

# Appendix A Appendix

## Appendix A.1 Question Wording

**Closed-ended Abortion Attitude Questions (Studies 1 and 2 and GSS):** “Please tell us whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion in each of the following circumstances.” Response options: “Yes, should be possible”; “No, should not be possible.”

- There is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby.
- The woman’s own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy.
- The woman became pregnant as a result of rape.
- The woman did not use birth control. (*Studies 1 and 2 only*)
- The woman used birth control but it failed. (*Studies 1 and 2 only*)
- She is married and does not want any more children.
- The family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children.
- She is not married.
- The woman wants it for any reason.

**Age (in years), Studies 1 and 2:** “What is the year of your birth?” (2019 - year of birth); **GSS:** Reported date of birth recoded into age.

**Female (1=yes), Studies 1 and 2:** “What is your gender?” (Female [1]; Male [0]); **GSS:** Interviewer coded

**Race/Ethnicity, Studies 1 and 2:** What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you? (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, Mixed, Other); **GSS:** “What is your race? Indicate one or more races that you consider yourself to be.” “Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino/a?”

**Education (1=No HS; 6=post-grad), Studies 1 and 2:** What is the highest level of education you have achieved? (no high school diploma [1]; high school graduate [2]; some college, no degree [3]; 2-year college degree [4]; 4-year college degree [5]; post-graduate degree [6]); **GSS:** What is the highest grade in elementary school or high school that you finished and got credit for? Did you complete one or more years of college for credit—not including schooling such as business college, technical or vocational school? IF YES: How many years did you complete? [collapsed to match categories from Studies 1 and 2]

**Freq. of Religious Attendance (1-6), Studies 1 and 2:** Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never? (Never [1]; Seldom [2]; A few times a year [3]; Once or twice a month [4]; Once a week [5]; More than once a week [6]); **GSS:** “How often do you attend religious services?” (Never [1]; Less than once a year/About once or twice a year [2]; Several times a year [3]; About once a month/2-3 times a month [4]; Nearly every week/Every week [5]; Several times a week [6])

**Party ID (-3=str. D; 3=str. R):** Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or what? If Democrat/Republican, Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or not a very strong [Democrat/Republican]? If Independent/Other, Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic party, closer to the Republican party, or equally close to both parties? (Strong Democrat [-3]; Not very strong Democrat [-2]; Closer to the Democratic party [-1]; Equally close to both parties [0]; Closer to the Republican party [1]; Not very strong Republican [2]; Strong Republican [3])

**Ideology (-3 = v. lib; 3 = v. cons.), Studies 1 and 2:** We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Below 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? (Extremely liberal [-3]; Liberal [-2]; Slightly liberal [-1]; Moderate, middle of the road [0]; Slightly conservative [1]; Conservative [2]; Extremely conservative [3]); **GSS:** “We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I’m going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal—point 1—to extremely conservative—point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?” (Extremely liberal [-3]; Liberal [-2]; Slightly liberal [-1]; Moderate, middle of the road [0]; Slightly conservative [1]; Conservative [2]; Extremely conservative [3])

## Appendix A.2 Distributions of Treatment Characteristics Used in Conjoint Experiments

In specifying the distribution of treatments used in the experiment I attempted to balance the need for sufficient statistical power to make inferences about theoretically important considerations with an effort to present respondents with profiles that indicated characteristics that are fairly representative of the characteristics of women who seek abortions in the contemporary United States. For example, although only about 3 percent of abortions are performed on minors (those under 18 years old), if only three percent of profiles in the experiments fit into this category I would be limited in my ability to make inferences about whether people are more or less willing to permit abortions for this group. Similarly, although most women who have abortions are low-income, I specified a distribution of household incomes so as to provide sufficient data to make inferences about whether people were more or less willing to permit abortion for high income women. Like Bansak, Bechtel and Margalit (2019), I bin the continuous treatments in my core analysis.

**Reason for Abortion:** The reason for the abortion was the core treatment of interest. Reasons were assigned with equal probability: “Strong chance of a serious defect in the baby,” “Woman’s own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy,” “Became pregnant as a result of rape,” “Did not use birth control,” “Used birth control, but it failed,” or “No specific reason provided.”

**Weeks into Pregnancy:** The number of weeks into the pregnancy was drawn from a uniform distribution ranging from 4-36. I truncate the distribution at 4 weeks because most women do not know that they are pregnant before this point.

**Age:** The age of the hypothetical woman was drawn from a uniform distribution ranging from 14-50. This distribution yields sufficient observations where the woman was a minor, as well as a sufficient number of cases where the woman’s age may signal a heightened risk of complications tied to pregnancy. In my analysis I collapse ages into four bins: 14-17; 18-29; 30-39; 40-50.

**Family Income:** Although most abortion patients have low incomes, I drew family income values from a distribution that allows me to make inferences about each income quintile (based on income distribution in the U.S. general population). The distribution was: Quintile 1 (\$6,000, \$7,000, \$8,000, \$9,000, \$10,000, \$11,000, \$12,000, \$13,000, \$14,000, \$15,000, \$16,000, \$17,000, \$18,000, \$19,000, \$20,000, \$21,000, \$22,000, \$23,000, \$24,000, \$25,000); Quintile 2 (\$26,250, \$27,500, \$28,750, \$30,000, \$31,250, \$32,500, \$33,750, \$35,000, \$36,250, \$37,500, \$38,750, \$40,000, \$41,250, \$42,500, \$43,750, \$45,000, \$46,250, \$47,500, \$48,750, \$50,000); Quintile 3 (\$51,250, \$52,500, \$53,750, \$55,000, \$56,250, \$57,500, \$58,750, \$60,000, \$61,250, \$62,500, \$63,750, \$65,000, \$66,250, \$67,500, \$68,750, \$70,000, \$71,250, \$72,500, \$73,750, \$75,000, \$77,500); Quintile 4 (\$80,000, \$82,500, \$85,000, \$87,500, \$90,000, \$92,500, \$95,000, \$97,500, \$100,000, \$102,500, \$105,000, \$107,500, \$110,000, \$112,500, \$115,000, \$117,500, \$120,000, \$122,500, \$125,000); Quintile 5 (\$135,000, \$145,000, \$155,000, \$165,000, \$175,000, \$185,000, \$195,000, \$205,000, \$215,000, \$225,000, \$235,000, \$245,000, \$255,000, \$265,000, \$275,000, \$285,000, \$295,000, \$305,000, \$315,000, \$325,000).

**Marital Status:** Married or Not Married, assigned with equal probability. Although most abortion patients are unmarried, this randomization scheme yields sufficient statistical power to consider the possibility that the effects of having the woman already having children is conditioned by marital status. Additional analysis, available upon request, yielded no support for this possibility.

**Number of Children:** Most women (approximately 60 percent) who have abortions have already had at least one child and approximately one third have at least two children. The randomization scheme reflects this distribution: approximately 40 percent of tasks presented a woman with no children, 20 percent indicated the woman had 1 child, 20 percent indicated two children, 10 percent indicated three children, and 10 percent indicated 4 children.

### Appendix A.2.1 Names Used to Signal Race/Ethnicity in Study 2

The second Study indicated a name for the hypothetical woman. Names were designed signal that the woman was either white, Black, or Latina (drawn from Butler and Homola (2017)).

**Purportedly “white” Names:** Jill Smith, Katelyn Miller, Molly Kruger, Emma Clark, Hannah Phillips, Heather Martin, Allison Nelson, Carly Smith, Caitlin Schneider, Holly Schroeder, Anne Evans, Kathryn Evans, Katie Novak, Amy Mueller, Carrie King, Claire Schwartz, Emily Schmidt, Abigail Smith, Sarah Miller, Katherine Adams, Jenna Anderson, Madeline Haas, Kristen Clark.

**Purportedly “Black” Names:** Ebony Washington, Latonya Rivers, Precious Washington, Keisha Rivers, Deja Mosley, Kiara Jackson, Alexis Banks, Ebony Mosley, Deja Jefferson, Jada Mosley, Dominique Mosley, Jazmine Jefferson, Alaliyah Booker, Latoya Rivers, Shanice Booker, Jasmine Joseph, Jasmin Jefferson, Raven Korsej.

**Purportedly “Latina” Names:** Dolores Sanchez, Magdalena Perez, Catalina Jaurez, Beatriz Ibarra, Margarita Velazquez, Teresa Jaurez, Maria Ramirez, Carmela Velazquez, Carola Huerta, Carlita Torres, Dolores Ramirez, Maria Rodriguez, Blanca Ramirez, Catalina Hernandez, Margarita Garcia, Rosa Perez, Rosa Orozco, Carola Ibarra, Beatriz Martinez, Carmen Barajas, Carmen Lopez.

## Appendix A.3 Additional Analysis

- Table A1 reports descriptive statistics from the 2016 and 2018 GSS samples, and the two surveys that included the conjoint designs.
- Table A2 reports estimates from OLS regression models estimating direct treatment effects. Column (1) reports a model pooling data from the two studies (these estimates are presented graphically in Figure 2). Column (2) and column (3) present model estimates separately by study and illustrate that the treatment estimates were similar in each case.
- Table A3 reports results from 2003 and 2018 Gallup surveys that employed a split ballot design. One ballot asked respondents about support for abortion under certain circumstances in the first trimester; the other asked about the same circumstances, but in the third trimester. See footnote 8.
- Table A4 reports results of an OLS regression model that includes interactions between the indicators for the trimester treatments and each of the remaining treatments. Estimates from this model are discussed alongside the discussion of the marginal means reported in Figure 4.
- Table A5 reports results from regressions predicting 6-point additive indices of abortion attitudes (measured using the standard GSS battery) with respondents' demographic characteristics. Separate models are presented for 2018 GSS respondents and respondents in my surveys who were assigned to complete the GSS battery rather than the conjoint tasks.
- Figure A1 reports the estimated effects of all treatments by respondents' party affiliation (treating partisan "leaners" as partisans).
- Figure A2 reports the estimated effects of all treatments by respondents' reported gender.
- Figure A3 reports LOWESS lines, as well as linear fits, that illustrate the relationship between gestational age and support for permitting abortion, separately for Democratic and Republican respondents.
- Figure A4 reports LOWESS lines, as well as linear fits, that illustrate the relationship between gestational age and support for permitting abortion, separately for male and female respondents.
- Figure A5 reports the estimated effects of the pregnant woman's purported ethn racial identity by respondent's self-reported ethn racial identity (Study 2 data only).

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics

	(1) 2016 GSS	(2) 2018 GSS	(3) Studies 1 and 2 (pooled)	(4) Study 1	(5) Study 2
Age (in years)	47.8 (17.6)	46.6 (17.7)	45.2 (16.8)	45.9 (16.6)	44.2 (17.0)
Female	0.55 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)	0.57 (0.50)
White	0.66 (0.47)	0.65 (0.48)	0.71 (0.46)	0.70 (0.46)	0.72 (0.45)
Black	0.15 (0.36)	0.14 (0.34)	0.12 (0.33)	0.11 (0.31)	0.13 (0.34)
Hispanic	0.14 (0.34)	0.17 (0.37)	0.077 (0.27)	0.082 (0.27)	0.070 (0.25)
Other race / Skipped	0.050 (0.22)	0.048 (0.21)	0.097 (0.30)	0.11 (0.31)	0.082 (0.27)
Education (1=No HS; 6=post-grad)	3.37 (1.68)	3.44 (1.67)	3.61 (1.41)	3.62 (1.41)	3.59 (1.40)
Freq. of Religious Attendance (1-6)	3.11 (1.68)	2.96 (1.69)	3.03 (1.68)	3.03 (1.67)	3.04 (1.69)
Party Identification (-3 = Str. Dem.; 3 = Str. Rep)	-0.30 (1.93)	-0.17 (1.91)	-0.26 (2.23)	-0.25 (2.23)	-0.27 (2.23)
Ideology (-3 = v. lib; 3 = v. cons.)	0.079 (1.48)	0.038 (1.49)	-0.047 (1.72)	-0.071 (1.73)	-0.012 (1.71)
If woman wants for any reason	0.46 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)
Low income, cant afford more children	0.44 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)	0.56 (0.50)	0.57 (0.50)	0.56 (0.50)
Married, wants no more children	0.46 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)	0.51 (0.50)
Not married	0.43 (0.49)	0.45 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	0.54 (0.50)	0.49 (0.50)
Strong chance of serious defect	0.74 (0.44)	0.76 (0.42)	0.74 (0.44)	0.73 (0.45)	0.76 (0.43)
Pregnant as result of rape	0.78 (0.42)	0.79 (0.41)	0.85 (0.36)	0.84 (0.36)	0.85 (0.36)
Woman's health seriously endangered	0.89 (0.31)	0.90 (0.30)	0.87 (0.34)	0.86 (0.35)	0.88 (0.33)
Did not use birth control			0.51 (0.50)	0.52 (0.50)	0.48 (0.50)
Birth control failed			0.58 (0.49)	0.58 (0.49)	0.57 (0.50)
Observations	2712	2199	2621	1532	1089

Cell entries are means; standard deviations in parentheses. Means in columns (1) and (2) use weights provided with the GSS. Values in columns (3)-(5) are based on all respondents in these studies, including those assigned to the closed-ended question branch. Values for abortion attitude questions are for respondents assigned to this non-experimental, closed-ended question branch of the survey (Study 1, N = 399; Study 2, N = 272). For each survey, fewer than 10 respondents assigned to this branch failed to provide a response for any given abortion attitude question.

Table A2: Regression Models: Main Effects

	(1) Pooled	(2) Study 1	(3) Study 2
No birth control	-0.003 (0.016)	0.000 (0.021)	-0.007 (0.023)
Birth control failed	0.022 (0.016)	0.018 (0.022)	0.032 (0.024)
Serious birth defect	0.141** (0.017)	0.129** (0.022)	0.160** (0.027)
Rape	0.221** (0.017)	0.234** (0.022)	0.207** (0.026)
Woman's health	0.305** (0.016)	0.308** (0.021)	0.307** (0.026)
Second Trimester	-0.106** (0.012)	-0.099** (0.015)	-0.119** (0.018)
Third Trimester	-0.214** (0.013)	-0.195** (0.017)	-0.245** (0.021)
Income Quintile 2	-0.020 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.018)	-0.045* (0.021)
Income Quintile 3	-0.032* (0.014)	-0.029 (0.018)	-0.034 (0.021)
Income Quintile 4	-0.023 (0.015)	-0.024 (0.020)	-0.024 (0.022)
Income Quintile 5	-0.026 (0.015)	-0.030 (0.019)	-0.021 (0.023)
Married	0.006 (0.009)	0.011 (0.012)	-0.000 (0.014)
Age 18-29	0.001 (0.016)	0.021 (0.021)	-0.027 (0.025)
Age 30-39	-0.003 (0.016)	0.008 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.025)
Age 40-50	-0.001 (0.016)	0.005 (0.021)	-0.011 (0.025)
Has 1 Child	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.012 (0.017)	-0.016 (0.018)
Has 2 Children	0.004 (0.012)	-0.020 (0.016)	0.035 (0.018)
Has 3 Children	-0.008 (0.016)	-0.042* (0.020)	0.041 (0.025)
Has 4 Children	0.011 (0.016)	-0.006 (0.021)	0.032 (0.024)
Study 1	0.020 (0.017)		
Pregnant Woman: Black	0.016 (0.018)		0.018 (0.018)
Pregnant Woman: Latina	0.026 (0.016)		0.027 (0.016)
Female	-0.099** (0.015)	-0.090** (0.020)	-0.115** (0.023)
Black	-0.050* (0.025)	-0.044 (0.034)	-0.051 (0.036)
Hispanic	-0.063* (0.029)	-0.090* (0.038)	-0.016 (0.044)
Other race / Skipped	-0.020 (0.025)	-0.046 (0.032)	0.030 (0.038)
Age (in years)	-0.002**	-0.002**	-0.001

	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Ideology (-3 = v. lib; 3 = v. cons.)	-0.074**	-0.075**	-0.072**
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Party Identification (-3 = Str. Dem.; 3 = Str. Rep)	-0.013**	-0.006	-0.025**
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Freq. of Religious Attendance (1-6)	-0.026**	-0.027**	-0.026**
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Constant	0.783**	0.819**	0.767**
	(0.039)	(0.050)	(0.057)
Observations	9703	5640	4063

*Note:* Cell entries are OLS coefficients; standard errors (clustered by respondent) in parentheses. See Figure 2 for graphical presentation of the estimates from column (1).

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table A3: Gallup 2003 and 2018 Survey Results

	[first/first]	[last/third]	Difference
<b>2003</b>			
...woman's life is endangered?	82%	75%	7%
...child would be born mentally disabled?	50%	38%	12%
...child would be born with a life-threatening illness?	60%	48%	12%
...pregnancy was caused by rape or incest?	72%	59%	13%
...woman does not want the child for any reason?	41%	24%	17%
<b>2018</b>			
...woman's life is endangered?	83%	75%	8%
...child would be born mentally disabled?	56%	35%	21%
...child would be born with a life-threatening illness?	67%	48%	19%
...pregnancy was caused by rape or incest?	77%	52%	25%
...woman does not want the child for any reason?	45%	20%	25%

*Note:* Cell entries are the percentage of respondents indicating that abortion should be legal under the described circumstances. Question wording: (Now I am going to read some specific situations under which an abortion might be considered in the [first/last] three months of pregnancy. Thinking specifically about the [first/third] trimester, please say whether you think abortion should be legal in that situation, or illegal.) How about when the... (Gallup Organization 2003; 2018)

Table A4: Regression Model: Trimester x Other Treatment Interactions

No birth control=1	-0.016 (0.030)
Birth control failed=1	-0.010 (0.030)
Serious birth defect=1	0.066* (0.029)
Rape=1	0.139** (0.029)
Woman's health=1	0.251** (0.027)
Income Quintile 2=1	-0.033 (0.026)
Income Quintile 3=1	-0.012 (0.026)
Income Quintile 4=1	-0.010 (0.028)
Income Quintile 5=1	-0.024 (0.028)
Married=1	0.002 (0.017)
Age 18-29=1	-0.033 (0.030)
Age 30-39=1	0.001 (0.030)
Age 40-50=1	-0.029 (0.030)
Has 1 Child=1	-0.003 (0.023)
Has 2 Children=1	0.012 (0.023)
Has 3 Children=1	0.015 (0.028)
Has 4 Children=1	-0.042 (0.030)
Study 1=1	0.004 (0.026)
Pregnant Woman: Black=1	0.024 (0.032)
Pregnant Woman: Latina=1	0.044 (0.030)
Second Trimester=1	-0.174** (0.058)
Third Trimester=1	-0.328** (0.062)
No birth control=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.030 (0.039)
No birth control=1 x Third Trimester=1	-0.000 (0.041)
Birth control failed=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.060 (0.039)
Birth control failed=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.021 (0.041)
Serious birth defect=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.113** (0.038)
Serious birth defect=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.088* (0.042)
Rape=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.114** (0.038)
Rape=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.109** (0.041)
Woman's health=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.067 (0.035)
Woman's health=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.088* (0.038)
Income Quintile 2=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.014



	(0.035)
Income Quintile 2=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.015 (0.037)
Income Quintile 3=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.030 (0.035)
Income Quintile 3=1 x Third Trimester=1	-0.025 (0.037)
Income Quintile 4=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.024 (0.036)
Income Quintile 4=1 x Third Trimester=1	-0.019 (0.039)
Income Quintile 5=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.012 (0.036)
Income Quintile 5=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.005 (0.038)
Married=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.009 (0.022)
Married=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.002 (0.024)
Age 18-29=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.043 (0.038)
Age 18-29=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.055 (0.042)
Age 30-39=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.014 (0.038)
Age 30-39=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.007 (0.042)
Age 40-50=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.034 (0.038)
Age 40-50=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.046 (0.043)
Has 1 Child=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.015 (0.029)
Has 1 Child=1 x Third Trimester=1	-0.008 (0.033)
Has 2 Children=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.001 (0.029)
Has 2 Children=1 x Third Trimester=1	-0.022 (0.032)
Has 3 Children=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.018 (0.038)
Has 3 Children=1 x Third Trimester=1	-0.042 (0.040)
Has 4 Children=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.051 (0.039)
Has 4 Children=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.103* (0.041)
Study 1=1 x Second Trimester=1	0.001 (0.032)
Study 1=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.055 (0.036)
Pregnant Woman: Black=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.022 (0.043)
Pregnant Woman: Black=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.003 (0.047)
Pregnant Woman: Latina=1 x Second Trimester=1	-0.046 (0.039)
Pregnant Woman: Latina=1 x Third Trimester=1	0.007 (0.043)
Constant	0.848** (0.055)
Observations	9703

*Note:* Cell entries are OLS coefficients; standard errors (clustered by respondent) in parentheses. Model includes controls for pre-treatment measures of respondent characteristics (race, gender, age, ideology, party identification, and frequency of religious attendance). Coefficients on these controls are suppressed for presentation purposes. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Table A5: Predictors of Abortion Attitudes (Closed-Ended Question)

	(1) GSS 2016	(2) GSS 2018	(3) Original Survey (Pooled)
Age (in years)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)
Female	-0.100 (0.109)	-0.192 (0.124)	-0.060 (0.144)
Black	0.078 (0.183)	-0.221 (0.200)	-0.076 (0.255)
Hispanic	-0.891** (0.187)	-0.115 (0.189)	-0.315 (0.291)
Other race / Skipped	0.081 (0.263)	-0.416 (0.310)	0.071 (0.228)
Education (1=No HS; 6=post-grad)	0.179** (0.033)	0.254** (0.038)	0.227** (0.053)
Freq. of Religious Attendance (1-6)	-0.416** (0.035)	-0.412** (0.042)	-0.295** (0.044)
Party Identification (-3 = Str. Dem.; 3 = Str. Rep)	-0.117** (0.035)	-0.196** (0.043)	-0.173** (0.043)
Ideology (-3 = v. lib; 3 = v. cons.)	-0.373** (0.044)	-0.294** (0.054)	-0.310** (0.057)
Constant	4.539** (0.225)	4.292** (0.236)	4.268** (0.326)
Observations	1608	1341	646

*Note:* Cell entries are OLS coefficients; robust standard errors in parentheses. Outcome is standard additive index of responses to six closed-ended GSS questions that asked whether abortion should be permitted for women in various circumstances (range: 0-6): 1) there is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby, 2) the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy, 3) the woman became pregnant as a result of rape, 4) she is married and does not want any more children, 5) the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children, 6) she is not married. Models in columns (1) and (2) use weights provided with the GSS. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ .

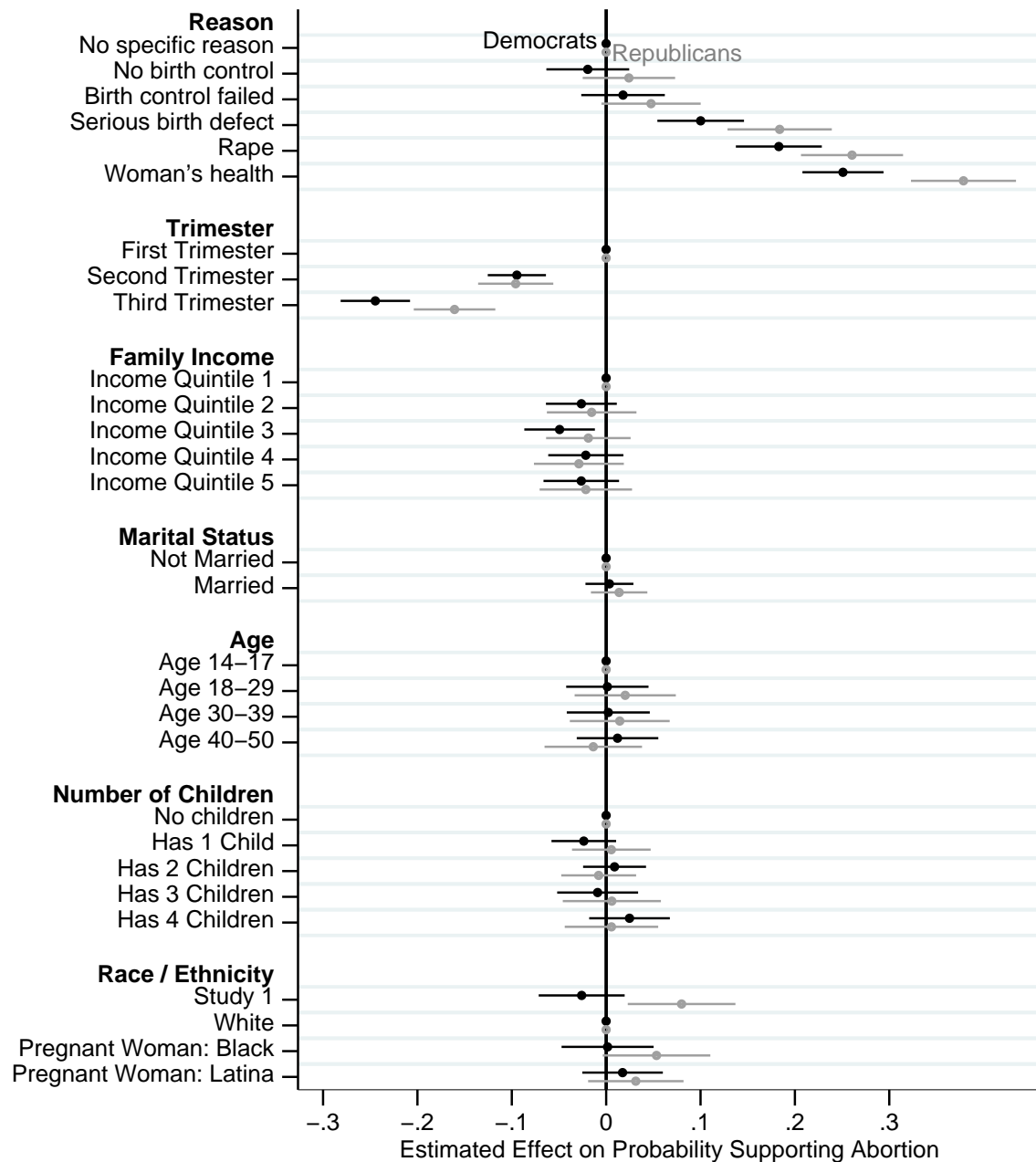


Figure A1: **Treatment Effects from Conjoint Experiments, by Party.** Black markers are estimates among Democratic respondents; gray markers are for Republicans. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals. Analysis relies on 4,712 Democratic cases (947 Democratic respondents); 3,640 Republican cases (732 Republican respondents). Study 2 participants presented with a purportedly “white” name are the reference group for the other race/ethnicity indicators and for the indicator for Study 1 participants (where woman’s race/ethnicity was not signalled).

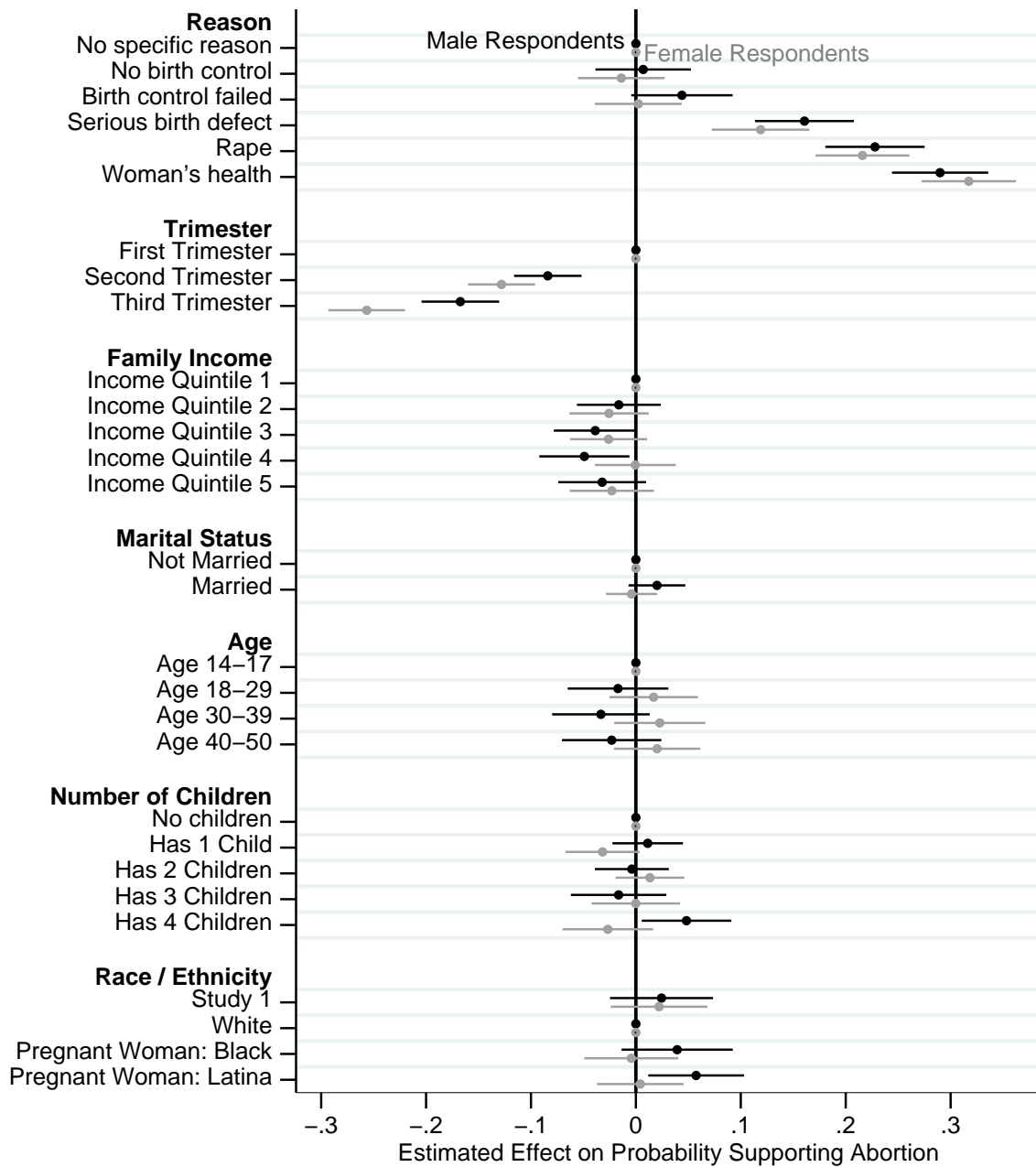


Figure A2: **Treatment Effects from Conjoint Experiments, by Respondent Gender.** Black markers are estimates among respondents who identified as male; gray markers are for female respondents. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals. Analysis relies on 4,581 male cases (921 male respondents); 5,122 female cases (1,029 female respondents). Study 2 participants presented with a profile with a purportedly “white” name are the reference group for the other race/ethnicity indicators and for the indicator for Study 1 participants (where woman’s race/ethnicity was not signalled).

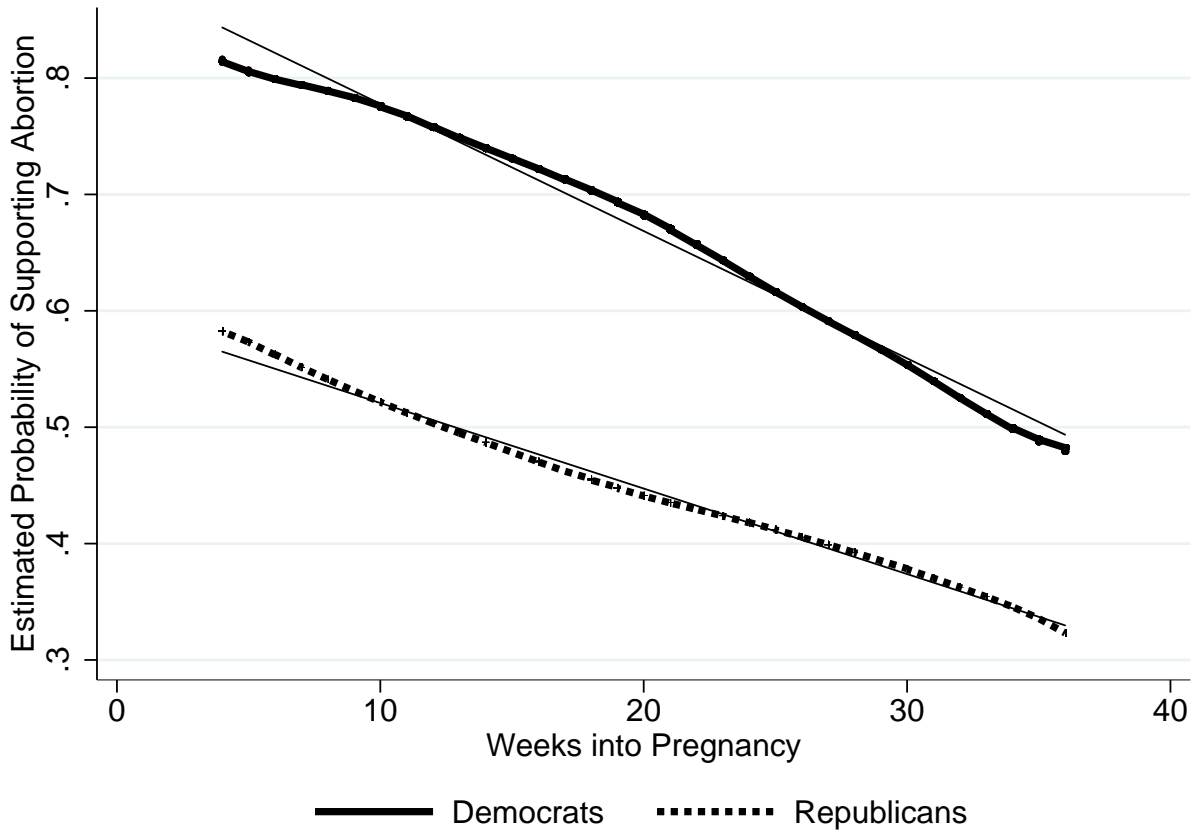


Figure A3: **Linear Relationship between Gestational Age and Support, by Party.** Thick lines are smoothed LOWESS lines illustrating relationship between gestational age and the probability of a respondent supporting abortion. The (nearly identical) thin lines illustrate the linear fit for each group. Partisan “leaners” are coded as partisans.

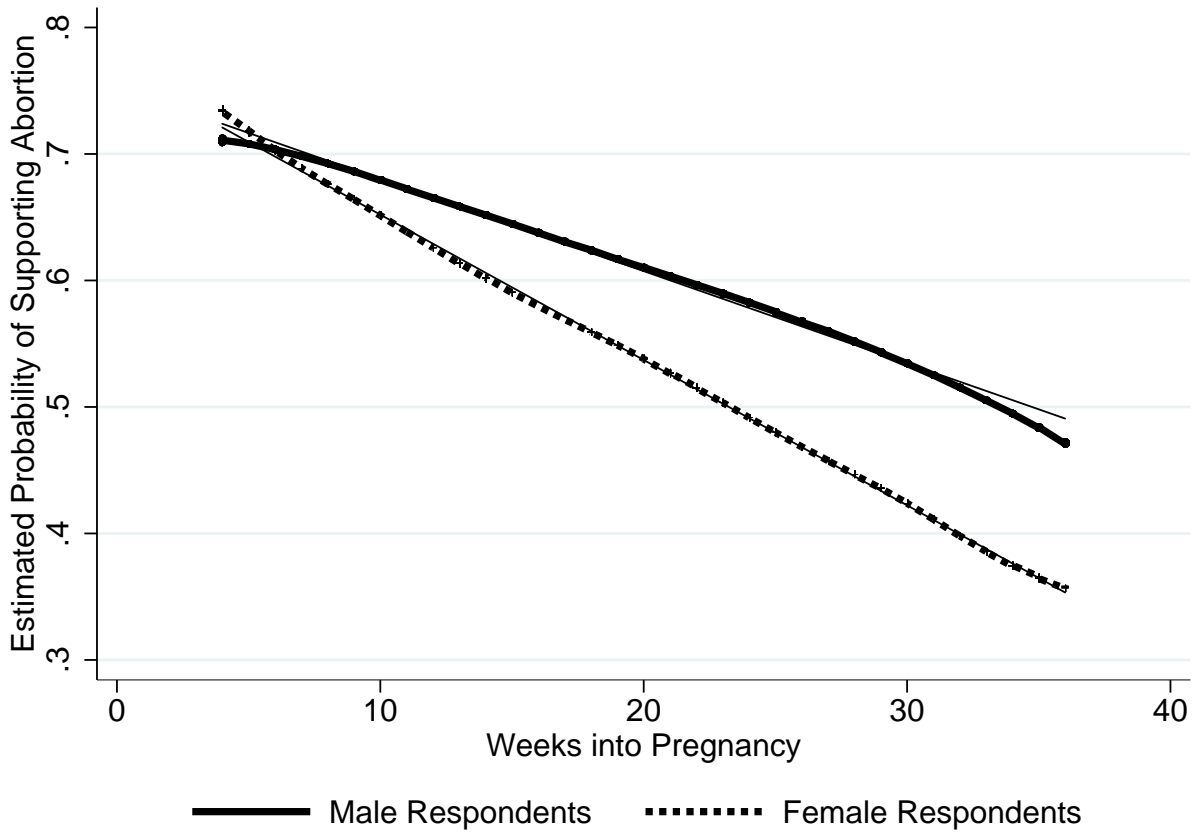


Figure A4: **Linear Relationship between Gestational Age and Support, by Respondent Gender.** Thick lines are smoothed LOWESS lines illustrating relationship between gestational age and the probability of a respondent supporting abortion. The (nearly identical) thin lines illustrate the linear fit for each group.

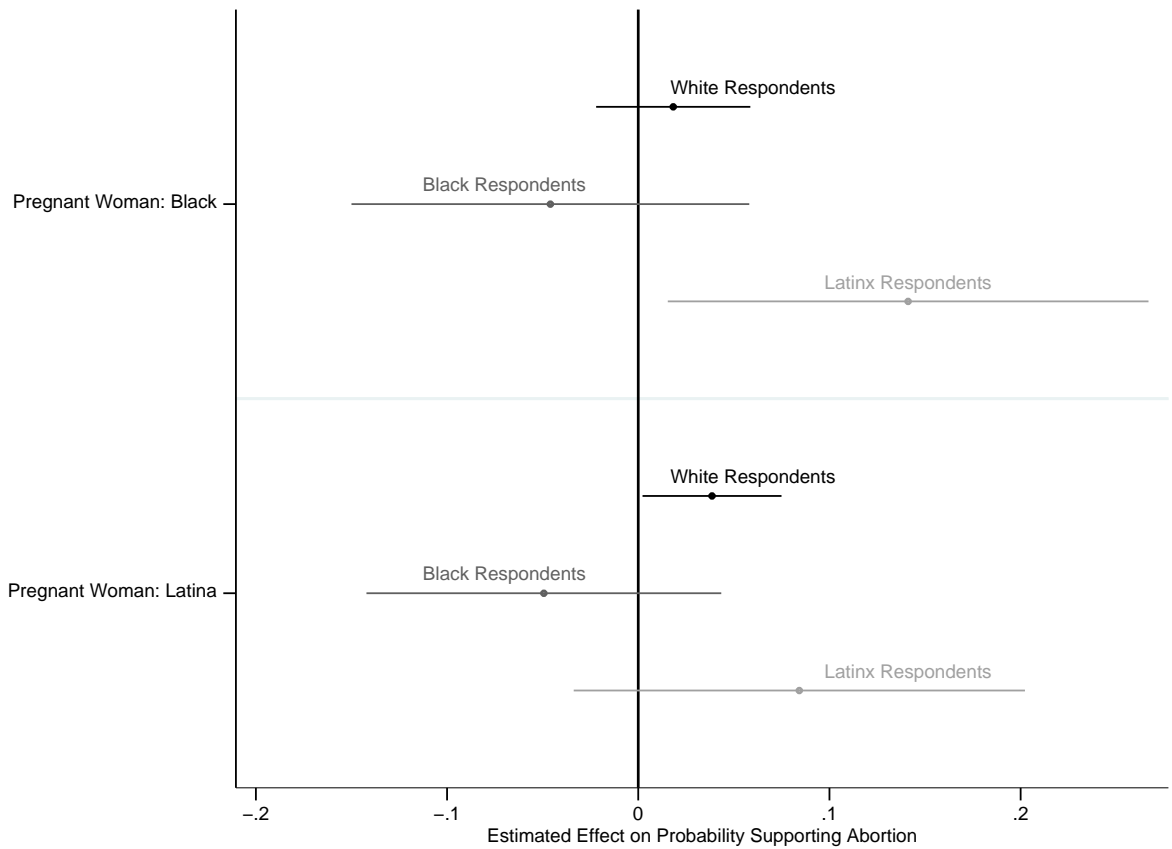


Figure A5: **Estimated Effect of Race/Ethnicity of Pregnant Woman, by Respondent Race/Ethnicity.** Analysis from Study 2 (where name treatments were used) only. Names that signal the woman was white are the reference group. Whiskers are 95% confidence intervals.