

**SUPPLEMENTAL ONLINE APPENDIX**

**Political Sophistication and the Dimensionality of Elite and Mass Attitudes,  
1980-2004**

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## **List of Issue Attitude Items Analyzed on the 1980-2004 CDS and ANES**

Below is a list of all issues included in the analysis in each year. Unless otherwise noted, issues listed within years are included on both the CDS and ANES.

Note: Issues included on both the CDS and ANES in all years are aid to blacks, the environment, defense and abortion.

**1980:** Aid to blacks, environmental regulations, defense spending, relations with Russia, abortion, women's role, school prayer (ANES only)

**1984:** Education spending, aid to blacks, environmental regulations, defense spending, relations with Russia, abortion, women's role, school prayer

**1988:** Child care spending, education spending, aid to blacks, environmental regulations, defense spending, relations with Russia, abortion, women's role, school prayer

**1992:** Services spending, welfare, unemployment insurance, government versus private insurance, child care spending, education spending, aid to blacks, environmental regulations, defense spending, abortion, women's role, school prayer

**2000:** Services spending, welfare, government versus private insurance, child care spending, education spending, aid to blacks, environmental regulations, importance of U.S. military preeminence, abortion, homosexual affect, job discrimination against homosexuals

**2004:** Services spending, welfare, government versus private insurance, child care spending, education spending, aid to blacks, environmental regulations, defense spending, abortion, homosexual affect, same-sex marriage.

### **Question Wording for the Issue Attitude Items Analyzed on the 1980-2004 (CDS)**

Note: An \* indicates that the variable in the designated year(s) has been reverse coded so that higher values reflect more conservative attitudes. An \* next to the variable name indicates that the variable has been similarly reverse coded in each year it is included in the analysis.

- 1.) Ideological self-identifications: 1980-2004 CDS (V0305, V0142, V115, V0087, v2087, q13a): We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 - Extremely liberal 7 - Extremely conservative
- 2.) Assistance to blacks:
  - A. \*1980-1988 CDS (V0319, V184, V155): There is much discussion about the best way to deal with racial problems. Some people think letting children go to their neighborhood schools is so important that they oppose busing. Others think achieving racial integration of schools is so important that it justifies busing children to schools out of their own neighborhoods. Where would you place yourself on the following scale? 1 - Busing to achieve integration 7 - Keeping children in neighborhood schools
  - B. 1992-2004 CDS (V0122, v2122, q19): Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? 1- Government should help blacks 7 - Blacks should help themselves
- 3.) Environment:
  - A. \*1980 CDS (V0316): Present governmental regulations with regard to pollution and other environmental problems limit full use of some energy sources. Do you think the government should relax environmental protection regulations to increase the use of these energy sources, or should the government keep environmental protection regulations unchanged even though this may delay the production of more energy? 1 - Keep regulations unchanged 2 - Relax regulations, with qualifications 3 - Relax regulations
  - B. \*1984-1988 CDS (V0177, V153): Present governmental regulations with regard to pollution and other environmental problems have been altered over the past four years to make greater use of some energy sources. Do you think that government should relax environmental protection regulations further to increase the use of these energy sources, keep

governmental regulations as they are or tighten regulations? 1 – Tighten regulations 2 - Tighten regulations with qualifications 3 - Keep regulations unchanged 4 - Relax regulations with qualifications 5 - Relax regulations

- C. 1992 CDS (V0169): Listed below are some programs that the government currently funds. If you had your say in making up the federal budget this year, indicate for each of the following programs whether you think federal spending should be increased, kept at the same level, reduced or cut entirely. Protecting the environment: 1 - Increased 2 - Kept the same 3 - Decreased 4 - Cut out
- D. 2000 CDS (v2430): It is important to protect the environment even if it costs jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. 1 - Agree strongly 2 - Agree slightly 3 - Neither agree or disagree 4 - Disagree slightly 5 - Disagree strongly
- E. 2004 CDS (q22e): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, indicate the extent to which you would increase or decrease each of the following program? Protecting the environment: 1 – Increase a lot 2 - Increase slightly 3 - Kept at the same level 4 – Decrease slightly 5 - Decrease a lot
- 4.) \*Defense:
- A. 1980-1984 CDS (V0317, V0182): Some people believe that we should spend much more money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number “1.” Others feel that defense spending should be greatly decreased. Suppose that these people are at the other end, at point “7.” And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 – Greatly decrease defense spending 7 - Greatly increase defense spending
- B. 1988-2004 CDS (V156, V0121, v2121, q18): Some people believe that we should spend much more money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly decreased. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 - Greatly decrease defense spending 7 - Greatly increase defense spending
- 5.) \*Abortion (Note: The variable is not reversed coded in 2004, as the responses are recorded in the data set differently than they are listed in the codebook in that year):
- A. 1980-1984 CDS (V0321, V1078): There has been much discussion about abortion during recent years. Which of the following opinions listed below agrees with your view? 1 - Abortion should never be forbidden 2 - Abortion should be permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child 3 – Abortion should be

permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger 4 – Abortion should never be permitted

- B. 1988 CDS (V150): There has been much discussion about abortion during recent years. Which of the following opinions listed below agrees with your view? 1- Abortion should never be prohibited 2 – Abortion should be permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child 3 – Abortion should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger 4 – Abortion should never be permitted
- C. 1992-2004 CDS (V0106, v2016, q14a): There has been much discussion about abortion during recent years. Which of the following opinions listed below agrees with your view? 1 - By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice 2 - The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established 3 - The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger 4 – By law, abortion should never be permitted
- 6.) Foreign policy:
- A. 1980-1988 CDS (V0318, V0183, V161): Some people feel it is important for us to try very hard to get along with Russia. Others feel it is a big mistake to try too hard to get along with Russia. Where would you place yourself on this seven-point scale? 1 – Important to try very hard to get along with Russia 7 – Big mistake to try too hard to get along with Russia
- B. 1992 CDS (V0163): Listed below are some programs that the government currently funds. If you had your say in making up the federal budget this year, indicate for each of the following programs whether you think federal spending should be increased, kept at the same level, reduced or cut entirely. Aid to countries of the former Soviet Union: 1 – Increased 2 - Kept the same 3 – Decreased 4 – Cut out
- 7.) Women's role in society:
- A. 1980-1988 CDS (V0322, V0179, V154): Do you approve or disapprove of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution, sometimes called the ERA Amendment? 1 – Approve strongly 2 – Approve somewhat 3 – Disapprove somewhat 4 – Disapprove strongly
- B. 1992 CDS (V0128): Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 – Women and men should have an equal role 7 – Women's place is in the home

- 8.) School prayer:
- A. \*1984-1992 CDS (V0180, V152, V0112): Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken care of by the family and the church. What do you think? 1 – Religion does not belong in the schools 2 – Schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer, provided that the prayer is silent 3 – Schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer
- 9.) Public School Spending:
- A. \*1984 CDS (V0185): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, which programs would you like to see increased, reduced, or kept at the same level? Federal spending on public schools: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept the same 3 – Reduced
  - B. 1988 CDS (V181): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, which programs would you like to see increased, reduced, or kept at the same level? Aid to education: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept the same 3 – Reduced
  - C. 1992 CDS (V0160): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, which programs would you like to see increased, kept at the same level, reduced, or cut out completely? Aid to public schools: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept the same 3 – Reduced 4 – Cut out
  - D. 2000-2004 CDS (v2438, q22a): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, indicate the extent to which you would increase or decrease each of the following program? Aid to public schools: 1 – Increase a lot 2 – Increase slightly 3 - Kept at the same level 4 – Decrease slightly 5 – Decrease a lot
- 10.) Child care spending:
- A. 1992 CDS (V0167): Listed below are some programs that the federal government currently funds. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, indicate for each of the following programs whether you think federal spending should be increased, kept at the same level, reduced or cut out completely. Child care: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept the same 3 - Reduced 4 – Cut out
  - B. 2000-2004 CDS (v2440, q22c): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, indicate the extent to which you would increase or decrease each of the following program? Child care: 1 – Increase a lot 2 – Increase slightly 3 - Kept at the same level 4 – Decrease slightly 5 – Decrease a lot
- 11.) \*Government services:

- A. \*1992 CDS (V0143): Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. 1 – Government provide many more services 7 – Government provide many fewer services
- B. \*2000-2004 CDS (v2143, q17a): Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 – Government provide many more services, increasing spending a lot 7 – Government provide many fewer services, reduce spending a lot

12.) Welfare:

- A. 1992 CDS (V0168) Listed below are some programs that the federal government currently funds. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, indicate for each of the following programs whether you think federal spending should be increased, kept at the same level, reduced or cut out completely. Welfare programs: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept the same 3 – Reduced 4 – Cut out
- B. 2000-2004 CDS (v2441, q22d): If you had a say in making up the federal budget, indicate the extent to which you would increase or decrease each of the following program? Welfare programs: 1 – Increase a lot 2 – Increase slightly 3 - Kept the same 4 – Decrease slightly 5 – Decrease a lot

13.) Unemployment:

- A. 1992 CDS (V0171): Listed below are some programs that the federal government currently funds. If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, indicate for each of the following programs whether you think federal spending should be increased, kept at the same level, reduced or cut out completely. Programs that assist the unemployed: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept the same 3 – Reduced 4 – Cut out

14.) Government insurance:

- A. 1992-2004 CDS (V0152), v2152, q20: There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be

paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

- 15.) \*Feeling thermometer of homosexuals: 2000-2004 CDS (v2186, q25d):  
For each of the following groups please indicate your feelings toward them on what we call a “feeling thermometer.” Here’s how it works. If you don’t feel particularly warm or cold toward a group, then you should place them in the middle, at the 50 degree mark. If you have a warm feeling toward a group, or feel favorable toward them you would give them a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees, depending how warm your feeling is toward that group. On the other hand, if you don’t feel very favorable toward a group – that is, if you don’t care much for them then you would place them somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees. Remember, 50 degrees means you feel neutral toward a group. Gay men and lesbians. 0 – Warm 100 - Cold
  
- 16.) Job discrimination against homosexuals: 2000 CDS (v2415): Recently, there has been a lot of talk about discrimination against gay men and lesbians in hiring and promotion decisions. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make a special effort to protect homosexuals from job discrimination. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to protect homosexuals in terms of employment. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 - Special effort to protect homosexuals in the workplace 7 – No special effort to protect homosexuals in the workplace
  
- 17.) \*Same-sex marriage: 2004 CDS (q15): Recently, there has been a good deal of discussion about marriages and other legal relationships between same-sex couples. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view of the proper legal status of marriage? 1 – The law should define marriage as a union of two people regardless of their gender 2 – The law should define marriage as a union between one man and one woman, but recognize legal agreements between same-sex couples 3 - The law should define marriage only as a union between one man and one woman

## **Question Wording for the Issue Attitude Items Analyzed on the 1980-2004 (ANES)**

Note: An \* indicates that the variable in the designated year(s) has been reverse coded so that higher values reflect more conservative attitudes. An \* next to the variable name indicates that the variable has been similarly reverse coded in each year it is included in the analysis, and the question wording for the 1996 ANES is not included here due to the lack of a CDS comparison in that year

- 1.) Ideological self-identifications: 1980-1992 ANES (V800267, V840122, V880228, V923514, V000446, V043086): We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?  
1 - Extremely liberal 7 - Extremely conservative

Note: A slightly different question wording is used in the year 2000.

- 2.) Assistance to blacks:
  - A. 1980-1984 ANES (V801062, V840382): Some people feel the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups, even if it means giving them preferential treatment. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, and 4. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 – Government should help minority groups 7 – Minority groups should help themselves
  - B. 1988-2004 ANES (V880332, V923724, V000645, V043158): Some people feel the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help blacks because they should help themselves. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 – Government should help blacks 7 – Blacks should help themselves

- 3.) Environment:
  - A. \*1980 ANES (V801141): Present governmental regulations with regard to pollution and other environmental problems limit full use of some energy sources. Do you think the government should relax environmental protection regulations to increase the use of these energy sources, or should the government keep environmental protection regulations unchanged even though this may delay the production of more energy?  
1 - Keep regulations unchanged 2 - Relax regulations, with qualifications  
3 - Relax regulations

- B. 1984 and 1992 ANES (V840996, V923814): Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? 1 – Increased 2 – Same 3 – Decreased
  - C. 1988, 2000 ANES (V880377, V000682): Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? 1 – Increased 2 – Kept about the same 3 – Decreased 4 – Cut out entirely
  - D. 2004 ANES (V043182): Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at one end of the scale, at point number 1). Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living. (Suppose these people are at the other end of the scale, at point number 7. And of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6). Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1- Protect environment, even if it costs jobs and standard of living 7 – Jobs and standard of living more important
- 4.) Defense spending:
- A. 1980-2004 ANES (V800281, V840395, V880310, V000587, V043142): Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 – Greatly decrease defense spending 7 – Greatly increase defense spending
- Note: In 2000 and 2004, the question describes the endpoints of the scales and includes an offer of a “don't know” response, as with the environmental protection scale.
- B. \*1992 ANES (V923603): Some people say the U.S. should maintain its position as the world's strongest military power even if it means continuing high defense spending. Would you say that you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly? 1 – Disagree strongly 2 – Disagree somewhat 3 – Neither agree nor disagree 4 – Agree somewhat 5 – Agree strongly
- 5.) \*Abortion: 1980-2004 ANES (V800311, V840423, V880395, V932732, V000694, V045132): There has been much discussion about abortion during recent years. Which of the following opinions listed below agrees with your view? 1- By law, a woman should be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice 2 - The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established 3 – The law should permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest or when the woman's health is in danger 4 – By law, abortion should never be permitted

- 6.) Foreign policy:
- A. 1980-1984 ANES (V801078, V840408): Some people feel it is important for us to try very hard to get along with Russia. Others feel it is a big mistake to try too hard to get along with Russia. Where would you place yourself on this seven-point scale? 1 – Important to try very hard to get along with Russia 7 – Big mistake to try too hard to get along with Russia
  - B. 1988 ANES (V880368): Some people feel it is important for us to cooperate more with Russia, while others believe we should be much tougher in our dealings with Russia. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 – Try to cooperate more with Russia 2 – Get much tougher with Russia
  - C. \*1992 ANES (V923605): In the future, how willing should the U.S. be to use military force to solve international problems, extremely willing, very willing, somewhat willing, not very willing, or never willing? 1 – Never willing 2 – Not very willing 3 – Somewhat willing 4 – Very willing 5 – Extremely willing
- 7.) Women's role in society:
- A. 1980-1988 ANES (V801094): Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 – Equal role 7 – Women's place in home
  - B. 1984 ANES (V840250): Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point number 1. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Suppose these people are at the other end at point 7. And, of course, some people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 – Women have equal role 7 – Women's place is in the home
  - C. 1988-1992 ANES (V880387, V923801): Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that women's place is in the home. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? 1 – Women and men should have an equal role 7 – Women's place is in the home
- 8.) \*School prayer:

- A. 1980 ANES (V801135): Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken of by the family and the church. Which do you think -- schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer, or religion does not belong in the schools? 1 – Religion does not belong in the schools 2 – R volunteers: Prayer acceptable only in silent prayer/not mandatory for students/general universal statement not tied to any one sect/the particular school has decided it wants to do it; let each school decided on their own 3 – Schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer
- B. 1984 ANES (V840138): Some people think it is all right for the public schools to start each day with a prayer. Others feel that religion does not belong in the public schools but should be taken of by the family and the church. Which do you think -- schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer, or religion does not belong in the schools? 1 – Religion does not belong in the schools 2 – Schools should be allowed to start each day with a prayer
- C. 1988-1992 ANES (V880866, V925945): Which of the following views comes closest to your opinion of the issue of school prayer? Just give me the number of your choice. 1 – By law, prayers should not be allowed in schools 2 – The law should allow public schools to schedule time when children can pray silently if they want to 3 – The law should allow public schools to schedule time when children, as a group, can say a general prayer not tied to a particular religious faith 4 – By law, public schools should schedule a time when all children would say a chosen Christian prayer
- 9.) Public School Spending: 1984-2004 ANES (V840998, V880383 V923818, V000683, V043166): Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? 1 – Increased 2 – Kept about the same 3 – Decrease
- Note: The question includes respondents who volunteered the response “cut out entirely” in the years 1992-2004.
- 10.) Child care: 1988-2004 ANES (V880382, V923813, V000685, V043170): Should federal spending on child care be increased, decreased, or kept about the same? 1 – Increased 2 – Kept about the same 3 – Decreased 4 - Cut out entirely
- 11.) \*Government services:
- A. \*1992 ANES (V0143): Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to

reduce spending. 1 – Government provide many more services 7 –  
Government provide many fewer services

- B. \*1992-2004 ANES (V923701, V001385, V045121): Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of the scale at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 – Government provide many more services, increasing spending a lot 7 – Government provide many fewer services, reduce spending a lot
- 12.) Welfare:
- A. 1992-2004 ANES (V923726, V00676), V043169: Should federal spending on welfare programs be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept about the same 3 – Decreased 4 – Cut out entirely
- 13.) Unemployment:
- A. 1992 CDS (V923816): Should federal spending on government assistance to the unemployed be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?: 1 – Increased 2 – Kept about the same 3 – Decreased 4 – Cut out entirely
- 14.) Government insurance:
- A. 1992 ANES (V923816, V000614, V043150): There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. Others feel that all medical expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company paid plans. Where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 – Government insurance plan 7 – Private insurance plan
- 15.) \*Feeling thermometer of homosexuals: 2000-2004 ANES (V001321, V045074): I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly

warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Gay men and lesbians, that is, homosexuals: 0 – Warm 100 - Cold

- 16.) Job discrimination against homosexuals: 2000 CDS (v2415): Recently, there has been a lot of talk about discrimination against gay men and lesbians in hiring and promotion decisions. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make a special effort to protect homosexuals from job discrimination. Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to protect homosexuals in terms of employment. First, where would you place yourself on this scale? 1 - Special effort to protect homosexuals in the workplace 7 – No special effort to protect homosexuals in the workplace
  
- 17.) \*Same-sex marriage: 2004 ANES (V043210): Should same-sex couples be allowed to marry, or do you think should not be allowed to marry 1 - Should be allowed 2 – Should not be allowed to marry but should be allowed to legally form a civil union 3 – Should not be allowed

## **Question Wording for the 1980-2004 ANES Knowledge, Interest and Involvement Variables Used to Construct the Sophistication Index**

Note: An \* indicates that the variable in the designated year(s) has been reverse coded so that higher values reflect greater political knowledge, interest or involvement. An \* next to the variable name indicates that the variable has been similarly reverse coded in each year it is included in the analysis, and the question wording for the 1996 ANES is not included here due to the lack of a CDS comparison in that year.

- 1.) \*Political knowledge: 1980-2004 ANES (V800726, V840713, V880555, V924205, V001033, V043403): Respondents general level of information about politics and public affairs seemed: 0 – Very low 1 – Fairly low 2 – Average 3 – Fairly high 4 – Very high
- 2.) \*Political interest: 1980-2004 ANES (V800053, V840075, V880097, V923101, V001201, V045001): Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in the political campaign so far this year? 0 – Not much interested 1 – Somewhat interested 2 – Very much interested
- 3.) \*Attend a political event:
  - A. 1980 ANES (V800795): Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, fundraising dinners, or things like that? 0 – No 1 – Yes
  - B. 1984-2004 ANES (V840821, V880827, V925810, V001227, V045011): Did you go to any meeting, rallies, speeches, dinners or things like that in support of a particular candidate? 0 – No 1 – Yes
- 4.) \*Work for a political candidate: 1980-1992 ANES (V800796, V840823, V880828, V925812, V001228, V045013): Did you do any work for one of the parties or candidates? 0 – No 1 – Yes
- 5.) \*Display campaign paraphernalia:
  - a. 1980 ANES (V800797): Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car? 0 – No 1 – Yes
  - b. 1984-2004 ANES (V840819, V880826, V925809, V001226, V045012): Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house? 0 – No 1 – Yes
- 6.) \*Donate to a political Candidate:
  - a. 1980 ANES (V800802): What about other political contributions. Did you give any money this year to a candidate running for public office? 0 - No 1 – Yes

- b. 1984 ANES (V840825): As you know, during an election year, people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. During the past year did you give any money to an individual candidate, a political party organization, people supporting a ballot proposition, or to a particular issue or interest group? 0 – No 1- Yes
- c. 1988-2004 ANES (V880830, V925815, V001229, V045014): During an election year, people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you donate money to an individual candidate running for public office? 0 – No – 1 Yes

7.) \*Donate to a political party:

- A. 1980 ANES (V800811): Apart from contributions to specific candidates, how about contributions to any of the political parties? Did you give money to a political party during this election year? 0 – No 1 – Yes
- B. 1988-2004 ANES (V880832, V925817, V001231, V045015): Did you donate money to a political party during this election year? 0 – No 1 – Yes

**Table A1:** Summary Statistics for the 1980-2004 ANES Sophistication Index and its Knowledge, Interest and Involvement Components for the Full Mass Public Sample

<b>Year</b>	<b>Knowledge<sup>1</sup></b>	<b>Interest<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Involvement Index<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>Sophistication Index<sup>4</sup></b>
1980	2.383 (.926)	1.193 (.699)	.324 (.794)	3.996 (1.711)
1984	2.281 (.932)	1.036 (.728)	.336 (.739)	3.783 (1.753)
1988	2.059 (1.126)	1.028 (.727)	.305 (.786)	3.477 (1.935)
1992	2.349 (1.055)	1.216 (.718)	.322 (.791)	3.913 (1.870)
2000	2.300 (1.145)	1.269 (.697)	.313 (.754)	3.925 (1.897)
2004	2.495 (1.132)	1.432 (.654)	.508 (.936)	4.484 (2.018)

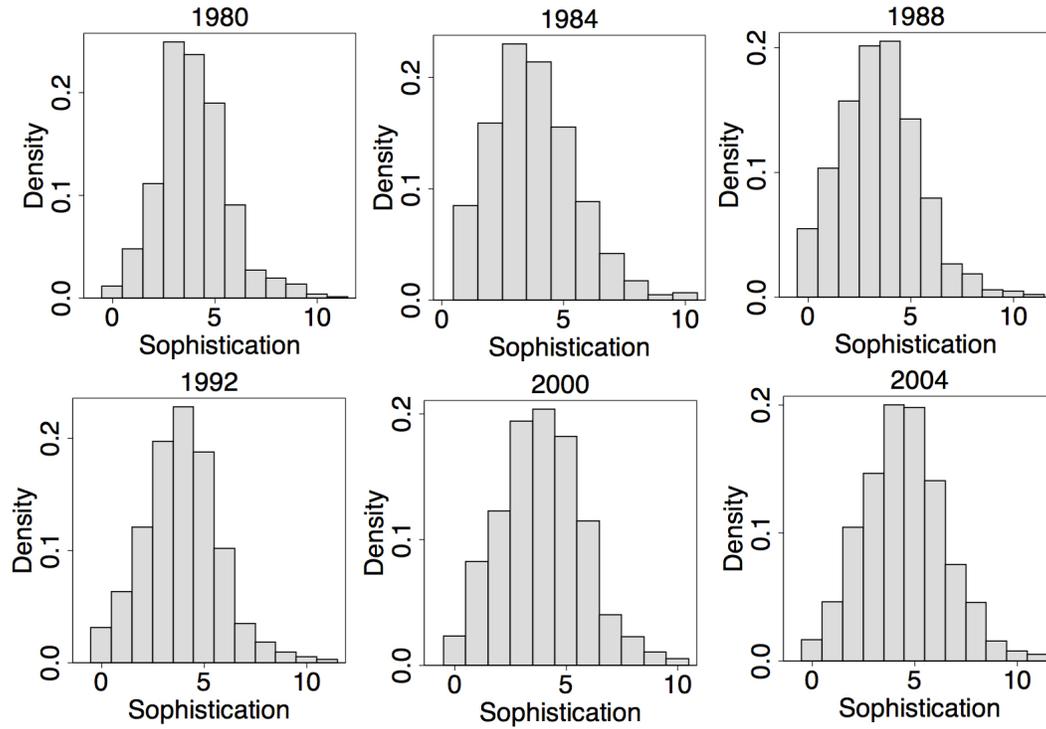
1. Knowledge is a five-point, ordinal variable ranging from “extremely low” (0) to “extremely high” (4).
2. Interest is a three-point, ordinal variable ranging from “not at all interested” (0) to “extremely interested” (2).
3. The involvement index is cumulative, and includes five activities: attending a campaign event, working for a campaign, displaying campaign paraphernalia, donating to a political candidate and donating to one of the parties. The scale ranges from 0 to 5 in all years except 1984, when the scale ranges from 0 to 4 because donating to a candidate and donating to one of the parties is offered as a single question in that year.
4. The sophistication index is cumulative, combining the first three measures in the table. The index ranges from 0 to 11 in all years except 1984, when the index ranges from 0 to 10.

**Table A2:** Summary Statistics for the 1980-2004 ANES Sophistication Index and its Knowledge, Interest and Involvement Components Conditioned on Sophistication

	<b>Knowledge</b>	<b>Interest</b>	<b>Involvement Index</b>	<b>Sophistication Index</b>
<b>1980</b>				
Low	1.773 (.712) Range = 0 to 4	.636 (.493) Range = 0 to 2	.003 (.053) Range = 0 to 1	2.412 (.826) Range = 0 to 4
Middle	2.728 (.682) Range = 1 to 4	1.559 (.527) Range = 0 to 2	.021 (.144) Range = 0 to 1	4.308 (.589) Range = 3 to 5
High	3.09 (.828) Range = 0 to 4	1.655 (.507) Range = 0 to 2	1.39 (1.133) Range = 0 to 5	6.135 (1.413) Range = 3 to 11
<b>1984</b>				
Low	1.912 (.761) Range = 1 to 4	.700 (.524) Range = 0 to 2	.015 (.120) Range = 0 to 1	2.627 (.964) Range = 1 to 4
Middle	2.783 (.865) Range = 1 to 4	1.668 (.535) Range = 0 to 2	.185 (.389) Range = 0 to 1	4.636 (.789) Range = 3 to 6
High	3.00 (.787) Range = 1 to 4	1.630 (.532) Range = 0 to 2	1.633 (.907) Range = 1 to 4	6.263 (1.324) Range = 3 to 10
<b>1988</b>				
Low	1.067 (.800) Range = 0 to 3	.330 (.471) Range = 0 to 1	0	1.398 (.828) Range = 0 to 3
Middle	2.642 (.872) Range = 0 to 4	1.329 (.528) Range = 0 to 2	.036 (.187) Range = 0 to 1	4.007 (.566) Range = 2 to 5
High	2.951 (.811) Range = 0 to 4	1.697 (.522) Range = 0 to 2	1.057 (1.186) Range = 0 to 5	5.706 (1.396) Range = 3 to 11
<b>1992</b>				
Low	1.534 (.816) Range = 0 to 4	.600 (.504) Range = 0 to 2	.003 (.059) Range = 0 to 1	2.138 (.973) Range = 0 to 4
Middle	2.720 (.741) Range = 0 to 4	1.568 (.519) Range = 0 to 2	.029 (.167) Range = 0 to 1	4.137 (.610) Range = 2 to 5
High	3.153 (.892) Range = 0 to 4	1.723 (.465) Range = 0 to 2	1.313 (1.149) Range = 0 to 5	6.189 (1.416) Range = 3 to 11

<b>2000</b>				
Low	1.445 (.825) Range = 0 to 4	.656 (.499) Range = 0 to 2	0	2.101 (.948) Range = 0 to 4
Middle	2.685 (.834) Range = 0 to 4	1.591 (.517) Range = 0 to 2	.031 (.173) Range = 0 to 1	4.306 (.659) Range = 2 to 5
High	3.241 (.896) Range = 0 to 4	1.759 (.445) Range = 0 to 2	1.185 (1.082) Range = 0 to 5	6.185 (1.321) Range = 3 to 10
<b>2004</b>				
Low	1.711 (.944) Range = 0 to 4	.844 (.518) Range = 0 to 2	.008 (.087) Range = 0 to 1	2.563 (1.072) Range = 0 to 4
Middle	2.989 (.880) Range = 0 to 4	1.769 (.448) Range = 0 to 2	.082 (.273) Range = 0 to 1	4.839 (.777) Range = 2 to 6
High	3.130 (.870) Range = 0 to 4	1.842 (.375) Range = 0 to 2	1.761 (.991) Range = 1 to 5	6.732 (1.458) Range = 4 to 11

**Figure A1:** Distribution of the 1980-2004 Sophistication Index for the Full Mass Public Sample



### **Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results: 1980-2004 CDS and ANES**

In this section, we present the full confirmatory factor analysis results that were used to produce Figure 1 article. For each year, 1980-2004—except the year 2000, the results for which are presented in the article—we compare the factor loadings and factor correlation for elites (CDS) and the full mass public sample (ANES). Then, we compare the same information for the mass public stratified sample, which is divided into thirds according to our measure of political sophistication. Specifically, the two factor correlations reported in Tables A3, A5, A7, A9 and A11 were used to produce the left-hand panel of Figure 1 in the article, and the three factor correlations reported in Tables A4, A6, A8, A10 and A12 were used to produce the right-hand panel in Figure 1.

As we note in the text of the article where we describe the result for the year 2000, readers will notice the consistent pattern that the factor loadings presented below for each item among elites are far higher than are those for the full mass public sample. Indeed, several of the items do not load well on the specified factors among the mass public, especially among less sophisticated citizens, illustrating the idiosyncratic sources that give rise to particular mass attitudes.<sup>1</sup> Most importantly, the factor correlation—a critical measure of horizontal constraint evidencing the degree to which a common underlying dimension structures disparate attitudes—is markedly greater for elites than for the mass public. Similarly, consistent with our argument regarding the importance of the cognitive and motivational factors that comprise our political sophistication index for attitudinal constraint, the factor correlation among the three strata of the mass public increases dramatically as sophistication increases.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that *italicized* cell entries indicate non-significant factor loadings (i.e.,  $p > .05$ ).

**Table A3:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1980 CDS and ANES

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor		Cultural Factor		CDS	ANES
	CDS	ANES	CDS	ANES		
Busing/Aid to blacks	.763	.574				
Environment	.675	.334				
Defense	.743	.458				
Russia	.647	.446				
Abortion			.519	.432		
Women's role			.856	.772		
School prayer			-	.221		
<b>Factor Correlation</b>					.897	.546
<b>Fit Indices</b>						
RMSEA					.042	.053
SRMR					.012	.036
CFI					.993	.926
TFI					.988	.881
CD					.908	.811

**Table A4:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1980 ANES Conditioned on Sophistication

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Socioeconomic Factor</b>			<b>Cultural Factor</b>		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Aid to blacks	.431	.568	.707			
Environment	.384	.291	.431			
Defense	.337	.475	.584			
Russia	.344	.399	.593			
Abortion				.386	.509	.356
Women's role				.861	.733	.778
School prayer				.122	.291	.250
<b>Factor correlation</b>						
				Low	Middle	High
				.566	.522	.623
<b>Fit indices</b>						
RMSEA				.053	.045	.064
SRMR				.046	.039	.049
CFI				.892	.945	.938
TFI				.826	.912	.899
CD				.836	.795	.866

**Table A5:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1984 CDS and ANES

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor		Cultural Factor		CDS	ANES
	CDS	ANES	CDS	ANES		
Schools	.678	.250				
Busing/Aid to blacks	.707	.480				
Environment	.723	.315				
Defense	.805	.590				
Russia	.658	.635				
Abortion			.579	.472		
Women's role			.847	.488		
School prayer			.738	.575		
<b>Factor Correlation</b>					.948	.678
<b>Fit Indices</b>						
RMSEA					.055	.058
SRMR					.020	.036
CFI					.984	.920
TFI					.976	.882
CD					.924	.791

**Table A6:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1984 ANES Conditioned on Sophistication

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Socioeconomic Factor</b>			<b>Cultural Factor</b>		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Education	.090	.256	.472			
Aid to blacks	.306	.509	.678			
Environment	.185	.425	.413			
Defense	.434	.609	.757			
Russia	.702	.639	.676			
Abortion				.483	.480	.551
Women's role				.347	.506	.629
School prayer				.490	.636	.647
<b>Factor correlation</b>						
				Low	Middle	High
				.393	.708	.846
<b>Fit indices</b>						
RMSEA				.069	.050	.072
SRMR				.049	.039	.046
CFI				.770	.950	.948
TFI				.661	.926	.923
CD				.748	.818	.878

**Table A7:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1988 CDS and ANES

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor		Cultural Factor		CDS	ANES
	CDS	ANES	CDS	ANES		
Child care	.690	.496				
Schools	.663	.428				
Busing/Aid to blacks	.681	.402				
Environment	.638	.474				
Defense	.774	.367				
Russia	.657	.481				
Abortion			.645	.556		
Women's role			.619	.539		
School prayer			.743	.378		
<b>Factor Correlation</b>					.896	.443
<b>Fit Indices</b>						
RMSEA					.077	.083
SRMR					.031	.059
CFI					.954	.774
TFI					.936	.687
CD					.915	.789

**Table A8:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1988 ANES Conditioned on Sophistication

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Socioeconomic Factor</b>			<b>Cultural Factor</b>		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Child care	.540	.511	.489			
Education	.584	.467	.377			
Aid to blacks	.165	.372	.636			
Environment	.412	.473	.480			
Defense	.108	.182	.683			
Russia	.414	.247	.671			
Abortion				.569	.501	.536
Women's role				.495	.790	.525
School prayer				.514	.214	.466
<b>Factor correlation</b>						
				Low	Middle	High
				.397	.224	.603
<b>Fit indices</b>						
RMSEA				.081	.060	.093
SRMR				.074	.065	.063
CFI				.740	.817	.853
TFI				.640	.747	.796
CD				.796	.846	.864

**Table A9:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1992 CDS and ANES

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor		Cultural Factor		CDS	ANES
	CDS	ANES	CDS	ANES		
Services	.829	.596				
Welfare	.682	.566				
Unemployment	.704	.535				
Government insurance	.799	.467				
Child care	.757	.573				
Schools	.725	.455				
Aid to blacks	.738	.475				
Environment	.720	.376				
Defense	.601	.352				
Abortion			.729	.602		
Women's role			.539	.578		
School prayer			.683	.316		
<b>Factor Correlation</b>					.831	.288
<b>Fit Indices</b>						
RMSEA					.068	.049
SRMR					.030	.037
CFI					.958	.916
TFI					.948	.895
CD					.956	.882

**Table A10:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 1992 ANES Conditioned on Sophistication

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor			Cultural Factor					
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Services	.446	.601	.703						
Welfare	.601	.495	.615						
Unemployment	.643	.503	.488						
Government insurance	.347	.442	.573						
Child care	.489	.543	.663						
Schools	.336	.465	.500						
Aid to blacks	.419	.447	.596						
Environment	.308	.375	.430						
Defense	.253	.354	.427						
Abortion				.625	.600	.653			
Women's role				.520	.551	.588			
School prayer				.256	.280	.404			
<b>Factor correlation</b>							Low	Middle	High
							-.092	.426	.502
<b>Fit indices</b>									
RMSEA							.048	.049	.056
SRMR							.048	.042	.044
CFI							.886	.906	.929
TFI							.859	.883	.911
CD							.862	.861	.916

**Table A11:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 2004 CDS and ANES

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor		Cultural Factor		CDS	ANES
	CDS	ANES	CDS	ANES		
Services	.767	.677				
Welfare	.830	.518				
Government insurance	.808	.583				
Child care	.823	.648				
Schools	.790	.590				
Aid to blacks	.661	.558				
Environment	.798	.396				
Defense	.684	.373				
Abortion			.735	.586		
Homosexual affect			.817	.622		
Same-sex marriage			.856	.798		
<b>Factor Correlation</b>					.839	.445
<b>Fit Indices</b>						
RMSEA					.163	.085
SRMR					.069	.054
CFI					.857	.873
TFI					.818	.837
CD					.976	.940

**Table A12:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 2004 ANES Conditioned on Sophistication

Variable	Socioeconomic Factor			Cultural Factor			
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High	
Services	.505	.721	.738				
Welfare	.396	.530	.650				
Government insurance	.233	.664	.674				
Child care	.637	.709	.597				
Schools	.502	.607	.564				
Aid to blacks	.399	.538	.734				
Environment	.151	.361	.582				
Defense	.154	.253	.583				
Abortion				.463	.538	.735	
Homosexual affect				.536	.597	.715	
Same-sex marriage				.740	.838	.835	
<b>Factor correlation</b>					Low	Middle	High
					.279	.343	.677
<b>Fit indices</b>							
RMSEA					.073	.089	.086
SRMR					.069	.057	.053
CFI					.750	.866	.921
TFI					.712	.829	.899
CD					.874	.954	.962

**Specifying Defense and Environmental Attitudes to Load on Both the Socioeconomic and Cultural Factors**

We were encouraged to consider more fully the relationship between individuals’ attitudes toward defense and environmental issues and the two factors specified in our analysis given that these issue attitudes might not be expected to load cleanly on either the socioeconomic or cultural factor. In all models used to generate the empirical results presented in the paper, both defense and environmental issue attitudes are specified to load on the socioeconomic factor (i.e., factor one). However, given that these two issues could be conceptualized differently from core social welfare issues among the mass public, these issues might be related to both factors specified in our analysis, especially across sophistication levels. In order to address this possibility, we specified models in which defense and environmental issue attitudes were made to load on both factors. These results, presented below in Table A13, show that the two indicators load almost exclusively on the first factor—the socioeconomic factor—across all sophistication levels in each year.

**Table A13:** Factor Loadings for the Defense and Environmental Issue Attitude Items from Models in which these Items are Specified to Load on Both Factors (loadings for other item not shown)

Year	Defense Spending Attitudes						Environmental Attitudes					
	Socioeconomic			Cultural			Socioeconomic			Cultural		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
1980	.378	.318	.584	.013	.003	.104	.109	.106	.373	.299	.202	.104
1984	.395	.803	.755	.054	-.209	.000	.145	.331	.507	.084	.098	-.103
1988	.034	.195	.690	.139	-.047	-.006	.376	.442	.434	.066	.078	.066
1992	.262	.274	.297	.093	.164	.237	.308	.362	.429	-	.027	.000
2000	.340	.223	.465	-.029	.127	.177	.340	.339	.456	.046	.191	.113
2004	.088	.171	.471	.208	.191	.156	.038	.329	.435	.118	.079	.213

Note: *Italicized* numbers indicate non-significant factor loadings (i.e.,  $p > .05$ ).

### Specifying Generalized Structural Equation Models (GSEM)

A key assumption of CFA models estimated using maximum likelihood estimation is that the indicators are distributed normally. Given that several of the indicators in our analysis are ordinal, rather than continuous, a potential threat to multivariate normality exists.<sup>2</sup> In response to this concern, we specified GSEM that are able to account specifically for the presence of ordinal indicators. Table A14 below shows the estimated factor correlation for elites, the full mass public sample and the stratified mass public sample for the SEM—replicating the results presented in Tables 1 and 2 in the article—and GSEM, respectively, for the year 2000. These results are substantively the same. Namely, the estimated factor correlation for elites is substantially higher than that of the mass public, and the estimated factor correlation increases markedly among the mass public as political sophistication increases.

**Table A14:** A Comparison of Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results Generated from SEM and GSEM for the 2000 CDS and 2000 ANES Full Mass Public Sample and Stratified Sample

Year	CDS		ANES Full Sample		Least Politically Sophisticated		Moderately Politically Sophisticated		Most Politically Sophisticated	
	SEM	GSEM	SEM	GSEM	SEM	GSEM	SEM	GSEM	SEM	GSEM
2000	.875	.870	.537	.458	.315	.262	.557	.495	.637	.616

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<sup>2</sup> The precise number of ordinal indicators varies across years due to the varying number of identical questions included in each year on the CDS and ANES, as well as the specific question wording for each variable in each year. The full question wording for each survey in all years included in the analysis is provided at the outset of this document.

### **Operationalizing Political Knowledge as Respondents' Knowledge of Political Facts**

We were advised to consider operationalizing the political knowledge component of our sophistication index using respondents' knowledge of political facts, rather than interviewer assessments of respondents' level of general political information. Before introducing the results generated from models in which political knowledge is operationalized as respondents' knowledge of political facts, we believe that describing why we chose to maintain our preferred operationalization to generate the main empirical results presented in the article is important.

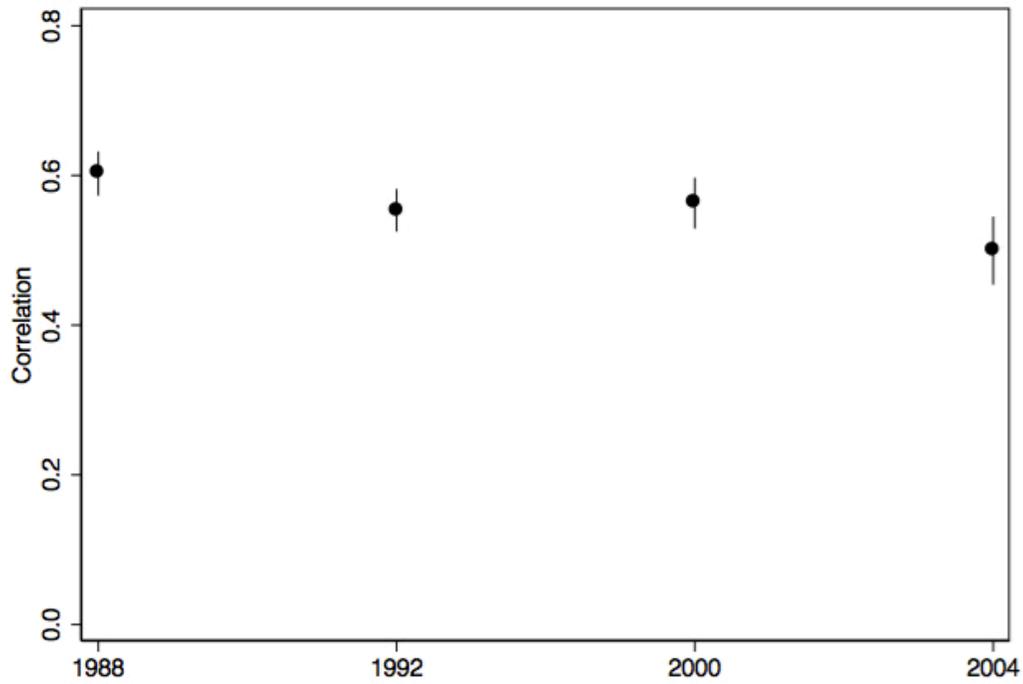
First, although scholars such as Luskin (1987) and Zaller (1992) use factual knowledge questions to construct measures of political awareness and sophistication, respectively, each advocates combining these questions with interviewer assessments and placement scales. Zaller (1986) argues that interviewer assessments are valid and reliable measures of political information, as well as highly related to other criterion variables, including education and interest in politics (see also Bartels 1996). Moreover, even skeptics of these assessments such as Delli Carpini and Keeter (1993) report that ANES interviewer assessments are likely to be more reliable and valid than other interviewer assessments due to the length and in-person format of ANES surveys, as well as the professionalism and training of ANES interviewers. Thus, we believe interviewer assessments are reliable and valid indicators of political knowledge, even as we acknowledge their potential flaws (Jackman and Levendusky, n.d.).

Second, and most importantly, several problems related to the ANES knowledge questions render them undesirable for our purposes. ANES knowledge question batteries were not introduced until 1986, meaning that they are not available for use in the first two

survey years we analyze in our study (1980 and 1984). We highlight this concern in Footnote 10 in the article. Additionally, a report co-authored by (among others) the then-Principal Investigators of the ANES found that overly strict coding standards may have understated the mass public's political knowledge levels for the period 1986-2000, and other problems regarding incorrect coding instructions arose in the 2004 survey (Krosnick, Lupia, DeBell, and Donakowski 2008). The potential lack of over time comparability of these measures leads us to prefer the interviewer assessments (see also DeBell 2010<sup>3</sup> and Pietryka and MacIntosh 2013 for further analysis and discussion of the problems with the ANES factual knowledge questions).

Nonetheless, we present in Figure A3 below a dot plot showing that the correlation between the two measures in each survey year for which both measures exist is greater than .5 (the survey years are 1988-2004), evidence that we believe assuages any concern that the two operationalizations might yield substantively different results. Additionally, CFA results for the 2000 ANES conditioned by sophistication in which political knowledge is operationalized as respondents' knowledge of political facts are presented below in Table A15. These results mirror those presented in Table 2 in the manuscript.

**Figure A2:** Correlations between Alternative Operationalizations of Political Knowledge, 1988-2004 ANES: Interviewer Assessment of Respondents' Level of General Political Information and Respondents' Knowledge of Political Facts



**Table A15:** Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results for the 2000 ANES Conditioned on Sophistication: Alternative Operationalization of Political Knowledge

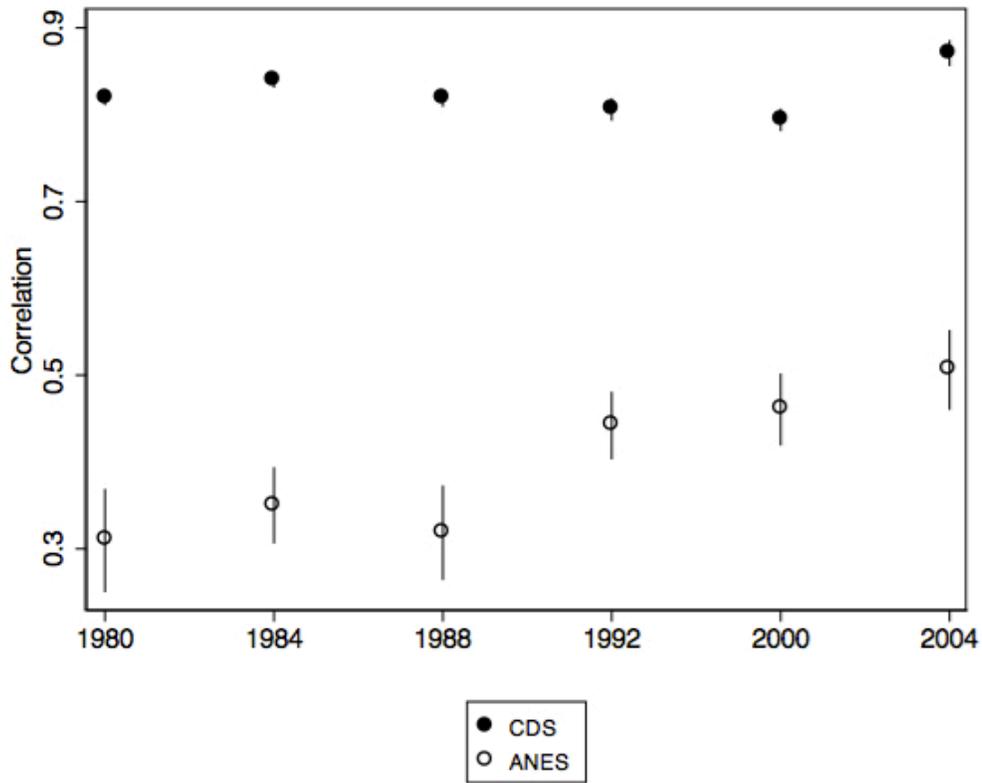
<b>Variable</b>	Socioeconomic Factor			Cultural Factor		
	Low	Middle	High	Low	Middle	High
Services	.596	.577	.683			
Welfare	.338	.502	.568			
Government insurance	.412	.324	.571			
Child care	.525	.554	.586			
Schools	.477	.451	.534			
Aid to blacks	.362	.446	.633			
Environment	.382	.402	.535			
Defense	.220	.330	.560			
Abortion				.284	.513	.448
Homosexual affect				.843	.637	.703
Job discrimination				.446	.555	.660
<b>Factor correlation</b>						
				Low	Middle	High
				.278	.573	.644
<b>Fit indices</b>						
RMSEA				.040	.052	.073
SRMR				.048	.054	.050
CFI				.923	.906	.911
TFI				.901	.879	.886
CD				.907	.855	.919

## **Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Cultural Factor**

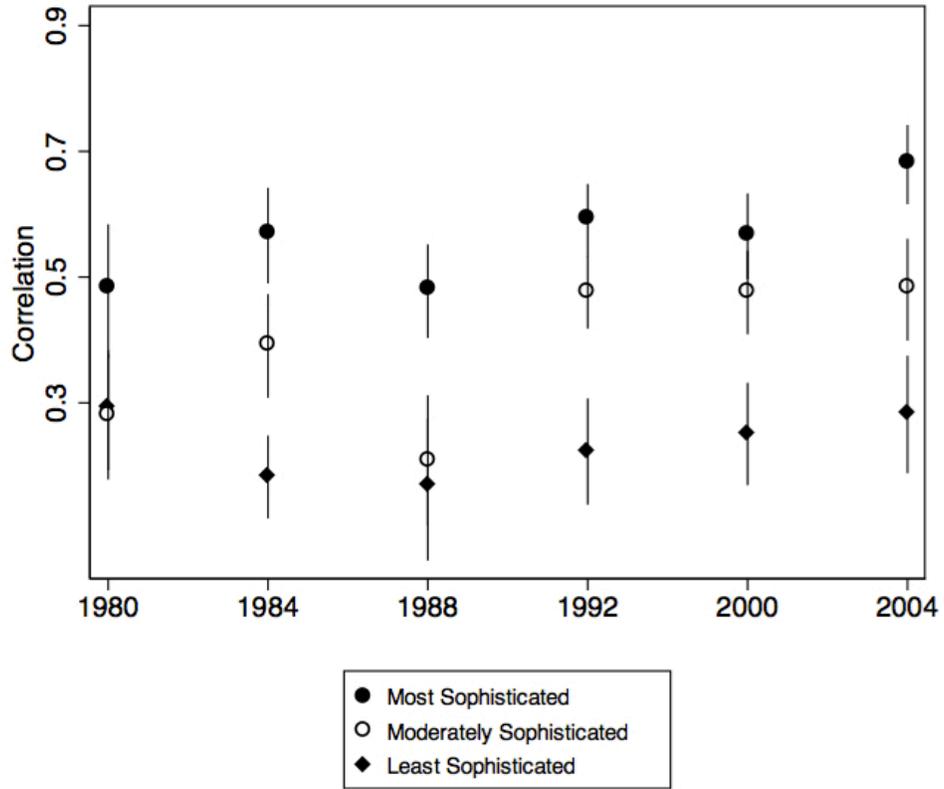
Our emphasis on the factor correlation as a measure of attitudinal constraint implies that both factors are indicators of the underlying dimension, ideology. In the article, we present evidence that the dimension underlying individuals' issue attitudes is, in fact, ideology by correlating individuals' self-identifications with their factors scores on the socioeconomic dimension. Our results show that this correlation is demonstrably higher for elites than for the full mass public sample, as well as that the correlation increases among the mass public as sophistication increases. The correlations between individuals' ideological self-identifications and the cultural factor presented below in Figures A3 and A4 replicate these results.

Again, the factor correlation demonstrates the degree to which disparate indicators specified to load on different factors are constrained by a common, underlying organizing principle. The empirical analysis in the article correlating individuals' ideological self-identifications with the socioeconomic factor, as well the analysis here correlating these same ideological self-identifications with the cultural factor, thus investigates whether or not this underlying principle (to the extent one exists) represents ideology, the liberal-conservative continuum in American politics.

**Figure A3:** Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Cultural Factor for the 1980-2004 CDS and ANES



**Figure A4:** Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Cultural Factor for the 1980-2004 ANES Conditioned on Political Sophistication

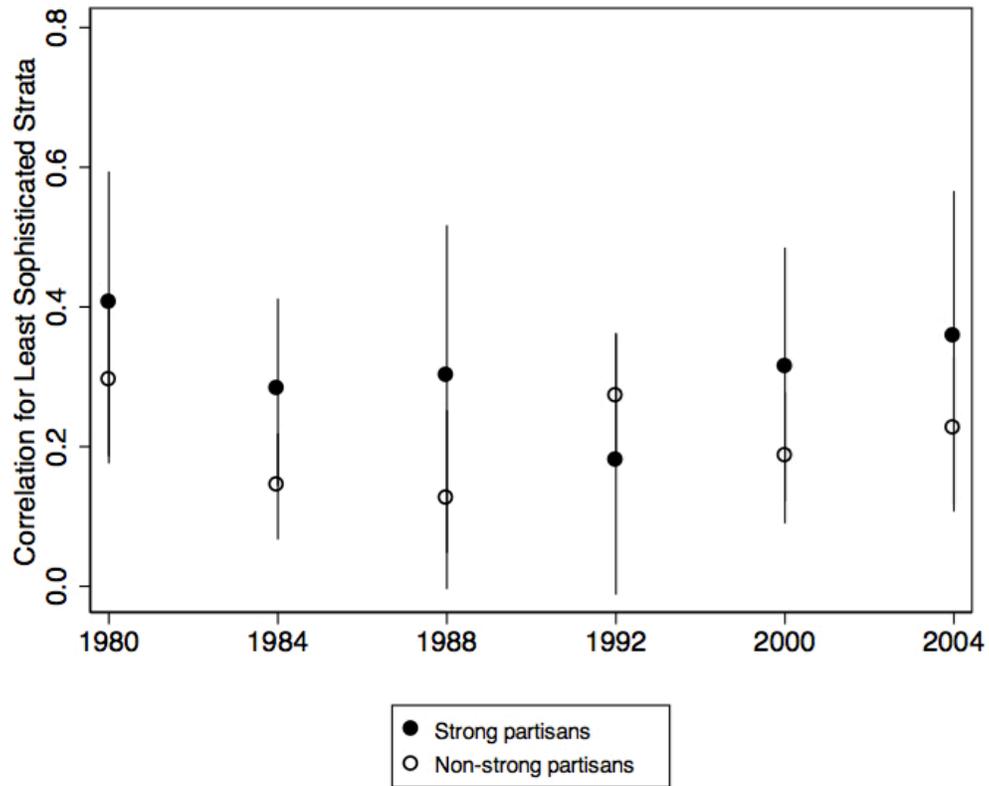


### **Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Socioeconomic Factor Conditioned on Partisan Strength**

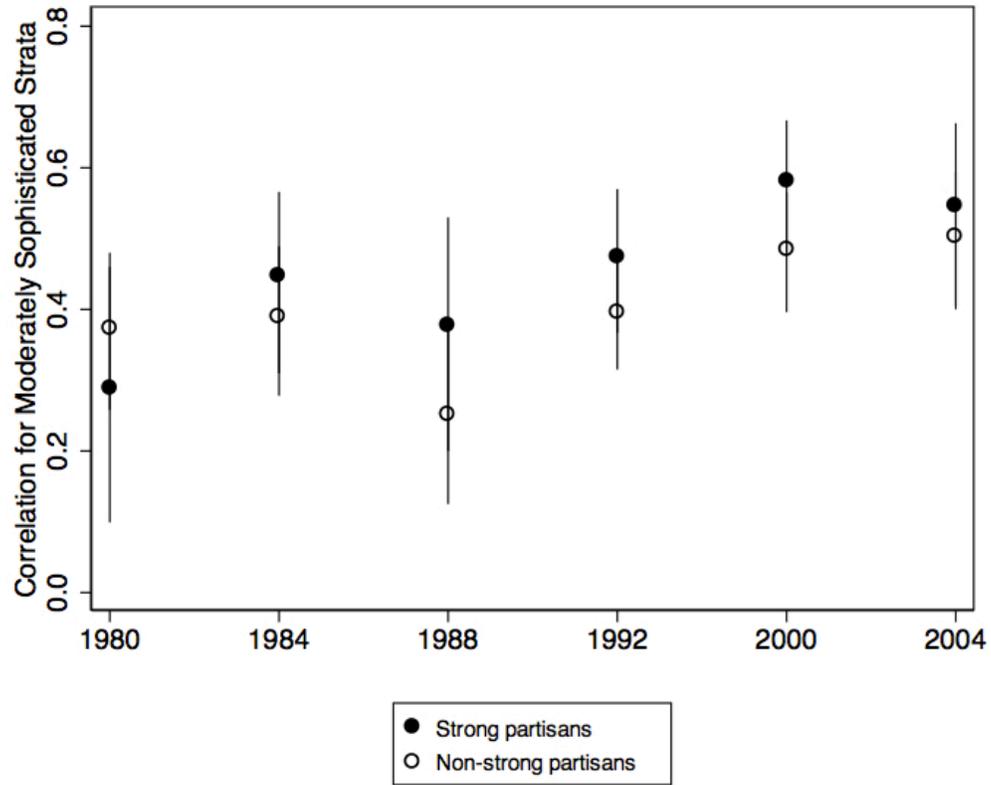
A potential concern is that the results presented in the article simply illustrate that strong partisans are able to recognize and report “what goes with what” without maintaining a coherent political ideology. In this view, individuals’ ability to provide consistent survey responses evidences not genuine attitudinal constraint, but rather merely the echo of partisan opinion leadership (e.g., Zaller 2012). If our results simply were a function of partisans providing consistent survey responses absent ideological thinking, then one would expect strong partisans who score lower on our political sophistication index to demonstrate greater constraint than weak partisans who score higher on the index. Additionally, consistent and sizeable differences between strong and weak partisans within sophistication categories would support this view.

Figures A5, A6 and A7 below, which present the correlations between individuals’ ideological self-identifications and the socioeconomic factor for each strata of the mass public, decisively contradict this view. As we note in the article, the difference in attitudinal constraint among strong and weak partisans within sophistication categories is largely non-significant, although partisans do seem to be able to connect better their ideological predispositions and issue attitudes (e.g., Baldassarri and Gelman 2008). Most importantly, the correlations increase markedly at all levels of sophistication, suggesting that political sophistication, rather than blind partisanship, fosters connections between individuals’ ideological self-identifications and their issue attitudes. The results support our hypothesis that the cognitive and motivational factors that we specified to represent political sophistication effectively discriminate between ideological and non-ideological thinking among the mass public.

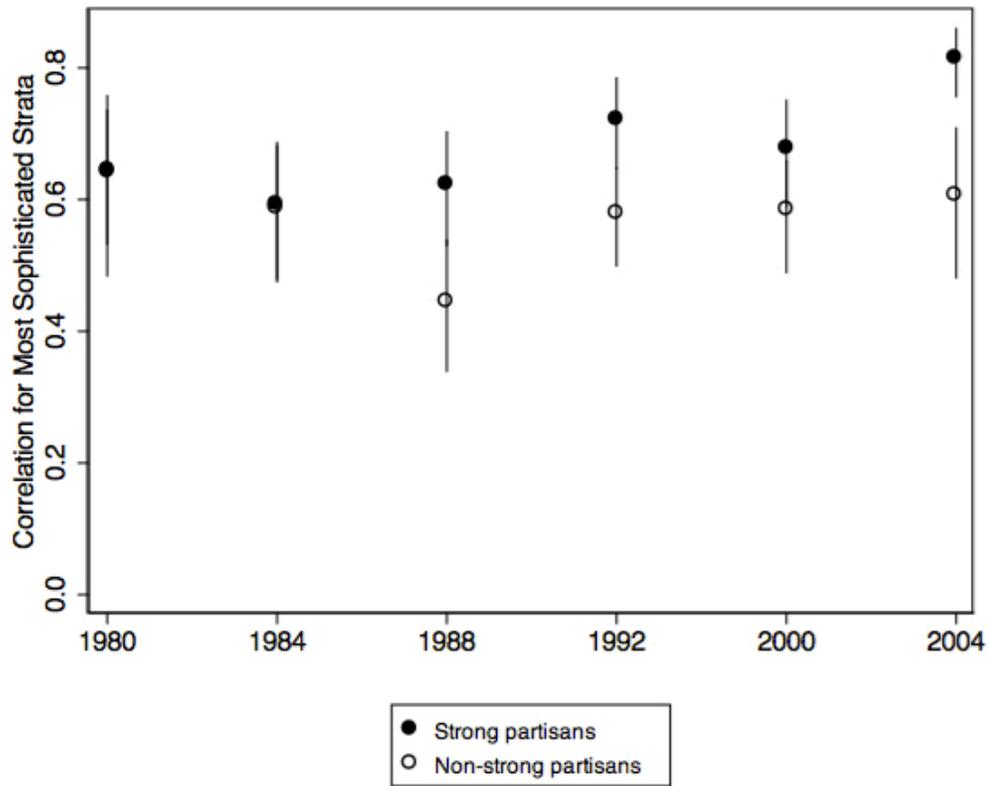
**Figure A5:** Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Socioeconomic Factor for the Least Politically Sophisticated Strata of the Mass Public



**Figure A6:** Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Socioeconomic Factor for the Moderately Politically Sophisticated Strata of the Mass Public



**Figure A7:** Correlations between Individuals' Ideological Self-identifications and the Socioeconomic Factor for the Most Politically Sophisticated Strata of the Mass Public



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