

Supplementary Materials for “Issue Opinions in the U.S. States”

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A Identifying and Coding ANES Policy Questions

The dataset this paper creates and describes collects state-level opinion estimates for *policy-related* questions included in the ANES from 1952–2024. In Section 2 of the main paper, I describe the criteria used to identify policy questions in the ANES. This appendix provides additional detail about how I found and coded these variables for analysis.

A.1 Identifying Policy Questions

To identify policy questions in a given ANES survey, I first read the full codebook and selected items that met one of the following criteria:

- Preferred outcome of a policy debate or potential policy (e.g., whether abortion should be legal; whether more should be done about climate change; whether busing should be used to desegregate schools; whether Gerald Ford was right to pardon Richard Nixon; whether taxes should be raised to address the budget deficit)
- Government spending (e.g., should spending on particular government programs be increased)
- The general responsibilities of government toward society (e.g., whether more should be done to ensure Black people are treated fairly; whether the federal government’s role should increase or decrease).

A.2 AI-Assisted Data Cleaning

Initial cleaning of ANES survey data and question identification was aided by a large-language model. Specifically, I used the following procedure: First, all policy questions were manually identified from the ANES codebook and data were cleaned for the 17 surveys from 1968–2000. Next, the large-language model (Claude Sonnet 4.5) was used to efficiently identify and clean data for the remaining years and to ensure that questions were not missing from the human-coded

dataset. I instructed the model to identify questions and build code based on policy-focused criteria and the human-written code. After the model wrote cleaning scripts, I compared the AI-cleaned data against the manually cleaned data for the years it was available and the questions generally matched.

The large language model was only used in the initial cleaning of the data. This included attaching labels (e.g., “favor,” “support,” “strongly agree,” “oppose,” or “strongly disagree”) to coded responses and proposing initial attempts at binarizing multinomial variables. I made final decisions about how to binarize, as described below, and did additional cleanup of the AI-assisted code.

All poststratification file coding and mapping of survey geography to strata was done manually.

A.3 Variable Coding

In order to model opinion with MRP, all questions needed to be recoded as binary indicators. In nearly all cases, I did so following the question’s own directional framing; regardless of if a question asks about a conservative or liberal policy, support is coded as 1. The exception is in the rare case where questions change ideological direction over time but do not otherwise change question framing; here, the most common ideological direction is retained. In all cases, non-opinions and “don’t know” responses are coded as 0, rather than dropping them. This reflects non-opinions as meaningful, rather than simply noise (Berinsky 2004). As such, estimates report the share of the entire public in favor of a position, not the share among opinion-holders. This is ideal for studying questions such as representation and mass support among the electorate, as it doesn’t arbitrarily constrain the sample of responses used for any one question to include only those who hold well structured opinions.

For most question types, binary coding is straightforward. Most ANES questions have a favor/oppose or agree/disagree setup. Many use Likert scales, where responses above the midpoint are grouped and coded as 1 and those at or below the midpoint are coded as 0. A series on spending is coded such that support for increasing government funding in a particular domain is always 1. A number of questions offer multiple responses (e.g., prayer in public schools). In these cases, I group all favorable positions together (e.g., schools should include group Christian prayer, schools should have dedicated time for silent prayer, and schools should be allowed to offer time for prayer).

A.4 Question Availability over Time

Figure A1: Question Frequency in ANES Surveys

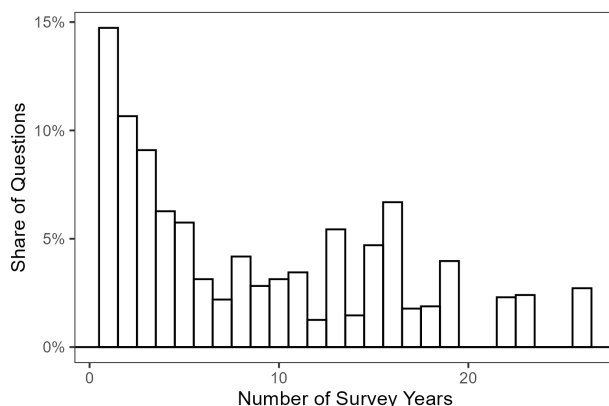
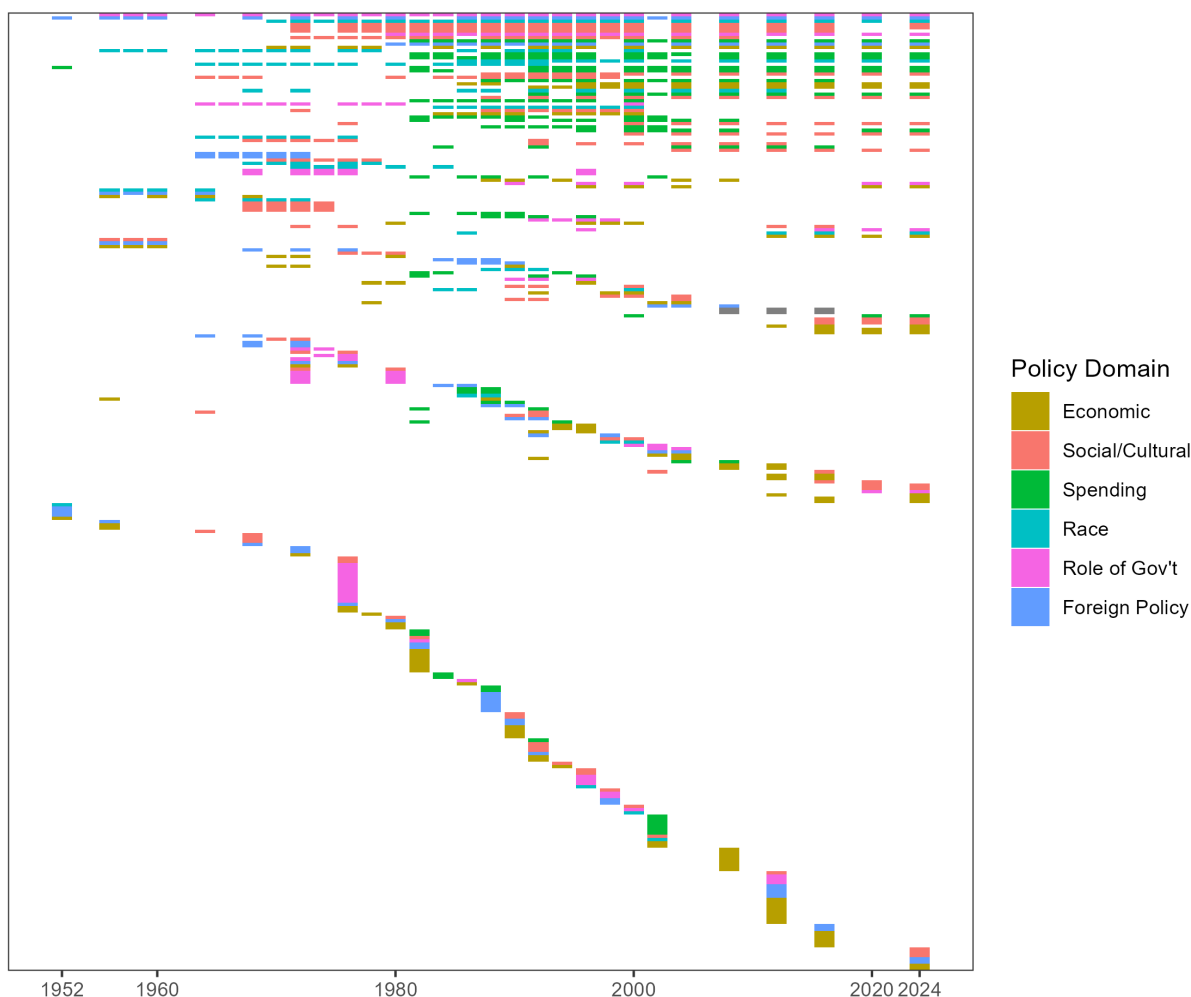


Figure A1 shows the distribution of the number of survey-years in which questions appear. Figure A2 shows the distribution of ANES questions across time. Each row corresponds to one of the 289 unique variables in the dataset and marks the years in which it appears, shaded by policy domain. While some topics (e.g., the death penalty, abortion, the federal budget) recur across decades, nearly half of questions are unique to a single survey year. As a result, the data are best understood as a series of snapshots of opinion on pressing issues at particular moments, rather than a continuous time series. For the many issues that recur, however, these snapshots can be strung together to trace opinion over time.

Figure A2: ANES Policy Questions, 1952-2024



Note: Tiles show the frequency of policy questions in the ANES, broken down by policy domain. Each row corresponds to one question and shows the years in which that question appears in the dataset.

B Traditional MRP

A key challenge in studying subnational public opinion is reliable measurement. For most issues, scholars lack sufficiently large surveys to estimate opinion at small geographies using disaggregation (or simple averaging). However, the development of multilevel regression and poststratification (MRP) has largely resolved this problem. MRP estimates opinion at smaller geographic levels using surveys that are representative at larger geographies, such as estimating state opinion from national public opinion polls (Gelman and Little 1997; Park, Gelman and Bafumi 2004). MRP proceeds in two stages.

First, individual binary survey responses y_i are modeled as a function of demographic predictors and geography, using a multilevel logistic regression:

$$\Pr(y_i = 1) = \text{logit}^{-1} \left(\beta_0 + \alpha_{s[i]}^{\text{state}} + \sum_{g \in G} \alpha_{j[i]}^g \right). \quad (\text{A1})$$

Each $\alpha_{j[i]}^g$ is a random effect for a demographic variable (e.g., race, sex, education, age), which is modeled from the distribution

$$\alpha_j^g \sim N(0, \sigma_g^2) \text{ for all } g \in G. \quad (\text{A2})$$

$\alpha_{s[i]}^{\text{state}}$ is a state random effect, which is itself usually modeled as a function of a region effect and state-level contextual predictors $\mathbf{X}_s$ (e.g., presidential vote share, percent Evangelical):

$$\begin{aligned} \alpha_s^{\text{state}} &\sim N(\alpha_{r[s]}^{\text{region}} + \beta \mathbf{X}_s, \sigma_{\text{state}}^2) \\ \alpha_r^{\text{region}} &\sim N(0, \sigma_{\text{region}}^2). \end{aligned} \quad (\text{A3})$$

The standard MRP model can be made more flexible in a number of ways, which improves performance and accuracy. First, rather than including predictors only additively, a “deep” model can be estimated that includes interactions among demographic and geographic predictors (Ghitza and Gelman 2013). These models fit comparably to machine-learning approaches such as those based on model stacking (Ornstein 2020; Goplerud 2024). Second, the contextual predictors can enter the model nonlinearly, such as by using splines, as I do in the main text.

In the second stage of MRP—poststratification—the fitted model is used to generate opinion estimates in each geographic unit. From the model, one first predicts the probability of support for every combination of demographic and geographic categories (e.g., college-educated Black women aged 30–44 in Alabama; high school-educated white men aged 18–29 in New York). For each state, the opinion estimate is a weighted average of the predicted support in each demographic-geographic cell θ_c , weighting by the relative population of that cell in the state N_c :

$$\hat{\theta}_s = \frac{\sum_{c \in s} N_c \theta_c}{\sum_{c \in s} N_c}. \quad (\text{A4})$$

A large literature has tested the accuracy of MRP estimates, generally comparing them to known benchmarks such as election results, results from larger surveys, or by taking subsamples of pooled “superpolls.” This work generally finds that MRP recovers subnational opinion well across geographies and improves on disaggregation, especially when the number of respondents in a survey is small (Lax and Phillips 2009; Warshaw and Rodden 2012). The accuracy of MRP depends on the quality of the model and its predictors, and the strength of their predictive power on opinion (Buttice and Highton 2013).

C CMRP Model and ANES Sampling Details

CMRP extends the standard MRP model described in Appendix B to model opinion as a function of typical demographic and geographic factors, as well as the strata used in the cluster-sampling procedure (Auslen 2024). In this case, I also fit a “deep” model that adds interactions among demographic factors, as well as interactions between demographic variables and each geographic variable: state, stratum, and region.

For a survey with the full set of predictors (race, sex, education, age, and geographic variables), the formula code used to fit the model (using standard R/`vglm` syntax for hierarchical models, with repeating patterns indicated by `...`), is:

```
y ~ 1 + (1 | race) + (1 | sex) + (1 | educ) + (1 | age)
+ (1 | stratum) + (1 | state) + (1 | region)
+ (1 | race:sex) + (1 | race:educ) + (1 | race:age) ...
+ (1 | race:state) + (1 | race:stratum) + (1 | race:region) ...
+ v_s(rep_vote) + v_s(x)
```

In addition to adding interactions, I model contextual covariates as splines (`v_s`) to account for nonlinearity, following Goplerud (2024). `v_s(x)` refers to % Union (for economic and spending issues) or % Evangelical (for all other issues).

Exactly which variables are included depends on their availability in both the survey data and Census data used for poststratification, which requires a joint distribution over all included demographics. The full set of included demographics are listed in Table A1 below. Where possible, I include race, sex, age, and education. Prior to the 1980 Census, education data was not available and so it (and any interactions with education) are not included. Likewise, beginning with the change from the long-form census to the American Community Survey, the four-variable joint distribution is no longer available. I use race, sex, and education in this modern period (following Tausanovitch and Warshaw 2013).

For most surveys from 1952 to 2004, the ANES constructed a sample of households by first drawing a large geographic area (a primary sampling unit, PSU) and then sampling progressively smaller geographies within it. Taken together, these steps create a sampling frame with cross-cutting strata. The first describes the size of metropolitan areas (which I refer to as “metro area tiers”):

- A number of large metropolitan areas drawn with certainty (e.g., the largest 12 or largest 16).
- In some years, a second set of metropolitan areas drawn with 50% probability (e.g., 10 of the next 20 largest)
- Other metropolitan areas
- Groups of counties lying outside of metropolitan areas

In the sampling frame, these metro area size tiers are crossed with the urbanness of particular places (e.g., central cities of metropolitan areas, suburban places, rural areas, etc.). There is considerable variation over time in what the ANES includes in its frame. Table A1 describes these stratum designs, which I reconstruct using Census data in order to do poststratification.

Table A1: CMRP Model Specifications by ANES Survey Year

Years	Census	Demographic predictors	Cluster strata design
1952 1956– 1964	1950 1960	Race (2): <i>nonwhite, white</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>21-29, 30-44, 45-64, 65+</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 12, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness* (3): <i>Central county, Suburb, Rural</i>
1966– 1970	1970	Race (3): <i>Black, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>21-29, 30-44, 45-64, 65+</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 12, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness* (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
1972– 1974	1970	Race (3): <i>Black, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-29, 30-44, 45-64, 65+</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 12, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness* (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
1976	1980	Race (3): <i>Black, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 12, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness* (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
1978– 1980	1980	Race (3): <i>Black, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	ANES sampled congressional districts. I model opinion using strata from the 1976 survey, plus a congressional district random effect. I also add % Urban for each congressional district as a contextual covariate spline.
1982	1980	Race (3): <i>Black, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 12, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness* (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
1984	1980	Race (3): <i>Black, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 16, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness* (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
1986– 1994 1996	1990 2000	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-34, 35-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (3): <i>Largest 16**, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>

Table A1 – *continued*

Years	Census	Demographic predictors	Cluster strata design
1998, 2002–2004	2000	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-34, 35-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (4): <i>Largest 8, Next 20 largest, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
2000	2000	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Age (4): <i>18-34, 35-44, 45-64, 65+</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (4): <i>Largest 8, Next 20 largest, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i> (This year includes an RDD phone sample)
2008	2008–12 ACS	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (4): <i>Largest 8 metros, Next 10 largest counties, Next 30 counties, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i>
2012	2008–12 ACS	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (4): <i>Largest 4 metros, Next 10 largest counties, Next 30 counties, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i> (This year includes a Web sample.)
2016, 2024	2018–22 ACS	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Metro area tiers (4): <i>Largest 4 counties, Counties population 2m+ and NYC, Next 30 counties, Other metros, Non-metro</i> Urbanness (4): <i>Central city, Suburb, Outlying metro, Rural</i> (This year includes a Web sample.)
2020	2018–22 ACS	Race (4): <i>Black, Hispanic, white, other</i> Sex (2): <i>female, male</i> Educ. (4): <i>no diploma, high school, some college, college</i>	Randomly sampled addresses for Web-only survey

* From 1952–1982, documentation is unclear about the exact structure of sub-metropolitan area sampling. I use urbanness/centrality, as is common in other sampling frames schemes, including later years of the ANES. Census data in 1950 and 1960 do not distinguish central cities; instead, I manually identify the central county and suburban counties of metro areas.

** In these years, the Nassau–Suffolk metropolitan area is specifically mentioned as a PSU included with certainty, but is included as part of the New York metro area for poststratification due to the structure of Census data.

C.1 Variation across Surveys

While the sampling frame is structured similarly in most ANES years, there are some exceptions, which I detail below:

- **1948:** The survey lacks state identifiers, making MRP impossible, so I exclude this year from the dataset.
- **1978–1980:** The ANES uses congressional districts as PSUs in a way that is not replicable in the Census data. (Districts were drawn from clusters of four constructed based on geography, urbanness, and other variables.) I fit the CMRP model using 1976 strata to capture urbanness and population density. I then add a congressional district random effect and a spline for % Urban by district: $\dots + (1 \mid \text{cd}) + \text{v_s}(\text{cd_urban})$. Because stratum-district-level demographic data are not available, I use stratum demographics (that is, I assume demographic distributions are constant across districts within each state-stratum), and include the congressional district effect and % Urban in the prediction.
- **2000, 2012, 2016, 2024:** These surveys supplement the typical cluster sample with respondents recruited by telephone (2000) or online (2012–2024). These are randomly sampled and so have no stratum. I model them as members of a separate stratum, which I exclude in poststratification. This allows these respondents to contribute to the demographic and state random effects without biasing the stratum effects in the model. I also include a mode random effect (e.g., $\dots + (1 \mid \text{telephone})$) which is not used in the poststratification stage.
- **2020:** Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, this was conducted as a simple random sample via phone and Internet. As a result, there is no cluster sampling to account for. Estimates instead use a deep MRP model.

D Standard Errors of CMRP Estimates

As described in Section 2 of the main paper, I compute a standard error for each state-issue-year estimate by drawing from the approximate posterior of the fitted model and poststratifying each draw. Specifically, I draw 1,000 samples of the parameters for each model, using each set of draws to poststratify. The standard deviation of this distribution is the standard error.

I estimate the hierarchical model using variational inference with an unfactorized approximation, implemented in `vglm`. This retains the speed advantage versus fully Bayesian approaches, while accurately quantifying uncertainty (Goplerud, Papaspiliopoulos and Zanella 2025).

E Validation

This appendix presents additional validation of the CMRP estimates. Beyond the comparison to election results in Section 3 of the main paper, I assess accuracy against alternative estimation methods and policy preferences in large-N modern surveys.

First, Table A2 reports the accuracy of deep CMRP relative to three alternatives: CMRP without demographic and geographic interactions (“Non-Deep CMRP”), standard MRP fit without cluster-sampling strata (“Traditional MRP”), and simple disaggregation (“Disaggregation”). Each cell reports the relative mean absolute error in estimated Republican vote share, expressed as a ratio to the error of deep CMRP. Values above one indicate worse performance than the deep CMRP

models. All model-based methods dramatically outperform disaggregation, which produces roughly 84% more error. Deep CMRP also improves on both non-deep CMRP and traditional MRP, by about 2–3%. This is consistent with Auslen (2024) and is similar in magnitude to improvements on MRP from machine learning (Ornstein 2020; Goplerud 2024). Beyond this improvement in accuracy, CMRP’s central advantage is that it correctly incorporates the ANES’s cluster-sampling design, which traditional MRP ignores; it achieves this while matching or exceeding traditional MRP’s accuracy.

Table A2: Validation with Election Results

Variable	MAE Relative to Deep CMRP Model		
	Non-Deep CMRP	Traditional MRP	Disaggregation
Republican Vote Share	1.035	1.021	1.842
Two-Party Rep. Vote Share	1.032	1.014	1.867

Note: Cells report the mean absolute error (MAE) of Republican presidential vote share or two-party vote share under various model specifications. Values are relative to Deep CMRP, so numbers greater than 1 indicate worse performance than the models used in the main paper.

E.1 Validation against Fully Bayesian Estimation

Goplerud, Papaspiliopoulos and Zanella (2025) show that variational estimates with `vglmer` can uncover the parameters and uncertainty from a fully Bayesian model. In Figure A3, I compare the CMRP estimates using `vglmer` with fully Bayesian estimates produced in `Stan`. I do so for a random sample of 30 issue-years, drawn from the full time series. For each issue-year, I fit a CMRP model that is identical, except that contextual covariates are added linearly, rather than as splines (I estimate the model with `rstanarm`, which does not handle flexible splines). The point estimates are generally extremely close to the 45-degree line, indicating that the variational approximations are accurate to the fully Bayesian model. Some standard errors are slightly attenuated or inflated compared to the fully Bayesian model, though on average they are close to the 45-degree line.

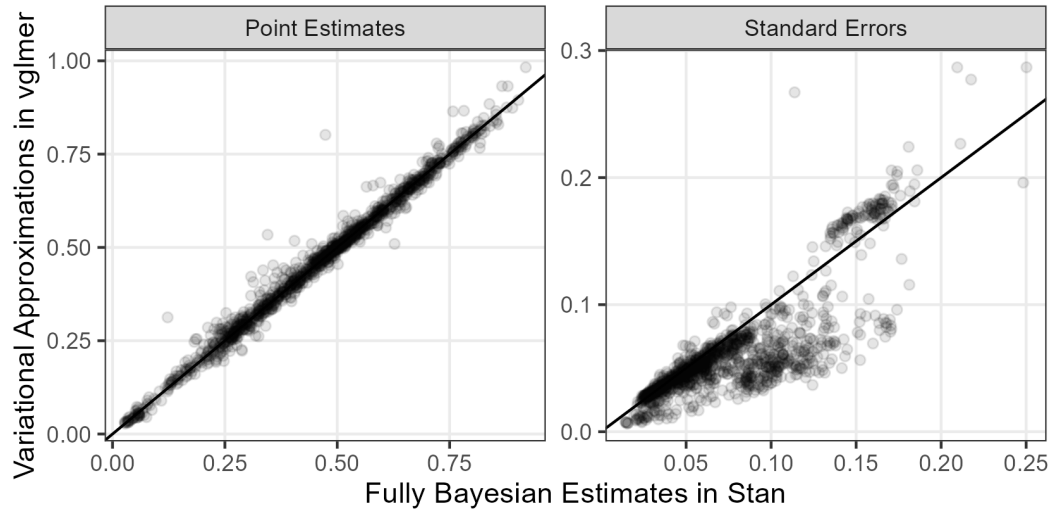
E.2 Comparison with Policy from Large-N Surveys

The election result validations here and in the main paper demonstrate the accuracy of the method using a ground-truth measure. However, they cannot speak to whether CMRP reproduces estimates of opinion on individual policies. To assess this, I compare CMRP estimates to state-level opinion measured from two modern, large-sample surveys: the Cooperative Election Study (CES; 2006–2024) and the National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES; 2000–2004). Specifically, for policy topics addressed in both the ANES and one of these large-N surveys, I compute weighted averages from the CES and NAES; these surveys are designed to produce representative samples at the state level.

Figure A4 pools all shared issue-state-years and plots CMRP estimates against the benchmark. Estimates largely cluster along the 45-degree line (darker red areas), indicating high levels of agreement between the surveys. The Pearson correlation is 0.73 (Spearman’s correlation is 0.71).

Figure A5 shows this comparison separately for each issue, with panels ordered by correlation. Most issue estimates are strongly correlated with the benchmark. A few correlate less strongly

Figure A3: Comparison with Fully Bayesian Model



Note: Figure plots point estimates and standard errors from a fully Bayesian model estimated in **Stan** versus the variational models used in the main paper.

Figure A4: Validation of Estimates using CES and NAES Data

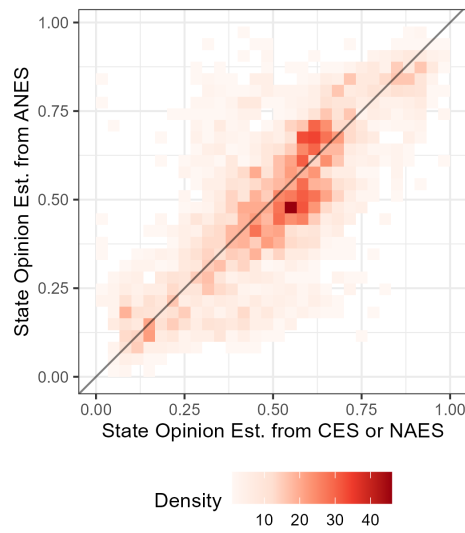
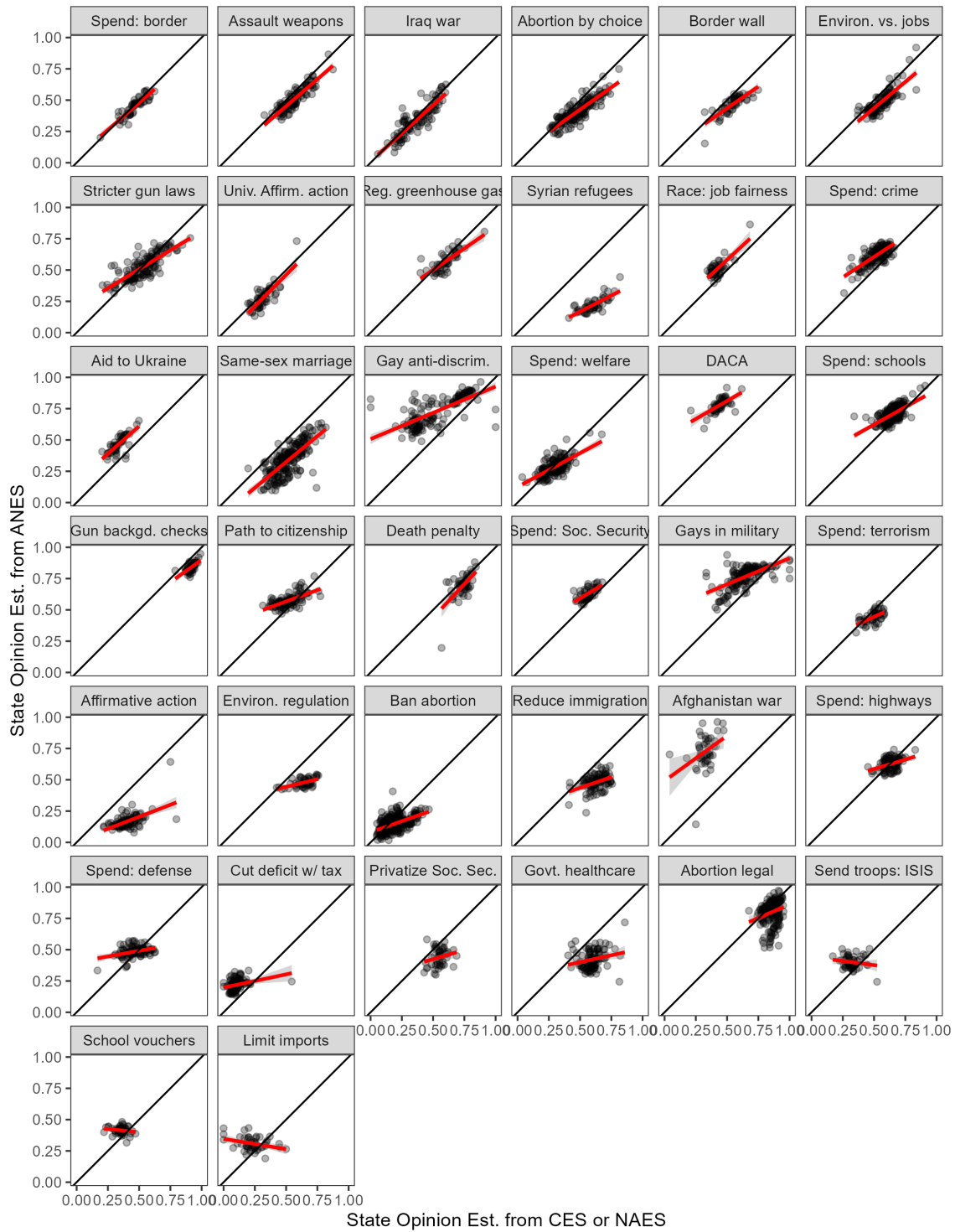


Figure A5: Validation of Policy Estimates by Issue



or slightly negatively, and several fall off the 45-degree line (though they are well correlated). These variations are largely explained by imperfect matches in question wording across the surveys. Likewise, the “ground truth” measures here are themselves survey results with sampling error. Nevertheless, these results indicate that the CMRP models on the ANES recover true state-level opinion.

F Robustness and Heterogeneity for Responsiveness Application

This appendix adds detail to the responsiveness application in Section 4.1 of the main paper and offers further robustness and heterogeneous effects analyses.

F.1 Policy Data Sources

For these analyses, I measure policy outcomes using data from the Correlates of State Policy dataset (Grossmann, Jordan and McCrain 2021). The particular variables, their availability, and the underlying sources from which they come are reported in Table A3. In all cases, policies are rescaled to be binary and to match the ANES questions being used (e.g., for same-sex marriage, the variable is recoded from categorical representing marriage, civil unions, and neither to a 0/1 no marriage/marriage measure). Spending is presented as per-capita change in spending in constant 2000 dollars.

Table A3: Policy Responsiveness Outcomes and Data Sources

Policy	Years	Source
Abortion: Parental Consent	'90, '92, '00	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Abortion: Partial Birth	'98, '00	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Abortion: Public Funds	'90, '92, '04	Boehmke et al. (2021); Kreitzer (2015)
Death Penalty	'88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Public Housing	'56, '58, '60	Boehmke and Skinner (2012)
School Prayer	'64, '66, '68, '80, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
School Vouchers	'98, '00, '04	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Teacher Union Strike Rights	'68	Finger (2018); Lyon (2021); Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Ratified ERA	'76, '78, '80	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
State ERA	'76, '78, '80	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Parental Leave	'16	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Gun Control	'00, '04, '08, '12, '16	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Government Health Care	'92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16	Boehmke et al. (2021); Gray et al. (2010)

Table A3 – *continued*

Policy	Years	Source
English Official Language	'92, '98, '00	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Anti-Discrimination: LGBT	'88, '92, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Same-Sex Marriage	'04, '08, '12, '16	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
No RFRA	'16	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Anti-Discrimination: Employment	'56, '58, '60, '64, '68, '72, '86, '88, '92, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Anti-Discrimination: Housing	'64, '66, '68, '70, '72, '76	Boehmke and Skinner (2012)
Anti-Discrimination: Public Accommodation	'68, '70, '72	Caughey and Warshaw (2016)
Law Enforcement and Crime	'82, '84, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04	Adolph, Breunig and Koski (2020)
Environment	'82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Health Care	'82, '94	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Homelessness and Housing	'88, '90, '92, '96	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Highways and Roads	'00	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Public Schools	'88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04	Adolph, Breunig and Koski (2020)
Unemployment	'82, '86, '88, '92	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Welfare	'82, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04	Sorens, Muedini and Ruger (2008)
Welfare: Child Limit	'94, '96	Boehmke and Skinner (2012)
Welfare: Time Limit	'94, '96	Boehmke and Skinner (2012)

F.2 Heterogeneity across Issues

The main text reports the average relationship between opinion and policy across issues. Here, I show issue-specific trends. Using the same hierarchical models as the general result, I compute predicted probabilities of policies and predicted changes in spending at various levels of opinion. Figures A6 and A7 report these for policies and spending, respectively. Thicker lines are those on which the effect is positive and statistically significant at the 95% level. Although on average we see considerable responsiveness on policies and spending, these figures suggest that there is variation in the extent to which this is the case across issue domains—and particularly the extent to which this occurs on a domain-specific level in the spending results.

I also examine levels of congruence—the matchup of majority opinion and policies—across

Figure A6: Responsiveness by Issue: Policy

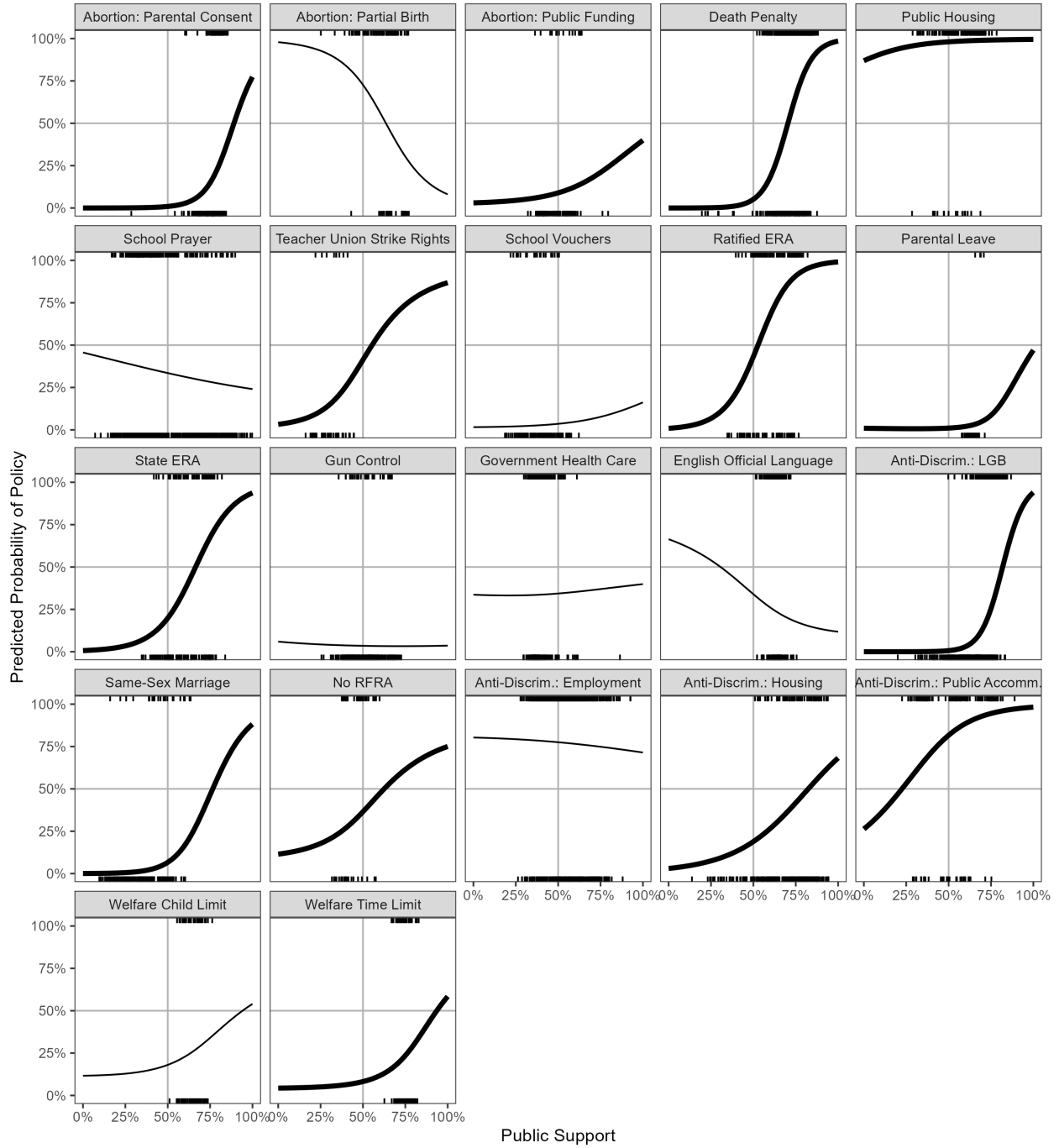
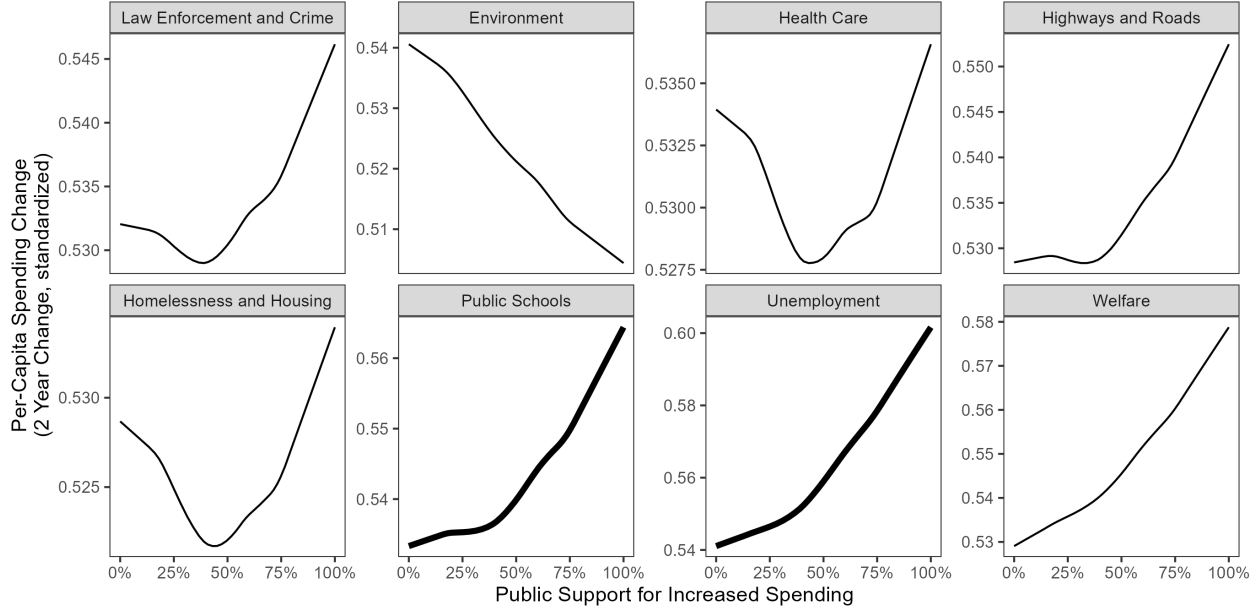


Figure A7: Responsiveness by Issue: Spending

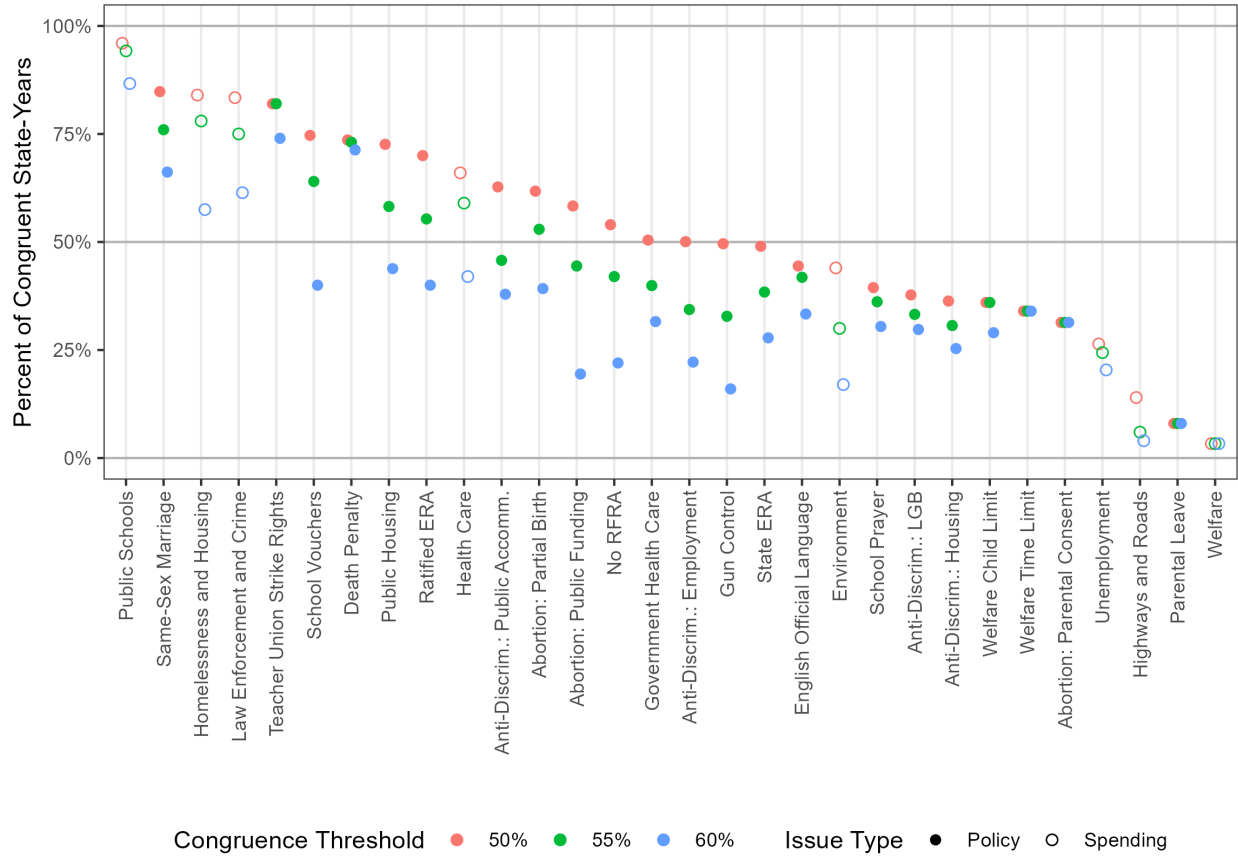


domains. Figure A8 reports these figures for varying thresholds of congruence. I report (in red) the share of state-years on which majority opinion matches the policy (or in the case of spending, the direction of spending change), by issue. As expected, about half of issues are congruent with opinion more than half of the time. I then shift the threshold to consider cases where opinion reaches 55% (green) or 60% (blue) support in the public. As we might expect, these levels of congruence are mechanically lower than when the threshold is 50%, though there is still variation across issues.

F.3 Robustness

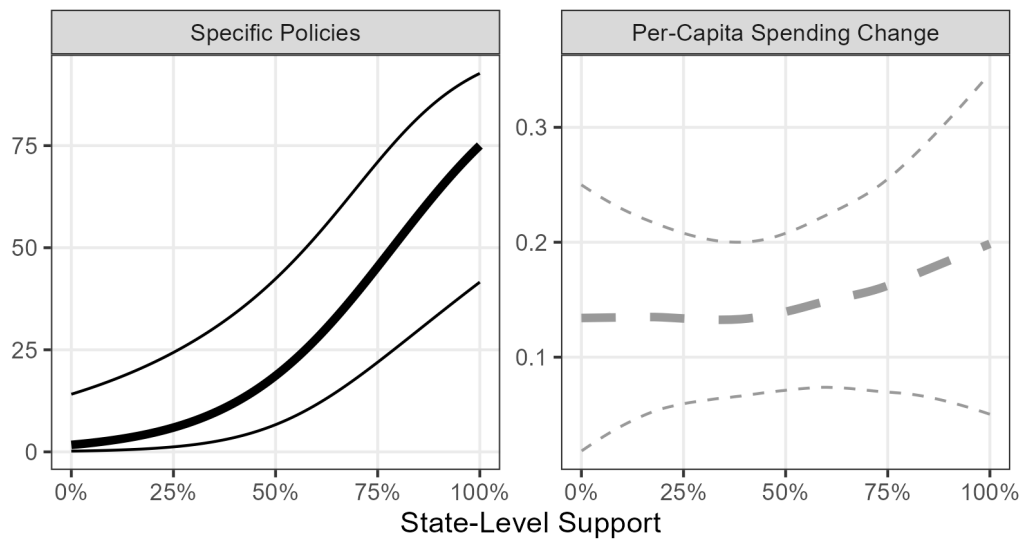
The main analysis relates policy to opinion measured in the prior year. To confirm that the results do not depend on this choice, I re-estimate the responsiveness models using opinion measured in the same year as the policy outcome (i.e., not lagged). Results are in Figure A9. I find that there is essentially no difference in the results if this alternative specification is used.

Figure A8: Congruence by Issue and Threshold



Note: Points report the share of state-issue-years where congruence is met, under varying opinion thresholds (e.g., cases where policy matches the view of 50%, 55%, or 60% of the public).

Figure A9: Policy Responsiveness: Non-Lagged Opinion Measurement



Note: Curves are predicted probabilities of specific policies being enacted (black solid line) and predicted spending change, standardized within domain (gray dashed line), modeled as a function of public opinion. 95% credible intervals are indicated with thinner curves.

F.4 Full Regression Models

The tables below report full regression results for the models in Section 4.1 of the text. Models are hierarchical models fit with variational inference, using the software `vglmer`. For models that include smoothing splines (i.e., the Spending model in Figure 3 of the main text and Table A4 below), the coefficient on Opinion *does not capture the full effect of opinion from the spline*. I include summary standard deviation parameters for the splines. I also include the difference between (standardized) change in spending at 0% and 100% public opinion levels, as well as a credible interval for that effect.

Table A4: Full Results: Responsiveness Models

	Policy	Spending
Opinion	5.085 (1.539)	0.008 (0.184)
Intercept	-4.035 (1.124)	0.134 (0.061)
<i>Group Effect Standard Deviations:</i>		
Policy Intercepts	4.93	0.32
Policy Opinion Slopes	6.56	0.93
State Intercepts	1.77	0.20
State Opinion Slopes	2.85	0.25
Year Intercepts	1.65	1.16
Year Opinion Slopes	1.84	1.75
<i>Spline Summary:</i>		
Opinion Spline		0.47
Policy-Specific Opinion Spline		0.25
Opinion, Full vs. No Support		0.16 [0.02, 0.31]
ELBO	-2,501	-1,320
N	4,877	2,600

Note: Cell entries are posterior means, with standard errors in parentheses. In the rightmost column, the Opinion coefficient is the unpenalized linear component of the spline, not the full effect of opinion; the contrast row reports the predicted difference in spending between full and no support, averaged across policy domains. Spline SD rows are smoothing parameters. They measure departure from linearity, and heterogeneity in that departure across policy domains, rather than effect size, and have no sign.

Table A5: Full Results: Responsiveness Models, by Decade

	1952–1970	1972–1990	1992–2016
Opinion	-0.06 (2.01)	9.92 (1.63)	4.22 (2.14)
Intercept	-1.51 (1.59)	-7.21 (1.43)	-3.02 (1.50)
<i>Group Effect Standard Deviations:</i>			
Policy Intercepts	3.94	4.22	5.62
Policy Opinion Slopes	4.76	4.18	7.94
State Intercepts	2.41	2.54	2.09
State Opinion Slopes	1.72	2.94	3.47
Year Intercepts	1.90	0.98	1.04
Year Opinion Slopes	1.88	0.93	1.07
ELBO	-356	-608	-1,331
N	899	1,113	2,548

Note: Cell entries are posterior means, with standard errors in parentheses.

G Robustness for Nationalization Application

This appendix offers additional detail and robustness tests for the nationalization analysis in Section 4.2 of the paper.

G.1 Model Details

In the main paper, I model over-time trends in opinion dispersion across states using a hierarchical generalized additive model. Specifically, I measure nationalization as $100 - IQR_{it}$ where IQR_{it} is the interquartile range across all state estimates for issue i in year t . I model this using `mgcv` as follows:

```
(1 - iqr) ~ s(year) + s(year, by = domain, m = 1) + s(domain, bs = "re")
+ s(issue, bs = "re")
```

This model decomposes nationalization into a series of parts: `s(year)` captures the overall trajectory of nationalization across all issues over time. `s(year, by = domain)` creates trends by policy domain, fit to capture only deviations from the global trend rather than absorbing the overall trend (`m = 1`), so that the global smooth is the average trajectory across domains. I also include random effects for `domain` and `issue`. In doing so, I include all issues asked in at least five surveys. The model is used to produce the descriptive plots in the main text of the paper.

G.2 Robustness to Alternative Measures of Nationalization

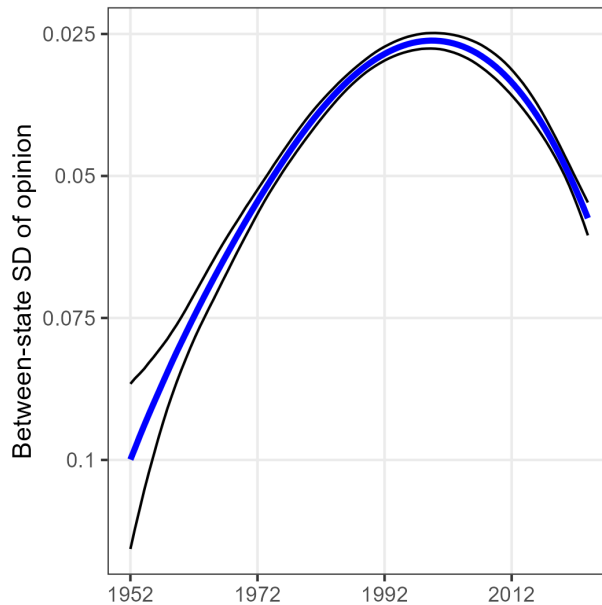
The main text measures nationalization using $100 - IQR_{it}$. This appendix presents results using alternative measures.

First, because the dispersion measures themselves are model-estimated quantities, they contain measurement error. This may inflate observed dispersion. To address this, I estimate nationalization from a hierarchical model that separates true cross-state differences in opinion from measurement error. Rather than computing dispersion from point estimates and then smoothing it, I model the state-level estimates directly, using their standard errors as known measurement error.

Specifically, I fit a distributional (location-scale) model of opinion in which the standard deviation of opinion across states is the quantity of interest. Because the opinion estimates from CMRP include standard errors, I can model both these estimates of measurement error and the point estimates, recovering between-state dispersion net of estimation noise. I fit the model in `brms` with domain-specific smooths included to hold domain composition constant across years. Crucially, the model includes no state-level term in the mean, so that persistent differences across states are captured, so that persistent differences across states contribute to the measured dispersion rather than being averaged away.

The figure below shows the trend from this analysis, with nationalization plotted as the modeled across-state standard deviation of opinion (the y-axis is reversed so that the top corresponds to greater nationalization). As in the main paper, I find that nationalization increases dramatically over the period from the 1960s to early 2000s. However, unlike the IQR-based measure reported in the main text, the standard deviation increases in recent years. Because the standard deviation is more sensitive to states in the tails of the distribution than the IQR, this may suggest that recent divergence is concentrated among some states moving toward extremes.

Figure A10: Nationalization Measured via Modeled Standard Deviations

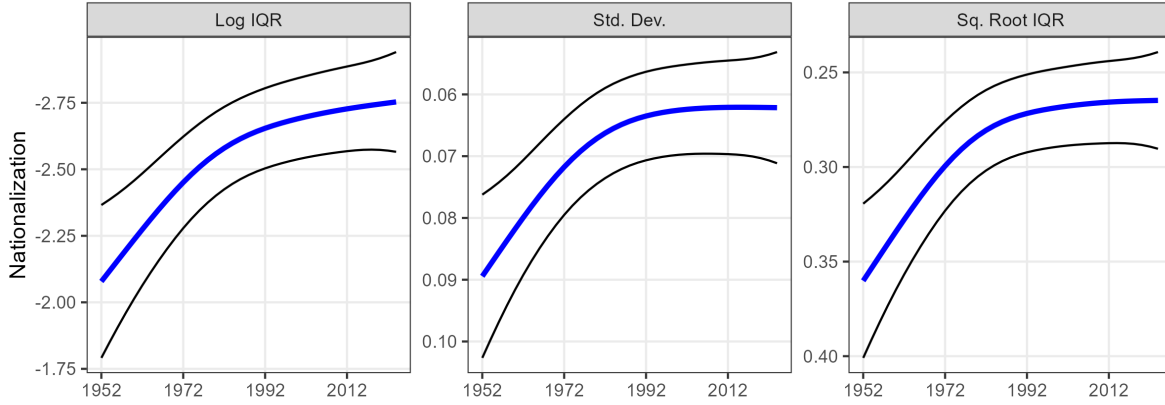


Note: Curve reports the between-state standard deviations from the `brms` model described in the text of the appendix.

I also consider a number of alternative measures of dispersion (beyond the $100 - IQR_{it}$ approach of the main paper). In Figure A11 below, I show that the overall trend is robust to using logged IQR , square root of IQR , and standard deviation across state opinions by issue-year. In all cases, I follow the same hierarchical GAM approach as the main text. Y-axes are reversed so that the

top of the plot always corresponds to more nationalization.

Figure A11: Alternative Measures of Nationalization



Note: The main paper measures nationalization as $100 - IQR_{it}$ of state estimates. These figures replicate those analyses using logged IQR_{it} , square root of IQR_{it} and the standard deviation across state estimates.

G.3 Full Regression Models

The table below reports full regression results for the generalized additive models (GAMs) reported in Figures 4 and 5 in Section 4.2 of the text. The models were implemented in the software `mgcv`. The top panel shows the intercept from the model with its standard error. Below, the bottom panel shows the terms for the smoothing splines: the year trend, as well as domain-specific deviations from it, and the domain and outcome random effects. Each is reported as effective degrees of freedom (edf) with an approximate p-value.

Table A6: Full Results: Nationalization Model

	Coef.	Std. Error	
Intercept	0.92	0.01	
	edf	p-value	SD
<i>Year Trend</i>			
Year	2.89	<0.001	0.040
<i>Domain-Specific Deviations</i>			
Economic	0.00	0.572	0.000
Foreign Policy / Security	0.00	0.769	0.000
Racial	4.61	<0.001	0.054
Role of Government	4.79	0.013	0.087
Social	2.12	0.014	0.011
Spending	0.24	0.176	0.003
<i>Random Effects</i>			
Domain	0.27	0.242	0.003
Outcome	48.25	<0.001	0.035
Adj. R ²	0.56		
N	567		

Note: Cells are estimates from a generalized additive model whose outcome is the interquartile range of state-level opinion within question-year, fit by REML. The intercept reports a coefficient and standard error. Smooth terms report effective degrees of freedom (edf) and the approximate p-value for the null hypothesis that the smooth is zero. Random effect terms report the estimated standard deviation.

H Full List of Policy Variables

This appendix summarizes the full set of questions included in the dataset of state-level opinion estimates.

Table A7: Policy Questions in the ANES, 1952–2024

Variable	Years	Description
Economic		
healthcare_ govvsprivate	'70, '72, '76, '78, '84, '88, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor a government insurance plan covering all medical and hospital costs, rather than private insurance and people paying their own way (government-plan end of the 7-point scale).
immig_reduce	'92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor decreasing the number of immigrants allowed into the United States.
trade_limitimports	'86, '88, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor placing new limits on foreign imports (in early years framed as protecting American jobs even if it raises prices).
econ_ equalopportunity	'84, '86, '88, '90, '94, '96, '98, '00	Agree that our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.
deficit_ taxincrease	'88, '90, '94, '04, '08	Willing to have taxes increased in order to reduce the federal budget deficit.
environ_ jobstradeoff	'96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Protecting the environment is worth it even at the cost of jobs and standard of living, rather than giving priority to jobs and the economy (environment end of the 7-point scale).
environ_regulation	'80, '96, '98, '00	Favor tougher government regulations to protect the environment, rather than viewing such regulations as too burdensome.
healthcare_ medicalcare	'56, '60, '64, '68	Agree that the government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost.
immig_ unauthorizedpolicy	'12, '16, '20, '24	Favor a lenient policy toward unauthorized immigrants (allowing them to stay and eventually gain citizenship), rather than more restrictive options.
climate_moreaction	'16, '20, '24	The federal government should be doing more about climate change, rather than less or the same.
econ_ housinggovrole	'56, '58, '60	Agree that things like electric power and housing should be left to private business rather than the government (the anti-government-provision position).

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
econ_inflationunemploy	'70, '72, '80	Favor giving priority to fighting inflation over reducing unemployment (in 1970-1972, favoring strong government action against inflation).
environ_pollutionstandards	'70, '72, '90	Government should force industry to reduce its pollution, rather than leaving industry to handle pollution its own way.
immig_endbirthright	'16, '20, '24	Favor ending birthright citizenship, so that U.S.-born children of unauthorized immigrants would not automatically be citizens.
immig_englishnational	'92, '98, '00	Favor a law making English the official national language of the United States.
tax_cutincometax	'78, '80, '96	Favor cutting federal income taxes (in 1978, even if it means reducing government services).
tax_millionaires	'12, '16, '24	Favor raising taxes on very high incomes (a tax on incomes over \$1 million).
tax_richdontpayfairshare	'78, '02, '04	Agree that high-income people do not pay their fair share of taxes.
deficit_cutmilspend	'08, '12	Favor reducing the federal budget deficit by cutting military and defense spending.
deficit_reducepref	'08, '12	Favor prioritizing reduction of the federal budget deficit.
healthcare_aca	'12, '16	Favor the 2010 health care law (the Affordable Care Act / Obamacare).
healthcare_vaccinesschools	'16, '24	Favor requiring children to be vaccinated in order to attend public schools.
immig_buildwall	'16, '24	Favor building a wall on the U.S. border with Mexico.
immig_citizenshippath	'12, '24	Favor a path to eventual citizenship for unauthorized immigrants.
immig_services	'92, '96	Favor making immigrants eligible for government services (Medicaid, food stamps, welfare) as soon as they arrive, rather than requiring a waiting period.
labor_outsourcing	'12, '16	Favor the government acting to discourage U.S. companies from moving jobs overseas, rather than staying out.
tax_cut	'56, '88	Agree that the government ought to cut taxes even if it means putting off some important things that need to be done.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
tax_flatrate	'72, '76	Favor graduated tax rates that are higher on high incomes, rather than the same flat rate for everyone (the progressive end of the scale).
tax_paymoreforservices	'92, '04	Willing to pay more in taxes so the government can spend more on services the respondent favors.
tax_poorpaytoomuch	'02, '04	Believe that low-income people pay more than their fair share of taxes.
welfare_morekidscutoff	'94, '96	Favor not increasing welfare benefits for mothers on welfare who have additional children.
welfare_twoyearlimit	'94, '96	Favor a two-year limit on how long a person can receive welfare benefits.
budget_cutspendingreduceservices	'76	Agree that the government should cut spending even if it means reducing government services.
budget_defensesavings	'90	Prefer that money saved from reduced defense spending be used for domestic programs, rather than to cut taxes or reduce the deficit.
budget_prioritycutdefense	'82	Named reducing defense spending as their first-priority action for the federal budget.
budget_prioritydeficit	'82	Named reducing the budget deficit as their first-priority action for the federal budget.
budget_prioritylowertaxes	'82	Named lowering federal income taxes as their first-priority action for the federal budget.
budget_priorityraisetaxes	'82	Named increasing federal income taxes as their first-priority action for the federal budget.
budget_priorityservices	'82	Named reducing spending on government services as their first-priority action for the federal budget.
business_govtooinvolved	'82	Disagree that the government in Washington has gotten involved in things that are not the federal government's business (the pro-government-involvement position).
business_noinfluence	'56	Agree that the government ought to see to it that big business corporations do not have too much say in how the government is run.
business_toomuchregulation	'82	Believe the federal government regulates and controls business too much.
climate_globalwarming	'16	Believe that global warming has probably been happening.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
climate_ greenhousereg	'24	Favor increased government regulation of businesses that emit greenhouse gases.
climate_humancause	'16	Believe that rising world temperatures are caused mostly by human activity, rather than natural causes.
deficit_ cutdomspending	'12	Favor reducing the federal budget deficit by cutting domestic government spending.
deficit_ cutfedemployees	'12	Favor reducing the federal budget deficit by cutting the number of federal government employees.
deficit_ cuthealtheeducation	'94	Oppose cutting spending on health and education to reduce the deficit (the pro-spending position).
deficit_ medicarevoucher	'12	Favor reducing the deficit by changing Medicare to a voucher (premium-support) system.
deficit_tax250k	'12	Favor reducing the deficit by raising income taxes on incomes over \$250,000.
econ_ laborinfluence	'56	Agree that the government ought to see to it that labor unions do not have too much say in how the government is run (an anti-union position).
econ_tarp	'12	Favor the 2008 TARP bank bailout.
energy_limituse	'76	Prefer that the government limit the amount of energy people can use, rather than letting higher prices discourage use.
energy_nuclear	'80	Favor building more nuclear power plants or continuing to operate existing ones, rather than closing them.
energy_rationgas	'80	Favor the government rationing gasoline to reduce energy consumption.
environ_ fuelefficiency	'08	Favor requiring automakers to build cars with higher fuel efficiency.
environ_ gastaxforeignoil	'08	Favor increasing gasoline taxes to reduce U.S. reliance on foreign oil.
environ_nuclear	'12	Favor building more nuclear power plants.
environ_ offshoredrill	'12	Favor offshore oil drilling.
environ_ taxincrease	'90	Support an increase in taxes to clean up the nation's air and water.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
healthcare_govspending	'16	The government should increase spending to help people pay for health insurance.
healthcare_longtermcare	'92	Favor expanding Medicare to cover long-term care such as nursing-home stays.
healthcare_seniordrugs	'08	Favor the government helping senior citizens pay for prescription drugs.
immig_daca	'16	Favor allowing unauthorized immigrants brought to the U.S. as children to stay, rather than being sent back.
immig_sentback	'24	Favor sending back unauthorized immigrants who were brought to the U.S. as children, rather than allowing them to stay.
immig_workerperiod	'08	Favor allowing unauthorized immigrants to work in the U.S. legally for a limited period.
labor_minimumwage	'16	The federal minimum wage should be raised.
labor_tafthartleyprolabor	'52	Take a pro-labor position on the Taft-Hartley Act, favoring repealing it or changing it in labor's favor.
socsec_privatize	'08	Favor letting individuals invest part of their Social Security taxes in the stock market (2008).
socsecurity_privatize	'12	Favor allowing Social Security funds to be invested in the stock market (2012).
socsecurity_taxes	'92	Oppose taxing the Social Security benefits that retirees receive.
tax_2001bushcuts	'02	Favor the 2001 (Bush) federal income tax cuts.
tax_bigcorp	'08	Believe large companies should be taxed at a higher rate on their profits than small businesses.
tax_estatetax	'02	Favor eliminating the estate ('death') tax.
tax_graduated	'08	Support a graduated income tax in which wealthier people pay a larger percentage of their income.
tax_increasereduce	'90	Approve of the 1990 budget agreement that increased taxes and reduced government services to cut the deficit.
tax_lawchanges	'86	Approve of the 1986 changes to the federal tax laws (the Tax Reform Act of 1986).
tax_prop13proptytax	'78	Would vote for a Proposition 13-style measure to cut or limit property taxes.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
trade_protectjobs	'90	Favor increasing limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs.
welfare_ onlydisabled	'72	Agree that everyone except the old and disabled should take care of themselves without welfare benefits.
Social and Cultural		
abortion_ban	'72, '76, '78, '80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '24	Abortion should never be permitted, under any circumstances.
abortion_legal	'72, '76, '78, '80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '24	Abortion should be legal in at least some circumstances (i.e., not banned outright).
abortion_choice	'72, '76, '78, '80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16	Abortion should always be permitted as a matter of the woman's personal choice.
gender_ tradwomenrole	'72, '74, '76, '78, '80, '82, '84, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08	Women should have an equal role with men in business, industry, and government, rather than a woman's place being in the home (equal-role end of the scale).
crime_deathpenalty	'88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder.
educ_schoolprayer	'64, '66, '68, '80, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98	Support allowing organized prayer in public schools.
lgbt_ gayantidiscrim	'88, '92, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor laws protecting gay men and lesbians from job discrimination.
equality_tolerance	'72, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00	Agree that in many respects, equality has gone too far in this country (the anti-egalitarian position).
guns_stricter	'76, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor stricter gun control, making it more difficult to buy guns.
lgbt_gaysadoption	'00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Gay and lesbian couples should be legally allowed to adopt children.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
crime_urbanunrest	'68, '70, '72, '74, '76, '92	Favor solving the problems of poverty and unemployment that give rise to urban unrest, rather than using all available force to maintain order (root-causes end of the scale).
lgbt_gaymarriage	'04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Same-sex couples should be allowed to legally marry, rather than only civil unions or no legal recognition.
lgbt_gaymilitary	'92, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12	Gay men and lesbians should be allowed to serve in the U.S. armed forces.
crime_accusedrights	'70, '72, '74, '76, '78	Favor protecting the rights of those accused of crimes, rather than stopping crime regardless of the rights of the accused (rights-of-accused end of the scale).
crime_marijuanalegal	'72, '76, '12, '16	The use of marijuana should be made legal.
protest_civildisobedience	'68, '70, '72, '74	Approve of taking part in nonviolent civil disobedience against unjust laws.
protest_demonstrations	'68, '70, '72, '74	Approve of taking part in lawful protest demonstrations against the government.
protest_legal marches	'68, '70, '72, '74	Approve of taking part in permitted, legal protest marches and demonstrations.
abortion_parentalconsent	'90, '92, '00	Favor a state law requiring parental consent before a teenager under 18 can obtain an abortion.
abortion_publicfunds	'90, '92, '04	Favor allowing the use of government funds to help pay for abortions for women who cannot afford them.
educ_schoolbuildingaid	'56, '58, '60	Agree that the federal government should give money to help cities and towns build schools.
educ_vouchers	'98, '00, '04	Favor school vouchers usable at private schools.
gender_era	'76, '78, '80	Approve of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).
gender_parentalleave	'16, '20, '24	Favor requiring employers to provide paid leave for parents of new children.
lgbt_transbathroomban	'16, '20, '24	Favor requiring transgender people to use the public bathroom of the sex they were born as (the restrictive position).
abortion_partialbirth	'98, '00	Favor banning partial-birth (late-term) abortion.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
childcare_ assistance	'90, '92	Government should help provide child care assistance for lower- and middle-income working parents.
educ_ privateschoolaid	'64, '92	Agree that government aid to schools should be extended to private and parochial schools.
gender_equalpay	'02, '16	Favor government action to ensure equal pay for women.
gender_layoffwomen	'72, '76	Women should be treated the same as men in layoffs, rather than being laid off first (the equal-treatment position).
gender_socdiscrim	'72, '80	Agree that society discriminates against women.
guns_assaultban	'20, '24	Favor banning the sale of semi-automatic 'assault-style' weapons.
guns_ backgroundchecks	'20, '24	Favor requiring background checks for gun purchases, including at gun shows and private sales.
lgbt_ samesexservices	'16, '20	Businesses should be required to provide services to same-sex couples, rather than being allowed to refuse on religious grounds.
protest_ campusunrest	'70, '72	Sympathize with students involved in campus unrest, rather than favoring the use of police and the National Guard to control it (sympathize end of the scale).
abortion_ notifyhusband	'92	Favor a state law requiring a married woman to notify her husband before she can have an abortion.
civil_ wiretapwarrant	'12	Favor requiring the government to obtain a court warrant before wiretapping (pro-civil-liberties position).
crime_ addresssocialprobs	'00	Favor addressing the social problems that cause crime, rather than catching, convicting, and punishing criminals (social-causes end of the scale).
crime_ clintoncrimebill	'94	Favor the 1994 (Clinton) federal crime bill.
crime_ courtstoolenient	'76	Believe the courts deal too easily or too leniently with criminals.
crime_prevvspunish	'96	Favor preventing crime by solving the social problems that cause it, rather than punishing criminals (prevention end of the scale).

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
educ_aidtoeducation	'64	Believe the federal government, rather than the states and localities, should help towns and cities build schools.
educ_dei	'24	Favor diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) programs.
educ_federalrole	'68	Believe the federal government, rather than state and local governments, should play the leading role in education.
educ_teacherstrike	'68	Believe teachers should feel free to strike for higher salaries.
educ_teachervoice	'68	Believe teachers should have a greater voice in school policy decisions.
gender_eradisappointed	'82	Was disappointed that the Equal Rights Amendment did not pass (the pro-ERA response).
gender_sexharass	'92	Believe too little is being done about sexual harassment.
gender_unpaidfamleave	'92	Believe the government should require employers to provide family leave, rather than leaving it up to each employer.
guns_banhandguns	'96	Favor banning the possession of handguns except by police and other authorized persons.
guns_handgunpermit	'76	Favor requiring a person to obtain a police permit before buying a gun.
lgbt_transmilitary	'24	Favor allowing transgender people to serve in the U.S. military.
lgbt_transsportsban	'24	Favor banning transgender girls from competing on girls' K-12 sports teams (the restrictive position).
liberties_flagburning	'90	Burning the American flag as a political protest should be legal (opposing a ban on flag burning).
natSERVICE.require	'90	Favor requiring young people to perform some national service.
poor_fairtrial	'02	Agree that a poor person has as good a chance as a wealthy person of getting a fair trial.
religion_outofpolitics	'98	Religious groups should stay out of politics, rather than standing up for their beliefs in politics.

Foreign Policy and Security

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
foreign_isolationism	'52, '56, '58, '60, '68, '72, '76, '80, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '02, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Agree that the U.S. would be better off staying home and not concerning itself with problems in other parts of the world (the isolationist position).
spending_defense	'80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor increasing (rather than decreasing) defense spending.
foreign_vietnampullout	'64, '66, '68, '70, '72	The U.S. should pull out of Vietnam entirely, rather than keep trying to win or end the war gradually.
foreign_vietnamrightthing	'64, '66, '68, '70, '72	The U.S. did the right thing in getting involved in Vietnam, rather than should have stayed out.
foreignaid_underdeveloped	'56, '58, '60, '64	Agree that the U.S. should give economic help to poorer, underdeveloped countries even if they cannot repay it.
foreign_anticomunistmilitaryaid	'56, '58, '60	Agree that the U.S. should keep soldiers overseas to help countries trying to fight off communism.
foreign_iraq	'02, '04, '08	Favor U.S. military action in Iraq, or believe the Iraq war was worth the cost.
foreign_southafricapressure	'86, '88, '90	The U.S. should apply economic pressure on South Africa to end apartheid, rather than oppose such pressure.
foreign_sovietgettough	'84, '86, '88	Favor trying hard to cooperate and get along with the Soviet Union, rather than getting tougher with the Soviets (cooperative end of the scale).
foreignaid_support	'68, '72, '76	Favor the U.S. giving foreign aid to other countries.
foreign_afghanistan	'02, '04	Believe the war in Afghanistan was worth the cost.
foreign_centamerica	'84, '86	Support U.S. assistance to the anti-communist government side in Central America, rather than staying out.
foreign_chinaun	'68, '72	Communist (mainland) China should be admitted to the United Nations.
foreign_communisttrade	'68, '72	The U.S. should allow trade with communist countries, rather than forbid it.
foreign_militarysolveprobs	'92, '98	Willing to have the U.S. use military force to solve international problems.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
foreign_ negotiatecommunists	'64, '68	The U.S. should be willing to sit down and negotiate with communist leaders.
foreign_ persiangulfrighthtthing	'90, '92	It was the right thing to send U.S. military forces to the Persian Gulf, rather than having stayed out.
foreign_ strongmilitary	'88, '90	Believes it is important to maintain a strong military.
spending_ militarycut	'72, '76	Favor cutting military spending, rather than keeping it at the present level.
foreign_ chinarecognize	'72	The U.S. should diplomatically recognize (mainland) China.
foreign_ communistchinaourfault	'52	Believe that China's going communist was at least partly the United States' own fault.
foreign_ communiststhreaten	'88	Agree that any communist country is a major threat to the United States.
foreign_crisisaid	'98	Willing to have the U.S. give financial aid to countries in economic crisis.
foreign_ cubaintervene	'68	The U.S. should intervene to remove Cuba's communist government, rather than let Cubans handle their own affairs.
foreign_diplomacy	'88	The better way to keep peace is to rely on diplomacy, rather than on building a strong military.
foreign_ iranbombing	'12	Favor bombing Iran's nuclear sites.
foreign_ irandiplomacy	'12	Favor using diplomacy and negotiation with Iran over its nuclear program.
foreign_ iransanctions	'12	Favor imposing sanctions on Iran over its nuclear program.
foreign_ iransinvasion	'12	Favor invading Iran over its nuclear program.
foreign_ isissendtroops	'16	Favor sending U.S. ground troops to fight ISIS.
foreign_israelaid	'24	Favor the U.S. providing military assistance to Israel.
foreign_ koreanewpolicy	'52	Favor taking a stronger stand in Korea (up to bombing Manchuria), rather than pulling out.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
foreign_ korearightthing	'52	The U.S. did the right thing in getting into the fighting in Korea, rather than should have stayed out.
foreign_ maintainsuperpower	'88	Disagree that the U.S. should maintain its position as the world's only superpower (a higher value opposes continued superpower status).
foreign_ militarydominance	'92	Agree the U.S. should remain the world's strongest military power even if it means continuing high defense spending.
foreign_ militaryprotectoil	'88	Favor using the U.S. military in the Middle East to protect oil shipments.
foreign_ nuclearfreeze	'82	The U.S. should freeze nuclear weapons on its own, rather than only if the USSR also agrees or not at all.
foreign_ preventcommunism	'88	Agree that preventing the spread of communism is a very important U.S. foreign policy goal.
foreign_ sovietarmsagreement	'88	Approve of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms reduction agreement (the INF Treaty).
foreign_ sovietbiggerthreat	'90	View the Soviet Union as a bigger (or equal) threat to the U.S. compared with Japan, rather than viewing Japan as the bigger threat.
foreign_ sovietchinaacttough	'56	Agree that the best way to deal with Russia and Communist China is to act just as tough as they do.
foreign_ sovieteconassist	'90	The U.S. should give economic assistance to the Soviet Union.
foreign_ sovietisolaiton	'80	Favor trying hard to get along and cooperate with the Soviet Union, rather than treating cooperation as a mistake (cooperative end of the scale).
foreign_ sovietreducetrade	'82	Favor increasing trade with the Soviet Union, rather than cutting it back (increase-trade end of the scale).
foreign_ syrianrefugees	'16	Favor allowing Syrian refugees into the United States.
foreign_ukraineaid	'24	Favor the U.S. giving weapons and aid to Ukraine.
foreign_ ussrgetsmore	'76	Agree that the USSR gets more out of its relationship with the U.S. than it gives in return.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
foreign_ vietnamamnesty	'72	The government should declare amnesty for those who evaded the draft during the Vietnam War.
foreignaid_ humanitarian	'98	Willing to have the U.S. give humanitarian aid to other countries.
Role of Government		
govrole_ jobsguarantee	'56, '58, '60, '64, '68, '72, '74, '76, '78, '80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living, rather than letting each person get ahead on their own.
govrole_ spendservices	'80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Government should provide many more services and increase spending, rather than reduce services and spending.
govrole_ toopowerful	'64, '66, '68, '70, '72, '76, '78, '80, '00	The government in Washington is getting too powerful, rather than not being too strong.
federalism_ leastfaith	'68, '72, '74, '76, '96	Names the national/federal level as the level of government they have the least faith and confidence in (vs. state or local).
federalism_ mostfaith	'68, '72, '74, '76, '96	Names the national/federal level as the level of government they have the most faith and confidence in (vs. state or local).
govrole_ moregovbetter	'90, '96, '00, '20, '24	There are more things the government should be doing, rather than the view that the less government the better.
elections_ termlimits	'92, '94, '96, '98	Favor a law limiting the number of terms members of Congress can serve.
govrole_ reduceincomediff	'96, '16, '20, '24	Government should act to reduce income differences between the rich and the poor, rather than not concern itself with income differences.
govrole_stronggovt	'90, '92, '96	A strong government is needed to handle today's complex economic problems, rather than leaving these problems to the free market.
elections_ 2000electionfair	'02, '04	Believe the 2000 presidential election was decided fairly.
elections_ financingreform	'00, '02	The campaign finance system needs major changes or a complete overhaul, rather than only minor changes.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
elections_ morereferenda	'72, '74	More of the important issues facing the country should be decided directly by voters, rather than by elected officials.
government_reform	'72, '76	The form of government should be kept much as it is, rather than believing a big change is needed in our whole form of government.
govrole_ goalfightprices	'72, '80	Chose 'fighting rising prices' as their first choice among the four national goals.
govrole_ goalmaintainorder	'72, '80	Chose 'maintaining order in the nation' as their first choice among the four national goals.
govrole_ goalpeplemoresay	'72, '80	Chose 'giving people more say in important political decisions' as their first choice among the four national goals.
govrole_ goalprotectspeech	'72, '80	Chose 'protecting freedom of speech' as their first choice among the four national goals.
govrole_regulate	'20, '24	It would be good for society to have more government regulation, rather than less.
scandal_ nixonpardon	'74, '76	President Ford should have pardoned Nixon.
elections_ corpadban	'12	Favor banning corporations and unions from running political advertisements.
elections_ corplimits	'12	Favor limits on how much corporations and unions can contribute to political campaigns.
federalism_ communityprobs	'86	Agree that people getting together in their own communities can solve their problems better than the government in Washington.
federalism_ congressmorepower	'76	Want Congress to have more influence and power.
federalism_ courtsmorepower	'76	Want the courts (Supreme Court) to have more influence and power.
federalism_crime	'96	Believe fighting crime should be handled mainly by the national/federal government, rather than by state or local government.
federalism_envIRON	'96	Believe environmental policy should be handled mainly by the national/federal government, rather than by state or local government.
federalism_ federalmorepower	'76	Want the federal government in Washington to have more influence and power.
federalism_ localmorepower	'76	Want local government to have more influence and power.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
federalism_ presidencymorepower	'76	Want the presidency to have more influence and power.
federalism_ socialeconprobs	'82	Believe solving the nation's social and economic problems is mainly the federal government's responsibility, rather than a state or local one.
federalism_ statemorepower	'76	Want state government to have more influence and power.
federalism_ statenullify	'12	Favor allowing states to overrule (nullify) federal law.
federalism_welfare	'96	Believe welfare policy should be handled mainly by the national/federal government, rather than by state or local government.
govrole_ backgroundchecks	'76	Government should be able to keep files on and investigate people who might be security risks.
govrole_ carpollutionregs	'76	Government should be able to require states and localities to reduce automobile pollution.
govrole_ jobsafetyregs	'76	Government should be able to set safety regulations for workplaces.
govrole_limitgas	'76	Government should be able to limit the amount of gasoline people can buy.
govrole_nationalid	'76	Government should be able to require every person to carry a national identification card.
govrole_ solvecomplexprobs	'00	A strong government is needed to deal with today's complex economic problems, rather than leaving them to the free market.
govrole_ wiretapnatsec	'76	Government should be able to wiretap or monitor communications in the interest of national security.
scandal_ clintonimpeach	'98	President Clinton should be impeached.
scandal_ clintonresign	'98	President Clinton should resign.
Spending		
spend_socsecurity	'82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on Social Security.
spend_environment	'82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on improving and protecting the environment.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
spend_publicschools	'82, '84, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on public schools.
spend_crime	'82, '84, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on dealing with crime.
spend_foodstamps	'82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00	Increase federal spending on food stamps.
spend_welfare	'52, '82, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on welfare programs.
spend_blackcondition	'82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '00	Increase federal spending on improving the social and economic conditions of Black Americans.
spend_childcare	'88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00, '04	Increase federal spending on child care.
spend_aids	'88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '00	Increase federal spending on fighting AIDS.
spend_aidtopoor	'92, '96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on aid to poor people.
spend_foreignaid	'82, '90, '94, '96, '00, '04	Increase federal spending on foreign aid.
spend_bordersecurity	'96, '00, '04, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on tightening border security to prevent illegal immigration.
spend_homelessness	'88, '90, '92, '96	Increase federal spending on the homeless.
spend_space	'82, '86, '88, '90	Increase federal spending on the space program.
spend_unemployment	'82, '86, '88, '92	Increase federal spending on unemployment compensation.
spend_defense	'82, '84, '94	Increase federal spending on the military, armaments, and defense.
spend_highways	'00, '20, '24	Increase federal spending on building and repairing highways.
spend_scitech	'84, '92, '04	Increase federal spending on science and technology.
spend_studentloans	'82, '92, '96	Increase federal spending on government-guaranteed student loans.
spend_aidcontras	'86, '88	Increase federal spending on aid to the Contras in Nicaragua.
spend_bigcities	'82, '92	Increase federal spending on solving the problems of big cities.
spend_finaid	'86, '88	Increase federal spending on financial aid for college students.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
spend_health	'82, '94	Increase federal spending on improving and protecting the nation's health.
spend_warondrugs	'88, '90	Increase federal spending on the war on drugs.
spend_disability	'82	Increase federal spending on aid to people with disabilities.
spend_drugaddiction	'82	Increase federal spending on dealing with drug addiction.
spend_elderly	'88	Increase federal spending on care for the elderly.
spend_jobsforunemployed	'84	Increase federal spending on government jobs for the unemployed.
spend_medicare	'84	Increase federal spending on Medicare.
spend_sovietaid	'92	Increase federal spending on aid to the countries of the former Soviet Union.
spend_starwars	'88	Increase federal spending on the 'Star Wars' (SDI) missile-defense program.
spend_terrorism	'04	Increase federal spending on the war on terrorism.
Race		
race_helpblacks	'70, '72, '74, '76, '78, '80, '82, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Government should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of Black Americans, rather than expecting them to help themselves.
race_schoolintegration	'56, '58, '60, '64, '66, '68, '70, '72, '76, '78, '86, '90, '92, '94, '00	Government should ensure that Black and white children go to the same schools, rather than staying out of this issue.
race_affirmaction	'86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00, '04, '08, '12, '16, '20, '24	Favor affirmative action in hiring and promotion for Black Americans.
race_civilrightstoofast	'64, '66, '68, '70, '72, '74, '76, '80, '84, '86, '88, '90, '92	Believe that civil rights leaders are pushing too fast, rather than moving at about the right pace or too slowly.
race_fairtreatment	'68, '72, '86, '88, '92, '96, '00, '04, '08, '12	Government should ensure that Black Americans get fair treatment in jobs, rather than staying out of this issue.
civilrights_toofar	'84, '86, '88, '90, '92, '94, '96, '98, '00	Agree that we have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.

Table A7 – *continued*

Variable	Years	Description
race_integrate_neighborhoods	'64, '66, '68, '70, '72, '76	Support open housing, so a homeowner may not refuse to sell to someone because of race, rather than allowing whites to keep Black people out of their neighborhoods.
race_busing	'72, '74, '76, '80, '84	Favor busing children to achieve racial integration of schools, rather than keeping children in neighborhood schools.
race_desegregation	'68, '70, '72, '76, '78	Favor desegregation, rather than strict segregation or something in between.
race_affirmactionuniv	'86, '12, '16, '24	Favor affirmative action for Black Americans in college and university admissions.
race_govtfairness	'56, '58, '60, '64	Agree that if Black Americans are not getting fair treatment in jobs and housing, the government should see to it that they do.
race_pubaccomm	'64, '68, '70, '72	Support the government ensuring Black Americans have access to hotels and restaurants, rather than leaving it to states and localities.
civilrights_noequalchance	'84, '86, '00	Agree that one of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.
race_admissionquotas	'88, '90, '92	Favor college admission quotas reserving a certain number of openings for Black students.
race_blacksgotless	'98, '00	Agree that over the past few years Black Americans have gotten less than they deserve.
race_equalitynotgovrole	'86, '88	Agree that ensuring equal opportunity for Black and white Americans, while important, is not really the government's job to guarantee (the anti-government-role position).
race_affirmactiondiscriminators	'96	Companies with a history of discrimination should be required to have affirmative action programs.
race_affirmactionfordiscrim	'00	Favor affirmative action, but only for employers that have discriminated in the past.
race_blackemploymentgovrole	'52	Government should see to it that Black Americans get fair treatment in employment, rather than staying out of it.
race_companyaffirmact	'02	Companies with a history of discrimination should be required to set up affirmative action programs.

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