaindividualmandate	2020	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Restore the Affordable Care Act's mandate that all individuals be required to purchase health insurance.	Liberal
healthcare: birthcontrolinsurance	2012	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: Birth Control Exemption. A Bill to let employers and insurers refuse to cover birth control and other health services that violate their religious beliefs.	Conservative
healthcare: importprescriptiondrugs	2020	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Allow states to import prescription drugs from other countries.	Liberal

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Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
healthcare: insurancereligiosexemption	2014	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: Birth Control Exemption - A Bill to let employers and insurers refuse to cover birth control and other health services that violate their religious beliefs.	Conservative
healthcare: medicaidexpansion	2014	Should your state refuse to implement the expansion of health care for poor people, even if it costs the state federal Medicaid funds?	Conservative
healthcare: medicarecostreform	2016	Congress considers many issues. If you were in Congress would you vote FOR or AGAINST each of the following? Medicare Accountability and Cost Reform Act - Shifts Medicare from fee-for-service to pay-for-performance. Ties Medicare payments to doctors to quality of care measures. Requires higher premiums for seniors who make more than \$134,000. Renews the Children Health Insurance Program (CHIP).	Liberal
healthcare: medicareforall	2020	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Expand Medicare to a single comprehensive public health care coverage program that would cover all Americans.	Liberal
healthcare: medicarelowerage	2020	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Lower the eligibility age for Medicare from 65 to 50.	Liberal
healthcare: negotiatedrugprices	2020	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Allow the government to negotiate with drug companies to get a lower price on prescription drugs that would apply to both Medicare and private insurance. Maximum negotiated price could not exceed 120% of the average prices in 6 other countries.	Liberal
healthcare: repealaca	2020	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Repeal the entire Affordable Care Act.	Conservative
healthcare: repealaca_partial1	2018	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Repeal only the part of the Affordable Care Act that requires that most individuals have health insurance and that larger employers cover their employees.	Conservative

(continued)

Issue	CCES Year	Question Text	Ideology
healthcare: repealaca_partial2	2018	Thinking now about health care policy, would you support or oppose each of the following proposals? Partially repeal the Affordable Care Act. This would (1) repeal individual and employer mandates, (2) cut Medicaid payments by 25 percent, and (3) reduce taxes on expensive health plans, known as Cadillac health plans.	Conservative
healthcare: voteforaca	2014	Would you have voted for the Affordable Care Act if you were in Congress in 2010?	Liberal
race: affirmativeaction	2014	Affirmative action programs give preference to racial minorities in employment and college admissions in order to correct for past discrimination. Do you support or oppose affirmative action?	Liberal
spending: increasestateeducation	2020	State legislatures must make choices when making spending decisions on important state programs. How would you like your legislature to spend money on each of the five areas below? Education.	Liberal
spending: increasestatehealthcare	2020	State legislatures must make choices when making spending decisions on important state programs. How would you like your legislature to spend money on each of the five areas below? Health Care.	Liberal
spending: increasestatewelfare	2020	State legislatures must make choices when making spending decisions on important state programs. How would you like your legislature to spend money on each of the five areas below? Welfare.	Liberal

Appendix B Sensitivity to Measurement Decisions

In order to produce our main results, we made a series of decisions that may, in theory, affect our conclusions. In this appendix, we consider these decisions and show that our main results are robust to them. As in the main text of the paper, all results come from bootstrapping where class is assigned in each sample.

Size of Income Groups: First, we examine the implications of our decision to use income *deciles*, as opposed to some other threshold. In Table A2, we show the average opinion gap when our main results involve comparing groups of different sizes—the 5th, 10th, 20th, 25th, and 33rd percentiles of income. Unsurprisingly, as more respondents are included in each income group, the average opinion gap decreases. However, we note that our main conclusions withstand this variation. The income-based opinion gaps within the parties are larger than among all respondents and Democrats exhibit greater gaps than Republicans in each specification.

Including Partisan Leaners: In our main results, we exclude independents who self-identify as partisan “leaners”. In Table A3, we show that this decision does not affect our main results. Our main results are very similar whether we include or exclude leaners from the analysis.

Defining Income Groups within the Parties: One possible confounder may be that members of one party are systematically richer than those in another. This might produce lopsided comparisons between a relatively large high-income group and small low-income group for one party and the reverse in the other. We show that this does not affect our main results by identifying income deciles *within* the parties. These results are reported in Table A4.

Issue Selection: In the main results, we include each policy question only once, even if it appears in several years of the CES. We do so to avoid some frequently asked issues overwhelming other less-frequent questions in the results. However, an alternative perspective might consider that these repeated questions are especially salient and important, and should be included as frequently as they appear in the survey data. In Table A5, we show results where all questions are included in all years that they are asked in the survey. These results confirm our main results, and suggest that they are not an artifact of this decision.

Table A2: Opinion Gaps Varying Income Thresholds

		Percentile Thresholds for Income Groups				
		5	10	20	25	33
All Respondents	Policy Domain					
	Cultural	0.088	0.075	0.064	0.061	0.058
	Economic	0.097	0.085	0.068	0.061	0.058
	Foreign policy	0.114	0.097	0.078	0.070	0.067
	Immigration	0.083	0.064	0.049	0.045	0.042
	Law enforcement	0.079	0.071	0.064	0.059	0.058
	Social welfare	0.070	0.062	0.051	0.047	0.045
All Issues	0.091	0.078	0.064	0.058	0.055	
Democrats	Cultural	0.167	0.145	0.111	0.103	0.097
	Economic	0.157	0.131	0.100	0.090	0.085
	Foreign policy	0.188	0.160	0.129	0.115	0.108
	Immigration	0.188	0.166	0.125	0.112	0.105
	Law enforcement	0.148	0.129	0.108	0.098	0.092
	Social welfare	0.162	0.140	0.106	0.096	0.089
	All Issues	0.167	0.144	0.112	0.100	0.094
Republicans	Cultural	0.117	0.109	0.095	0.089	0.086
	Economic	0.124	0.102	0.083	0.075	0.072
	Foreign policy	0.145	0.122	0.098	0.088	0.085
	Immigration	0.087	0.067	0.056	0.051	0.049
	Law enforcement	0.138	0.113	0.095	0.086	0.083
	Social welfare	0.112	0.103	0.082	0.073	0.069
	All Issues	0.121	0.102	0.084	0.076	0.073

Note: Results show the average income-based opinion gap when the size of income groups vary (i.e., the threshold to be included in the top and bottom income groups).

Table A3: Main Results with Partisan Leaners

Policy Domain	Number of Unique Issues	Average Opinion Gap	Opinion Difference Statistically Significant	Opinion Gap Greater than 10 pts.	10 pt. Gap + Disagreement on Outcome
Democrats					
Law enforcement	16	0.131	100%	62.5%	6.2%
Immigration	22	0.127	100%	68.2%	0%
Cultural	18	0.152	94.4%	72.2%	5.6%
Economic	45	0.139	88.9%	68.9%	13.3%
Social welfare	20	0.119	95%	60%	0%
Foreign policy	23	0.170	95.7%	73.9%	26.1%
Total	144	0.140	94.4%	68.1%	9.7%
Republicans					
Law enforcement	16	0.090	93.8%	37.5%	6.2%
Immigration	22	0.066	68.2%	18.2%	9.1%
Cultural	18	0.101	83.3%	50%	0%
Economic	45	0.130	88.9%	64.4%	17.8%
Social welfare	20	0.158	85%	75%	20%
Foreign policy	23	0.077	78.3%	26.1%	0%
Total	144	0.108	83.3%	47.9%	10.4%

Note: This table reports our main results where partisan groups include independents who indicate that they “lean” toward one party or another.

Table A4: Main Results, Income Groups Defined within Party

Policy Domain	Number of Unique Issues	Average Opinion Gap	Opinion Difference Statistically Significant	Opinion Gap Greater than 10 pts.	10 pt. Gap + Disagreement on Outcome
Democrats					
Law enforcement	16	0.137	100%	62.5%	6.2%
Immigration	22	0.131	90.9%	68.2%	9.1%
Cultural	18	0.159	100%	72.2%	11.1%
Economic	45	0.138	84.4%	68.9%	15.6%
Social welfare	20	0.123	95%	50%	5%
Foreign policy	23	0.179	87%	73.9%	26.1%
Total	144	0.144	91%	66.7%	13.2%
Republicans					
Law enforcement	16	0.079	81.2%	25%	6.2%
Immigration	22	0.063	72.7%	18.2%	0%
Cultural	18	0.085	77.8%	38.9%	0%
Economic	45	0.115	86.7%	51.1%	15.6%
Social welfare	20	0.140	85%	60%	15%
Foreign policy	23	0.069	69.6%	21.7%	0%
Total	144	0.096	79.9%	38.2%	7.6%

Note: This table reports our main results where income deciles are determined *within* parties.

Table A5: Main Results, Issues in All Years

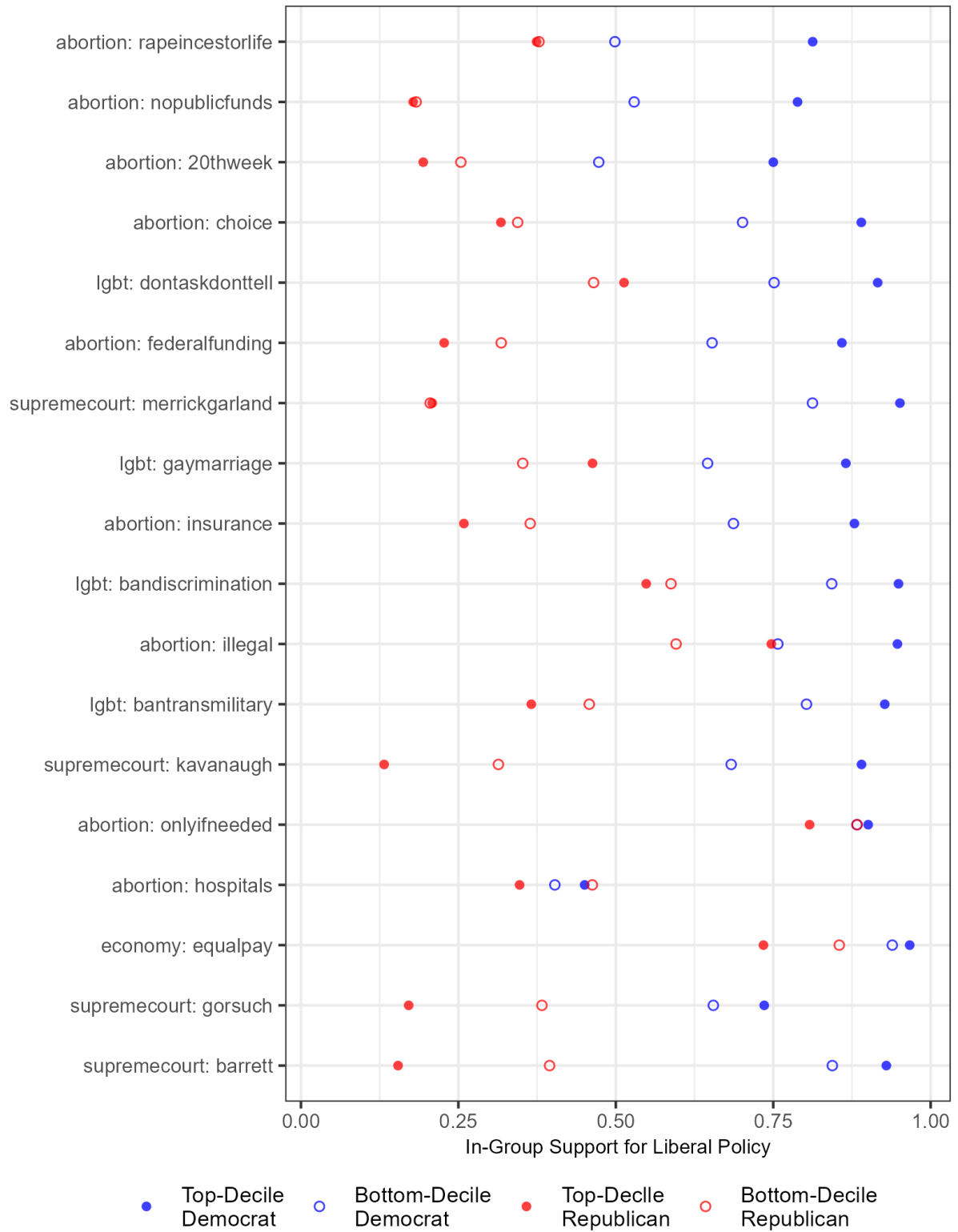
Policy Domain	Number of Questions	Average Opinion Gap	Opinion Difference Statistically Significant	Opinion Gap Greater than 10 pts.	10 pt. Gap+ Disagreement on Outcome
All Respondents					
Law enforcement	32	0.035	68.8%	3.1%	0%
Immigration	42	0.065	83.3%	21.4%	2.4%
Cultural	48	0.073	87.5%	31.2%	12.5%
Economic	85	0.080	85.9%	34.1%	8.8%
Social welfare	37	0.096	89.2%	37.8%	10.8%
Foreign policy	52	0.113	92.3%	53.8%	9.6%
Total	296	0.080	85.5%	32.4%	7.9%
Democrats					
Law enforcement	32	0.120	96.9%	56.2%	6.2%
Immigration	42	0.125	92.9%	66.7%	7.1%
Cultural	48	0.182	95.8%	85.4%	16.7%
Economic	85	0.129	89.4%	64.7%	11.8%
Social welfare	37	0.124	91.9%	54.1%	5.4%
Foreign policy	52	0.155	94.2%	65.4%	28.8%
Total	296	0.140	92.9%	66.2%	13.5%
Republicans					
Law enforcement	32	0.076	81.2%	34.4%	3.1%
Immigration	42	0.083	78.6%	28.6%	0%
Cultural	48	0.076	72.9%	25%	0%
Economic	85	0.138	89.4%	67.1%	21.2%
Social welfare	37	0.160	89.2%	75.7%	16.2%
Foreign policy	52	0.083	75%	38.5%	0%
Total	296	0.107	81.8%	47.3%	8.4%

Note: This table reports our main results where issues are included in every year that they appear in the CES, rather than dropping repeat questions in earlier years.

Appendix C Issue Opinion by Party and Income

The figures that follow report the share of partisans in the high- and low-income groups that support each policy question. Point estimates are produced from the CES as described in the main text. Issues are recoded so that support for the liberal position is reported (following the procedure described in Appendix H). Questions are organized by policy domain, and are sorted by the difference between the within-party opinion gaps (i.e., issues on the top of each figure are those for which Democrats are more divided by income than Republicans, and those on the bottom are issues where Democrats are more divided than Republicans).

Figure A1: Policy Support by Party and Income: Cultural Issues



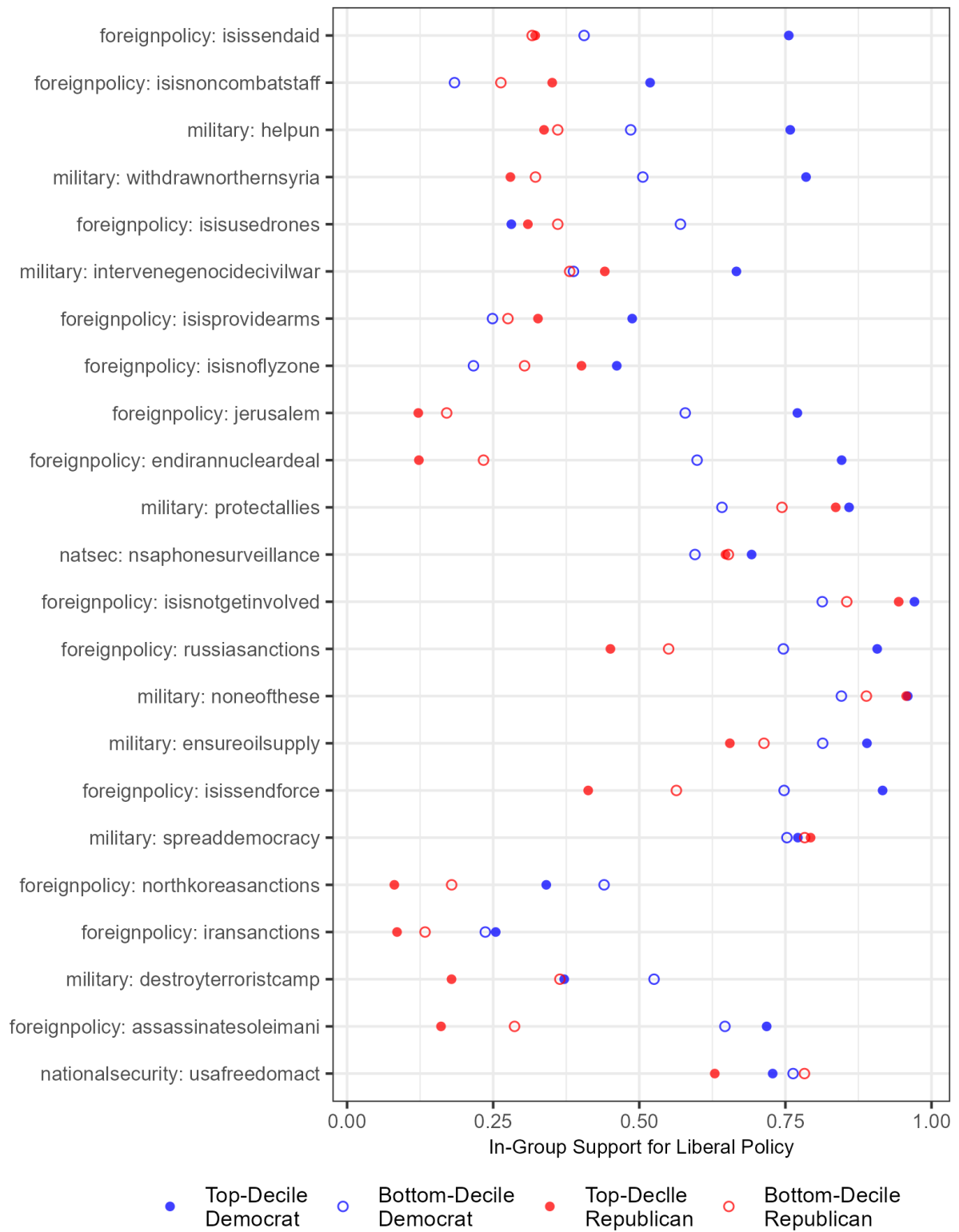
Note: Plot reports policy support for listed issues among high- and low-income partisans.

Figure A2: Policy Support by Party and Income: Economic Issues



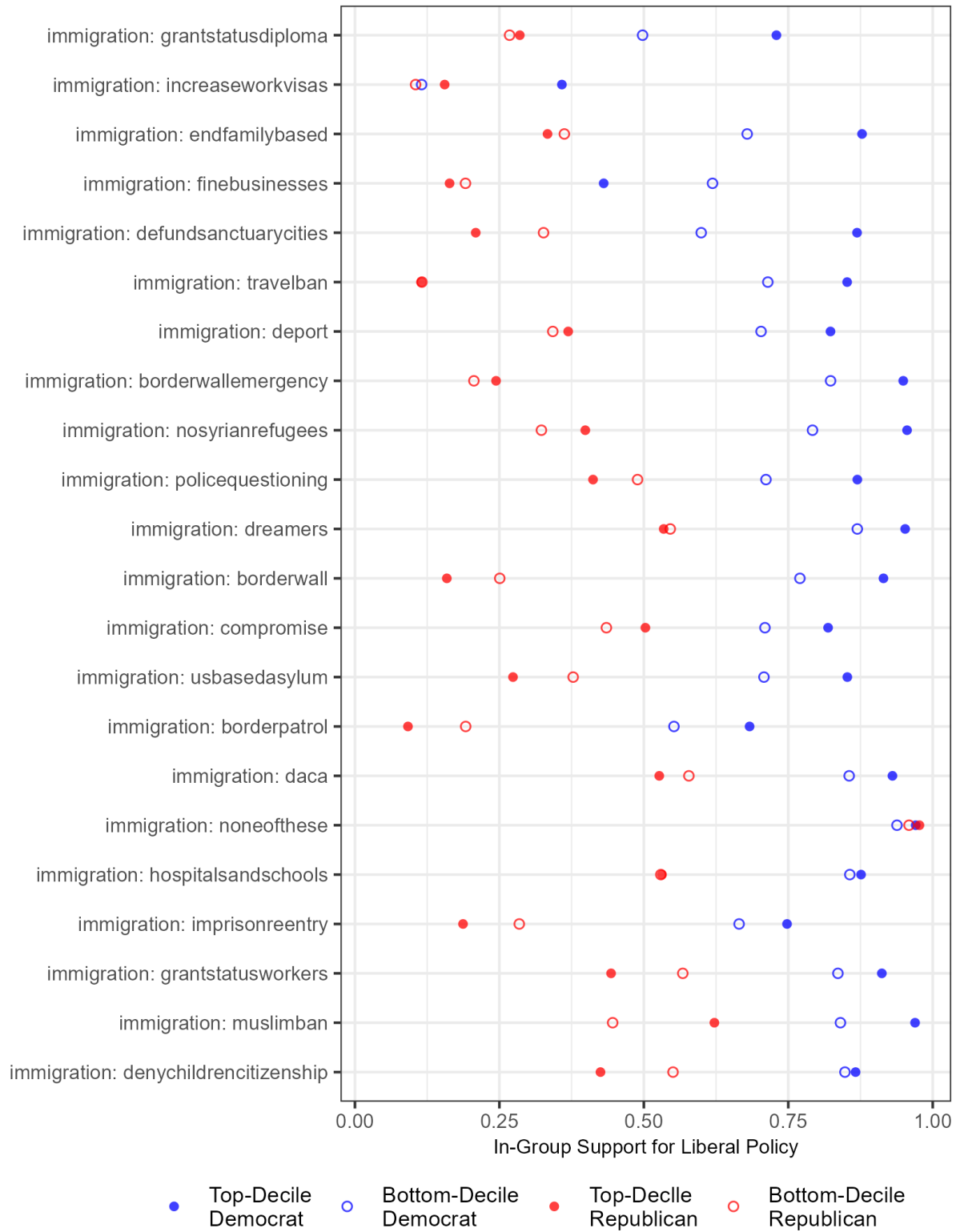
Note: Plot reports policy support for listed issues among high- and low-income partisans.

Figure A3: Policy Support by Party and Income: Foreign Policy Issues



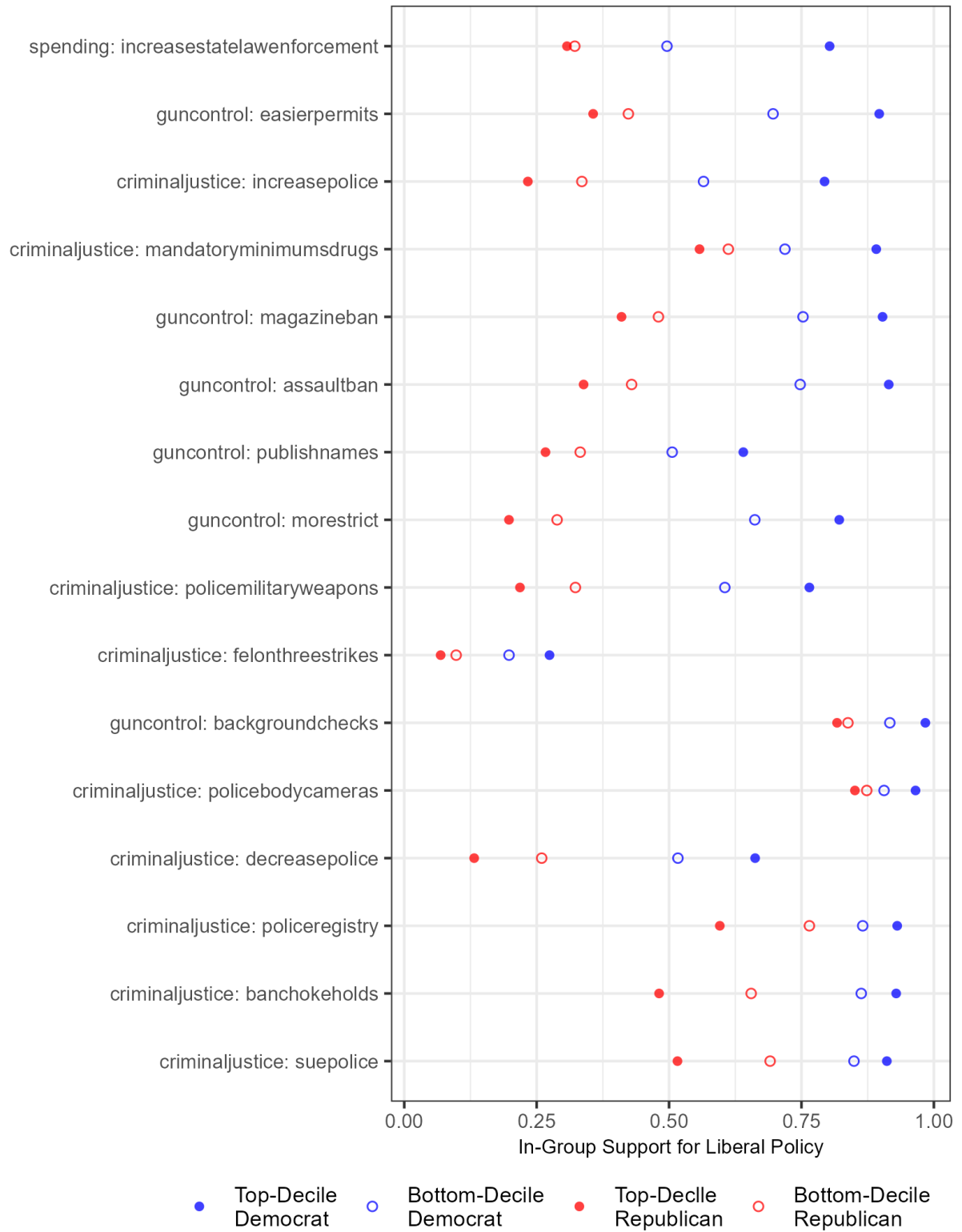
Note: Plot reports policy support for listed issues among high- and low-income partisans.

Figure A4: Policy Support by Party and Income: Immigration Issues



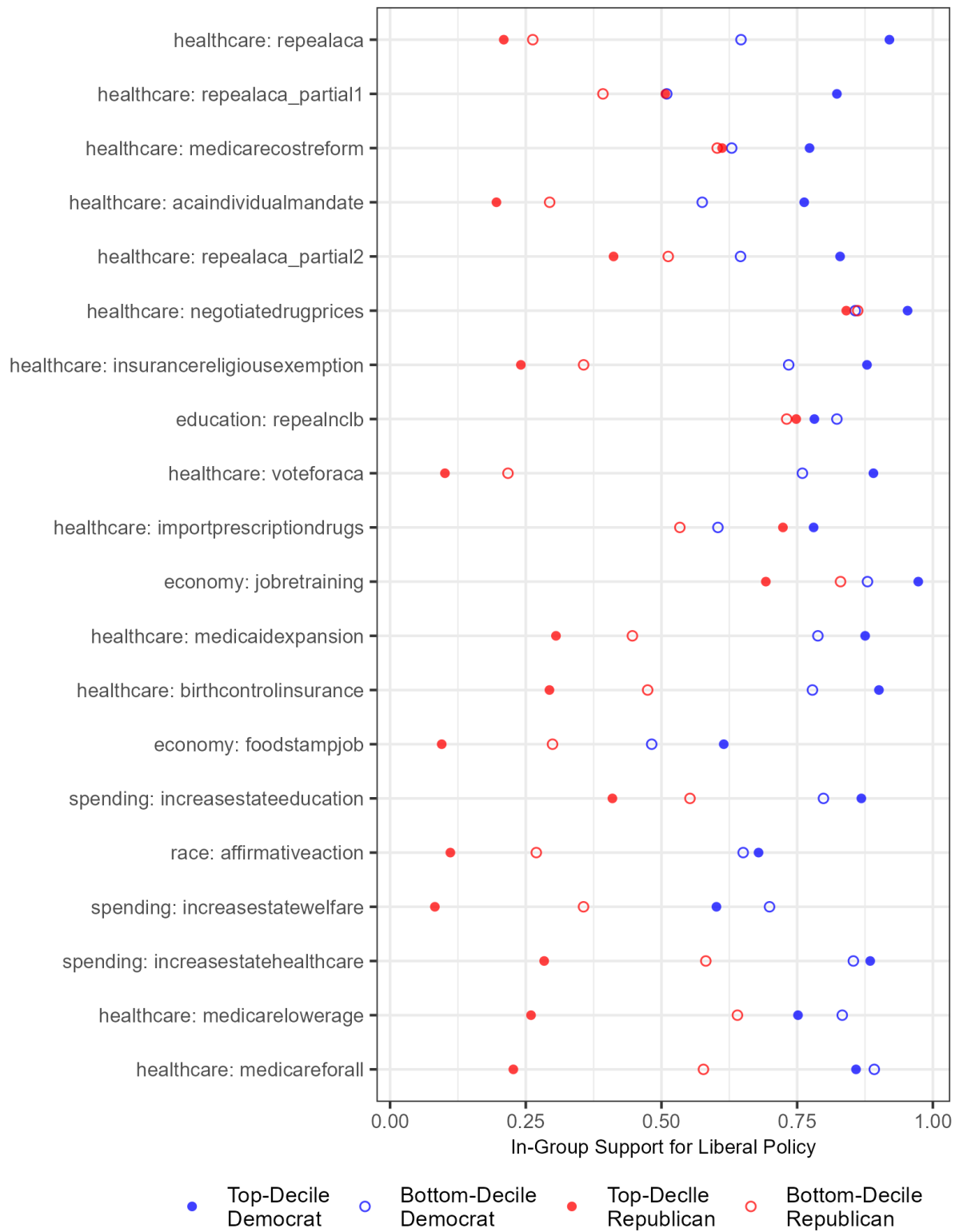
Note: Plot reports policy support for listed issues among high- and low-income partisans.

Figure A5: Policy Support by Party and Income: Law Enforcement Issues



Note: Plot reports policy support for listed issues among high- and low-income partisans.

Figure A6: Policy Support by Party and Income: Social Welfare Issues



Note: Plot reports policy support for listed issues among high- and low-income partisans.

Appendix D Evaluating Rich State vs. Poor State Hypothesis

One possible concern is that asymmetries between the Republican and Democratic parties are driven in part by where they choose to live. For example, Democrats tend to live in richer states with larger income gaps and Republicans in poorer ones with smaller gaps (Gelman, et al., 2008). In Table A6, we compare opinion gaps among Democrats and Republicans in the 25 richest states with those in the 25 poorest. We define states based on median household income.

The table suggests that the differences between Republicans' and Democrats' income-based opinion gaps are relatively consistent when looking at both subsets of states. The average opinion gap among Democrats is identical in both groups. Although rich-state Republicans exhibit slightly higher income-based opinion gaps than those in poorer states, they do not rise to the level of Democrats.

Table A6: Comparing Class Divides across High- and Low-Income States

Policy Domain	Number of Unique Issues	Average Opinion Gap	Opinion Difference Statistically Significant	Opinion Gap Greater than 10 pts.	10 pt. Gap + Disagreement on Policy
Dem.: Poor state					
Cultural	18	0.169	88.9%	77.8%	16.7%
Economic	45	0.138	82.2%	68.9%	8.9%
Law enforcement	16	0.148	100%	62.5%	12.5%
Social welfare	20	0.113	85%	45%	10%
Foreign policy	23	0.173	91.3%	73.9%	21.7%
Immigration	22	0.128	90.9%	63.6%	0%
Total	144	0.144	88.2%	66%	11.1%
Dem.: Rich state					
Cultural	18	0.145	94.4%	66.7%	5.6%
Economic	45	0.138	80%	68.9%	11.1%
Law enforcement	16	0.122	100%	56.2%	0%
Social welfare	20	0.133	95%	60%	0%
Foreign policy	23	0.187	82.6%	69.6%	30.4%
Immigration	22	0.134	90.9%	68.2%	4.5%
Total	144	0.144	88.2%	66%	9.7%
Rep.: Poor state					
Cultural	18	0.100	77.8%	44.4%	0%
Economic	45	0.117	82.2%	51.1%	13.3%
Law enforcement	16	0.086	75%	31.2%	6.2%
Social welfare	20	0.160	80%	70%	25%
Foreign policy	23	0.079	52.2%	30.4%	0%
Immigration	22	0.082	54.5%	36.4%	9.1%
Total	144	0.106	71.5%	45.1%	9.7%
Rep.: Rich state					
Cultural	18	0.113	72.2%	61.1%	0%
Economic	45	0.133	84.4%	57.8%	15.6%
Law enforcement	16	0.102	75%	43.8%	6.2%
Social welfare	20	0.156	85%	70%	15%
Foreign policy	23	0.089	60.9%	34.8%	0%
Immigration	22	0.075	59.1%	31.8%	0%
Total	144	0.115	74.3%	50.7%	7.6%

Note: Table reports how opinion gaps vary in high- and low-income states

Appendix E Comparing across Cleavages

We find that within parties, policy disagreements across the class divide are larger than across other social cleavages. Figure A7 plots the estimates of these disagreements for each of our policy domains. It also shows a measure of uncertainty of these estimates: the 95% interval from 1,000 bootstrapped samples. These uncertainty estimates reinforce that the relatively large opinion gaps we see on class are significantly larger than on other cleavages within the parties.

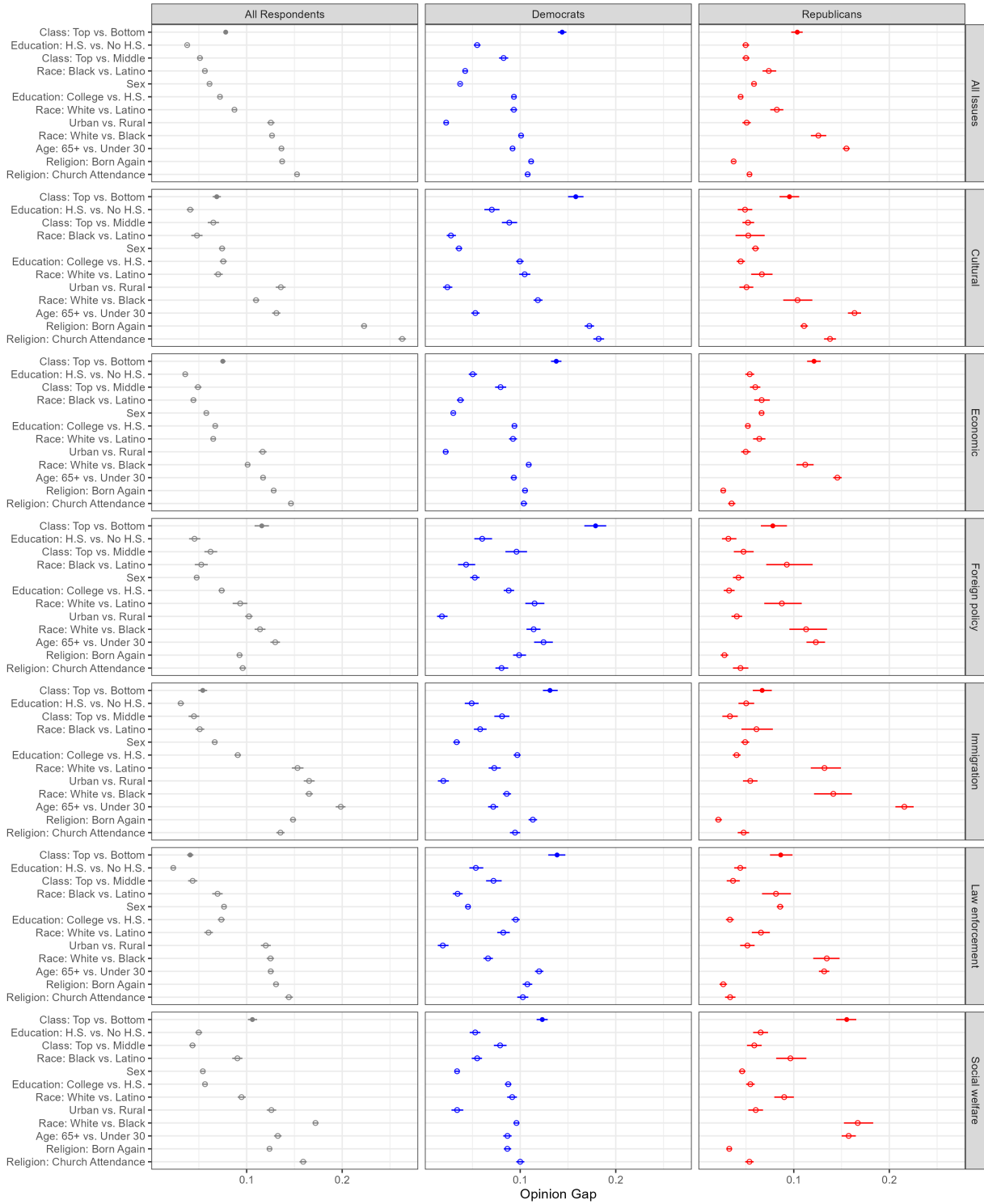


Figure A7: Within-Party Cleavages with Standard Errors

Note: Point estimates reflect the average opinion gap across the listed cleavage within each partisan group. Error bars cover 95% of estimates from 1,000 bootstrapped samples.

Appendix F 90-50 Preference Gaps

Class has the potential to shape policy preferences across income levels, not merely among the richest and poorest individuals. For example, Gilens (2012) found disagreement on some issues between the 90th and 50th income percentiles, as well as the 90th and 10th. Here, in table A7 we consider preference gaps between the top decile and a middle-income decile in the two parties. We construct our middle income deciles using the same bootstrap-and-sample procedure described in the main text of the manuscript. However, rather than extracting the top 10% and bottom 10%, we extract the top 10% and the 10% of respondents clustered between the 45th and 55th percentiles of the income distribution.

Although the overall level of class-based disagreement is predictably lower between rich and middle-income respondents, we still find that Democrats have reliably more class-based disagreement than Republicans or the full set of respondents, across issues. For all six policy domains, the average size of the class gap and the share of issues with any statistically significant class gap or a substantively meaningful class gap are largest for Democrats.

Table A7: Opinion Gaps by Issue Domain and Party (Top-Middle Income Groups)

Policy Domain	Number of Unique Issues	Average Class Gap	Opinion Difference Statistically Significant	Class Gap Greater than 10 pts.	Class Disagreement on Policy
All Respondents					
Law enforcement	16	0.044	75%	0%	6.2%
Immigration	22	0.045	81.8%	0%	9.1%
Cultural	18	0.065	88.9%	11.1%	5.6%
Economic	45	0.049	73.3%	2.2%	4.4%
Social welfare	20	0.043	60%	0%	0%
Foreign policy	23	0.062	73.9%	0%	13%
Total	144	0.051	75%	2.1%	6.2%
Democrats					
Law enforcement	16	0.072	81.2%	18.8%	0%
Immigration	22	0.081	95.5%	9.1%	0%
Cultural	18	0.089	88.9%	22.2%	0%
Economic	45	0.080	84.4%	15.6%	2.2%
Social welfare	20	0.079	85%	25%	0%
Foreign policy	23	0.096	87%	26.1%	0%
Total	144	0.083	86.8%	18.8%	0.7%
Republicans					
Law enforcement	16	0.036	56.2%	0%	0%
Immigration	22	0.033	40.9%	0%	0%
Cultural	18	0.052	72.2%	5.6%	0%
Economic	45	0.060	77.8%	11.1%	2.2%
Social welfare	20	0.059	70%	5%	0%
Foreign policy	23	0.048	52.2%	0%	0%
Total	144	0.050	63.9%	4.9%	0.7%

Note: Table reports income-based opinion gaps for top- and middle-decile partisans.

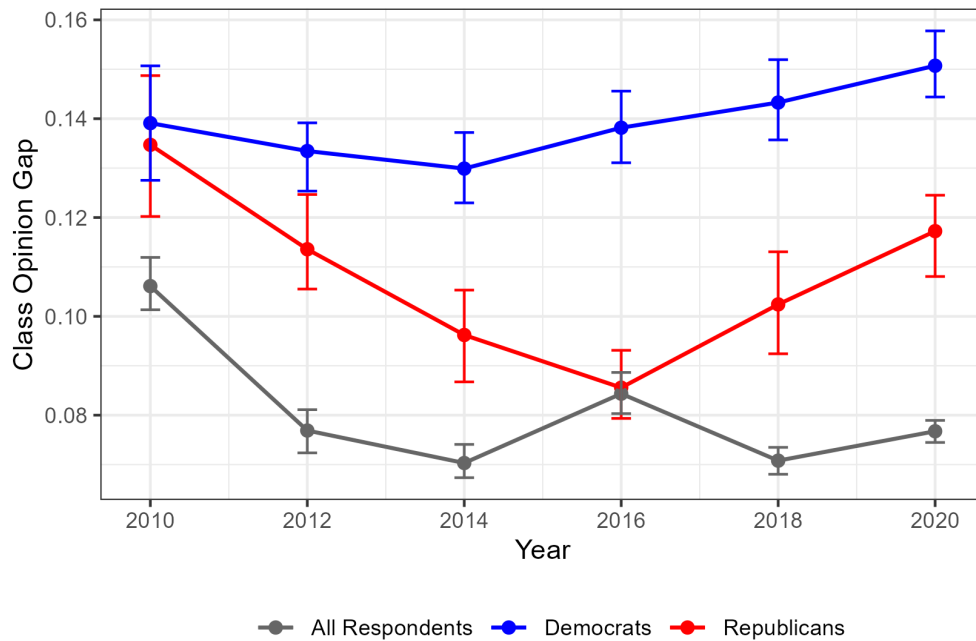
Appendix G Opinion Gaps over Time

The top panel of Figure A8 reports, for each CES survey, the mean opinion gap by partisan group, as well as the corresponding 95-percent confidence intervals. Three patterns immediately stand out. First, the Democrats consistently have the largest class-based differences in opinion across the full time series. The only exception to this is in 2010, where there is virtually no difference between the parties (though this is one of the years for which we have the fewest survey questions). Second, the size of the opinion gap for Democrats has remained quite stable, ranging from a low of about 13 percentage points in 2014 to a high of about 15 points in 2020. There is less stability among the full sample and among Republicans. Finally, these within year comparisons indicate that Republicans, while having smaller opinion gaps than Democrats, tend to have larger gaps than the full population.

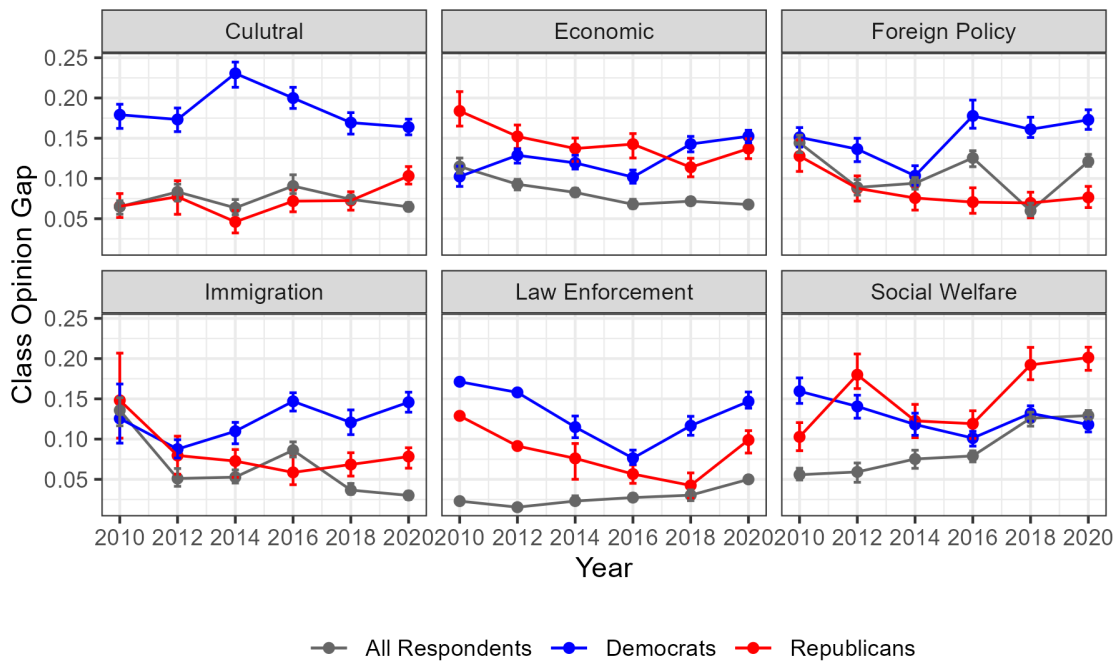
Figure A8's bottom panel divides the over-time analysis into our six policy domains. This more granular look again reveals that the aggregate results are not driven by just one or two domains or by one or two survey years. Here we can see that Democrats consistently have larger opinion gaps in the domains of cultural, foreign, immigration and law enforcement policy. While not part of the core conclusions of this manuscript, it is interesting to note that Republicans appear to have grown increasingly class-polarized on social welfare issues over time, consistent with our finding above that they are more class-polarized on redistributive issues generally. Of course, all of these temporal findings have a key limitation: because the questions asked on the CES change from year to year, reflecting the issues of the day, we cannot consider the same set of policies over time.¹ This means that the year-over-year variation we observe in Figure A8 may be due in part to changing issues, as well as changing attitudes.

¹A subset of issues are included in several years; however, these are not a representative sample of all issues asked in the CES and skew toward hot-button issues (e.g., abortion and the Affordable Care Act) and long-languishing foreign conflicts.

Figure A8: Class Opinion Gaps over Time, 2010–2020



(a) Opinion Gaps Over Time: All Repeated Issues



(b) Opinion Gaps Over Time: By Policy Domain

Note: Plots report the temporal dynamics of class-based opinion gaps by looking only at the issues included in each year’s version of the CES. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

Appendix H Ideological Consistency by Party and Class

In this appendix, we consider the ideological underpinnings of differences in opinion by class. How often do high- and low-income Democrats (Republicans) take the liberal (conservative) position?

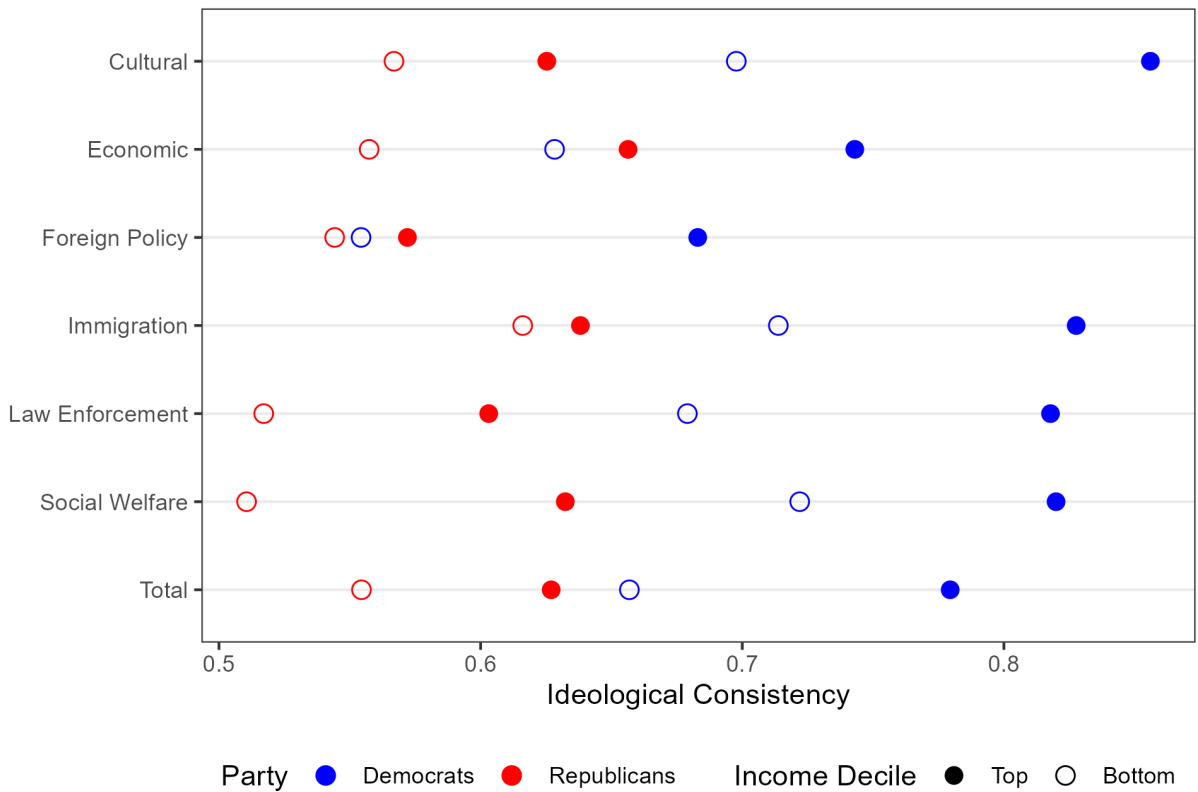
To do so, we find the correlation between the policy questions and self-identified ideology in the CCES (with -1 corresponding to liberal identifiers, 1 corresponding to conservative identifiers, and 0 corresponding to moderates). We consider all issues where the correlation is positive to be conservative, and those where the correlation is negative to be liberal. We manually reviewed the ideological codings to ensure face validity. A full listing of issues' ideological coding is in Appendix A.

Using our 1,000 bootstrapped samples, we then compute for each respondent the frequency with which they take the ideological position *consistent* with their partisanship (liberal for Democrats and conservative for Republicans). Figure A9 reports this ideological consistency by party and class for each of our six policy domains and the full set of 144 questions. Across all domains, rich Democrats are the group that is by far the most likely to hold views consistent with their ideology. Indeed, high-income Democrats take the liberal position on 77% of all policy debates. By comparison, rich Republicans hold ideologically consistent views only 64% of the time, low-income Democrats do 65% of the time, and low-income Republicans 56% of the time.

In Figure A9, the class-based opinion gaps in each party are also evident. Although Democrats are more ideologically consistent across most policy domains, the distance between the high- and low-income points are evident here (these correspond to the class gaps reported in the main text of the paper).

Table A8 shows how class and partisan differences in opinion vary ideologically across issue domains. It reports the largest class-based opinion gaps within each party based on the ideological positioning of the issues. For example, the top-left corner shows the six issues for which rich Democrats are more conservative than poor Democrats.

Figure A9: Ideological Consistency by Party and Class



Note: Points denote the frequency with which respondents take the ideological position consistent with their party (the liberal position for Democrats and the conservative position for Republicans), averaged overall members of that party-class group. Greater consistency indicates that members of a party-class group more frequently hold the ideological position in line with their party.

Table A8: Top 10 Largest Opinion Gaps by Ideology

	Top decile more conservative than bottom decile	Top decile more liberal than bottom decile
Democrats	foreignpolicy: isisusedrones	foreignpolicy: isissendaid
	immigration: finebusinesses	environment: repealcleanpowerplant
	budget: simpsonbowlesplan	foreignpolicy: isisnoncombatstaff
	agriculture: farmbill	abortion: rapeincestorlife
	military: destroyterroristcamp	healthcare: repealaca_partial1
taxes: raisestandarddeduction	spending: increasestatelawenforcement	
		military: withdrawnorthern_syria
		military: intervenegenocidecivilwar
		abortion: 20thweek
		healthcare: repealaca
Republicans	healthcare: medicarelowerage	healthcare: importprescriptiondrugs
	healthcare: medicareforall	immigration: muslimban
	economy: raiseminimumwage_15	abortion: illegal
	economy: raiseminimumwage	trade: steeltariffs_all
	spending: increasestatehealthcare	trade: uskoreafretrade
	taxes: incometax_wealthy	healthcare: repealaca_partial1
	spending: increasestatewelfare	lgbt: gaymarriage
	budget: ryanplan	foreignpolicy: isisnoflyzone
	covid: heroesact	
	supremecourt: barrett	

Note: These issues are those with the top 10 largest opinion gaps by party and issue ideology.

Appendix I Opinion Gaps among White Respondents

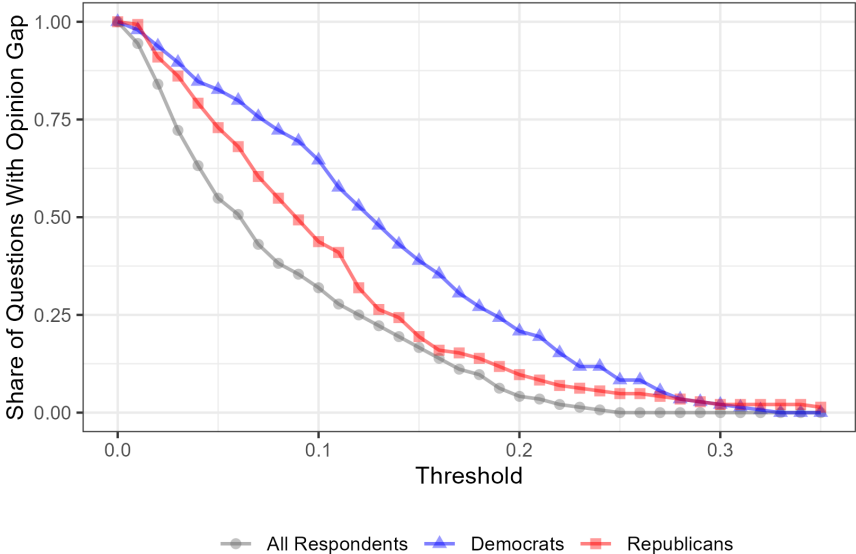
This appendix includes results from an alternative exploration into whether Democrats' large opinion gaps are explained by racial diversity in the party. Here, we replicate our main results, focusing only on white respondents; they are largely similar to those reported in the main text of the paper.

Table A9: Class Gaps by Issue Domain and Party (White Respondents Only)

Policy Domain	Number of Unique Issues	Average Opinion Gap	Opinion Difference Statistically Significant	Opinion Gap Greater than 10 pts.	10 pt. Gap + Disagreement on Outcome
All Respondents					
Law enforcement	16	0.041	62.5%	6.2%	0%
Immigration	22	0.054	86.4%	18.2%	0%
Cultural	18	0.069	83.3%	33.3%	11.1%
Economic	45	0.075	86.7%	31.1%	4.4%
Social welfare	20	0.106	100%	40%	15%
Foreign policy	23	0.116	87%	56.5%	21.7%
Total	144	0.078	85.4%	31.9%	8.3%
Democrats					
Law enforcement	16	0.118	93.8%	68.8%	0%
Immigration	22	0.144	95.5%	68.2%	4.5%
Cultural	18	0.133	94.4%	66.7%	0%
Economic	45	0.127	80%	68.9%	13.3%
Social welfare	20	0.125	95%	50%	5%
Foreign policy	23	0.151	87%	60.9%	13%
Total	144	0.133	88.9%	64.6%	7.6%
Republicans					
Law enforcement	16	0.088	87.5%	31.2%	12.5%
Immigration	22	0.066	68.2%	22.7%	4.5%
Cultural	18	0.099	77.8%	50%	0%
Economic	45	0.123	88.9%	60%	17.8%
Social welfare	20	0.151	90%	65%	15%
Foreign policy	23	0.071	73.9%	17.4%	0%
Total	144	0.103	81.9%	43.8%	9.7%

Note: Column 3 reports the size of the average class gap for issues in the listed policy domain. Columns 4-6 report the share of issues for which the listed standard is satisfied.

Figure A10: Meaningful Class Gaps at Various Thresholds (White respondents only)



Note: This plot reports the share of issues for which the opinion gap between high- and low-income white respondents is as great as the corresponding threshold, plotted on the x-axis. We only count issues for which the opinion gap is statistically significant at the 95% level.