**Supplemental Materials for “Life-course trajectories of socio-political attitude change across cohorts and topics”**

**Supplemental Appendix A: Question labels, wording, response options, and notes.**

Table SA1: Labels, text, and response options for all 70 items included in our main analysis.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Question label** | **Question text** | **Response options** | **Notes** |
| abortion | Which one of the opinions on this [card/page] best agrees with your view? | 1 – Abortion should never be permitted  2 – Abortion should be permitted only if the life and health of the woman is in danger.  3 – Abortion should be permitted if, due to personal reasons, the woman would have difficulty in caring for the child  4 – Abortion should never be forbidden, since one should not require a woman to have a child she doesn’t want. |  |
| attentioncpg | Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns this year? | 1 – Very much interested  2 – Somewhat interested  3 – Not very interested |  |
| cappun | Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE the death penalty for persons convicted of murder? | 1 – Favor  3 – Depends  5 – Oppose | Some waves ask an additional question about strength of support, but that is not included here. |
| complicated | Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. | 1 – Agree  3 – Don’t know; can’t say  5 - Disagree | Panels after 1956-60 contain “strong” agreement and disagreement, recoded to agree/DK/disagree |
| crooked | Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked? | 1 – Quite a few are brooked  3 – Not very many are crooked  5 – Hardly any are crooked |  |
| defscale | 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, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Greatly decrease defense spending  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Greatly increase defense spending |  |
| dontcare | Public officials don't care much what people like me think. | 1 – Agree  3 – Don’t know; can’t say  5 - Disagree | Panels after 1956-60 contain “strong” agreement and disagreement, recoded to agree/DK/disagree |
| elexmatter | How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what people think? | 1 – A good deal  3 – Some  5 – Not much |  |
| eqoppsuccess | Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
| eqrole | Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights.  Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. 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. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Women and men should have equal role  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – A woman’s place is in the home. |  |
| eqlprob | If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
| fair | Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair? | 1 – Would try to take advantage  3 – Don’t know / [It depends]  5 – Try to be fair |  |
|  | All ft questions: “I'll read the name of a [person/group] and I'd like you to rate that [person/group] using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the [person/group]. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the [person/group] and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the [person/group] at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the [person/group]. If we come to a [person/group] whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one. | | |
| ftasian | Asian Americans | 0-100 |  |
| ftbiz | Big business | 0-100 |  |
| ftblacks | Blacks | 0-100 |  |
| ftcons | Conservatives | 0-100 |  |
| ftcops | Police | 0-100 |  |
| ftdems | Democrats | 0-100 |  |
| ftenv | Environmentalists | 0-100 |  |
| ftfelib | Women’s [Liberation] Movement | 0-100 | “Liberation” included in 1972-76 panel. |
| ftfeminists | Feminists | 0-100 |  |
| fthisp | Hispanics | 0-100 |  |
| fthomo | Gay men and lesbians | 0-100 |  |
| ftjews | Jews | 0-100 |  |
| ftlabor | Labor unions | 0-100 |  |
| ftlibs | Liberals | 0-100 |  |
| ftmil | The military | 0-100 |  |
| ftpoor | Poor people | 0-100 |  |
| ftreps | Republicans | 0-100 |  |
| ftwelfare | People on welfare | 0-100 |  |
| ftwhites | Whites | 0-100 |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| gaylaw | Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination? | 1 – Favor  5 – Oppose | Some waves ask an additional question about strength of support, but that is not included here. |
| govins | 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 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, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Government insurance plan  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Private insurance plan |  |
| helpblk | 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. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Government should help blacks  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Blacks should help themselves | Question refers to “minority groups” in 1972-76 panel. |
| helpful | Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves? | 1 – Try to be helpful  3 – Don’t know / [It depends]  5 – Look out for themselves |  |
| hrdwrkblk | I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that almost all of the people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course you may choose any number in between. Where would you rate blacks in general on this scale? | 1 – Hard-working  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Lazy |  |
| hrdwrkwht | I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that almost all of the people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course you may choose any number in between. Where would you rate whites in general on this scale? | 1 – Hard-working  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Lazy |  |
| jobguar | Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Government see to a job and a good standard of living.  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Government let each person get ahead on own. |  |
| letin1 | Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or left the same as it is now? | 1 – Increase a lot  2 – Increase a little  3 – Same as now  4 – Decreased a little  5 – Decreased a lot |  |
| manyvote | So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn’t matter much to me whether I vote or not. | 1 – Agree  3 – Don’t know; can’t say  5 - Disagree |  |
| matterwrk | It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
| moralrel | The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
|  | For all “nat\_\_\_” questions:  Should federal spending be increased, decreased, or kept about the same on... | | |
| nataid | Foreign aid | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| nataids | AIDS research | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natarms | Defense spending | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natchld | Child care | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natcrime | Dealing with crime | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natenvir | Improving and protecting the environment | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natfare | Welfare programs | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natpoor | Poor people | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natrace | Aid to blacks | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
| natschools | Public schools | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) | ANES panels ask about spending on “public schools”; GSS panels ask about “spending on improving the nation’s education system.” |
| natsoc | Social security | 1 – Increased  2 – Same  3 – Decreased (cut out entirely) |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| partyid | Partisan identification | 0 – Strong Democrat  1 – Weak Democrat  2 – Independent, lean Democrat  3 – Independent  4 – Independent, lean Republican  5 – Weak Republican  6 – Strong Republican | People who report a partisan identification other than those listed are counted as missing. |
| polattn | Over the year, how much attention do you feel the government pays to what the people think when it decides what to do... A good deal, some, or not much at all? | 1 – A good deal  3 – Some  5 – Not much |  |
| polviews | Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Extremely liberal  2 – Liberal  3 – Slightly liberal  4 – Moderate; middle of the road  5 – Slightly conservative  6 – Conservative  7 – Extremely conservative | People who report an ideological identification other than the options listed as counted as missing. |
| ppllikeme | People like me don't have any say about what the government does. | 1 – Agree  3 – Don’t know; can’t say  5 - Disagree | Panels after 1972-76 contain “strong” agreement and disagreement, recoded to agree/DK/disagree |
| prefhiring | Some people say that because of past discrimination blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it gives blacks advantages they haven't earned. What about your opinion--are you FOR or AGAINST preferential hiring and promotion of blacks? | 1 – For  5 - Against | Some waves ask about strength of support, but that is not included here. |
| religimp | Do you consider religion to be an IMPORTANT part of your life, or not? | 1 – Yes, important  3 – Don’t know  5 – No, not important |  |
| runfew | Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people? | 1 – Government run by few big interests  5 – Government run for benefit of all |  |
| satdemo | On the whole, are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the United States? | 1 – Satisfied  2 – Fairly satisfied  3 – Not very satisfied  4 – Not at all satisfied |  |
| spendserv | 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. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? | 1 – Government provide many fewer service, reduce spending a lot  2 –  3 –  4 –  5 –  6 –  7 – Government provide many more services, increase spending a lot. |  |
| stayhome | “This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world.” | 1 – Agree (either strongly or not strongly)  3 – Not sure. It depends.  5 – Disagree (either strongly or not strongly) | 1956-60 panel included “strong” agreement and disagreement. |
| tax | Do you feel you are asked to pay MORE THAN YOU SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN YOU SHOULD? | 1 – Much more  2 – Somewhat more  3 – About right  4 – Less than should |  |
| tradfamily | This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
| trust | Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? | 1 – Most people can be trusted  3 – Don’t know/It depends  5 – Can’t be too carefrul |  |
| trustgov | How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right | 1 – Always  3 – Most of the time  5 – Some of the time  7 – None of the time |  |
| unequal | It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
| wastetax | Do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it? | 1 – Waste a lot  3 – Waste some  5 – Don’t waste very much |  |
| worrylesseq | This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |
| wrkwayup | Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. | 1 – Agree strongly  2 – Agree somewhat  3 – Neither agree nor disagree  4 – Disagree somewhat  5 – Disagree strongly |  |

Supplemental Appendix SA2: Timing of Question Across Panel Waves

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | **ANES 1956-60** | | | | **ANES 1972-76** | | | | | **ANES 1980\*\*\*** | | | | **ANES 1990-92** | | | | **ANES 1992-97** | | | | | | | | **ANES 2000-04** | | | | | **GSS 2006-14\***  **2016-20\*\*** | | | **ANES 2016-20** | | | | **ANES 2020-22** | | |
|  | Waves | Pairs | **1956** | **1958** | **1960p** | **1960o** | **1972p** | **1972o** | **1974** | **1976p** | **1976o** | **1980a** | **1980b** | **1980c** | **1980d** | **1990** | **1991** | **1992p** | **1992o** | **1992p** | **1992o** | **1993** | **1994** | **1995** | **1996p** | **1996o** | **1997** | **2000p** | **2000o** | **2002p** | **2002o** | **2004** | **2006** | **2008** | **2010** | **2016p** | **2016o** | **2020p** | **2020o** | **2020p** | **2020o** | **2022** |
| abortion | 14 | 10 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| attncpg | 20 | 21 | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| cappun | 19 | 16 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| complicated | 11 | 11 | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| crooked | 12 | 13 |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| defscale | 11 | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| dontcare | 16 | 15 | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| elexmatter | 11 | 11 |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| eqopp | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| eqrole | 9 | 10 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| eqlprob | 8 | 7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| fair | 21 | 20 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftasian | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| ftbiz | 13 | 17 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftblacks | 15 | 16 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| ftcons | 14 | 13 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| ftcops | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |
| ftdems | 18 | 19 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |
| ftenv | 8 | 7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftfelib | 9 | 9 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftfem | 11 | 7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |
| fthisp | 11 | 11 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| fthomo | 12 | 15 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |
| ftjews | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| ftlabor | 14 | 14 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| ftlibs | 14 | 13 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| ftmil | 9 | 9 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftpoor | 8 | 7 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftreps | 18 | 19 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |
| ftwelf | 9 | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ftwhite | 13 | 12 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| govins | 9 | 6 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |
| helpblk | 12 | 15 |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| helpful | 20 | 18 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| hrdwrkblk | 16 | 13 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| hrdwrkwht | 16 | 13 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| jobguar | 12 | 15 |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| letin | 21 | 18 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| manyvote | 7 | 5 | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| matterwrk | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| moralrel | 8 | 7 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| nataid | 16 | 17 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| nataids | 9 | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| natarms | 14 | 12 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| natchild | 21 | 21 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| natcrime | 21 | 21 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| natenvir | 23 | 22 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| natfare | 21 | 21 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| natpoor | 8 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| natrace | 16 | 17 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| natschools | 11 | 11 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| natsoc | 11 | 11 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| opposehomo | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| Partyid | 40 | 51 | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |
| Polviews | 37 | 50 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |
| ppllikeme | 19 | 24 | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| prefhiring | 9 | 10 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| religimp | 10 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| runfew | 15 | 16 |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| satdemo | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| spendserv | 15 | 16 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| stayhome | 16 | 14 | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| tax | 15 | 14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| tradfamily | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| trust | 24 | 24 |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| trustgov | 17 | 23 |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| unequal | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| wastetax | 15 | 17 |  |  |  |  | **X** | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |
| worryless | 7 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  |
| wrkwayup | 9 | 6 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  |  | **X** |  | **X** |  | **X** |  |  |  | **X** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **X** |  | **X** | **X** | **X** |  |
| p, o: ANES panels frequently conduct interview before and after elections. These are included here as separate waves with indicators p (before) and o (after).  \*The General Social Survey panels are replicated in 2006-08-10, 2008-10-12, and 2010-12-14, as well as 2016-18-20. Because the questions asked in each panel are the same, the table only includes one indicator.  \*\* The 2016-20 GSS includes three waves, but individual respondents were only interviewed on two occasions: either in 2016 and 2020 or 2018 and 2020.  \*\*\* The 1980 ANES panel conducted four waves over the course of the year. These are included as waves 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, and 1980d. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Supplemental Appendix B: Alternative Model Specifications**

*Best-fitting model from Table 2.*

Table SB1: Coefficient estimates of ordinary least squares regression of absolute change on duration, age, cohort, and specified interactions using only partisan identification responses. Model 5 from Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | **Coefficient** |
| **Intercept** | 10.999  (0.083) |
| **Duration** | 1.549  (0.068) |
| **Age** | -1.994  (0.082) |
| **Cohort** | -0.956  (0.070) |
| **Age\*Cohort** | -0.397  (0.056) |
| **Duration\*Cohort** | 0.301  (0.055) |
|  |  |
| **Obs** | 58,051 |

**Modeling Age and Cohort Non-Linearly**

*Dummy variable for under 28:*

*Table SB2: Mixed-effects linear regression of absolute change on duration, dummy for under 28, cohort, and interaction of cohort and under 28. Includes random effects for question and individual random effects.*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Fixed Effects** | **Question Random Effects S.D.** | **Individual Random Effects S.D.** |
| **Intercept** | 18.040  (0.573) | 4.764 | 5.239 |
| **Duration** | 0.961  (0.082) | 0.592 | -- |
| **Under 28** | 1.00  (0.421) | 2.888 | -- |
| **Cohort** | -0.384  (0.176) | 1.364 | -- |
| **Under 28\*Cohort** | 1.097  (0.308) | 2.058 | -- |
|  |  |  |  |
| **N Questions** | 70 |  |  |
| **N Individuals** | 24,007 |  |  |
| **N** | 906,615 |  |  |

*Categorical specification of age and cohort:*

We bin respondents into age groups spanning five years (e.g., 18-22, 73-77). We also bin people by birth-year, also covering intervals of five years. We then treat age group and birth year as categorical variables, allowing each one to have its own distinct coefficient.

Treating age and cohort non-linearly greatly increases the number of parameters in our model. For example, where we previously had one parameter for age, now we have thirteen. This makes adding varying effects by question computationally intractable. Thus, we must settle for a simpler model, with varying intercepts for questions and individuals, but without any varying effects by question. If we were to observe distinct, non-linear patterns of attitudinal change for age groups across cohorts, this would cast doubt over the validity of our linear model.

Again, we examine the results of the model by looking at the predicted levels of change for different age groups across cohorts. Figure X displays these predictions. As expected, the results are less patterned. However, we still broadly see a gradual decline of attitudinal change as age increases, especially in more recent cohorts. We also see that the pattern of change in young adulthood followed by stability is also slightly clearer in more recent cohorts. Most importantly for our analysis, we do not see any clear non-linear patterns, neither for age nor for cohort.

A graph of different colored squares

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Figure SB2: Predicted level of change from mixed-effects model estimating absolute change as a function of duration, age, cohort, and their interaction across all questions using 5-year categorical specifications for age and cohort. Model only include random intercepts for question and individual, no random effects for age, cohort, duration, or the interaction of age and cohort. N=906,615.

Figure SB2 suggest that we are not overlooking clear non-linear patterns in our main analysis. A strength of our analysis is the ability to examine trends in attitudinal variation across a wide range of issues. A great part of that is our ability to pool information across issues by including varying effects by question in our multi-level model. Given that this is not computationally feasible in the non-linear model, and that our results do not suggest strong non-linear patterns, we decide to use the linear model in our main analysis.

*Zero-Inflated Beta Binomial Model*

Our dependent variable – by construction – is bounded between 0 and 100 and respondents often display no change at all from one wave to another. To ensure that the non-normal distribution of outcome measures does not affect our interpretation, we estimate a zero-inflated Beta regression. A Beta regression models an outcome bounded between 0 and 1, which coincides with our dependent variable after a slight transformation. The zero-inflated part of the model assumes that there are two data-generating processes that give rise to the observed data. One process gives rise to the zeros – i.e. to the cases when respondents display no change. The other results in all non-zero observations.

We build the model in the same way as the one presented in the main text. We add varying intercepts for individuals and questions. Additionally, we let the effects of duration age, cohort, and the interaction between the latter two, vary by question.

We begin by examining the non-zero part of the model – i.e. the portion that tries to explain instances of attitudinal change. Interpreting the coefficients of zero-inflated Beta regressions is difficult, especially when we add varying intercepts and slopes. Thus, like in the main text, we examine the predicted levels of change for individuals of different ages across cohorts. Figure X shows these predicted levels of change. We notice a pattern that is consistent with the results presented in the main text. Attitudinal change, in earlier cohorts, happens mostly among older respondents. The pattern of change in early adulthood followed by stability begins emerging from the middle of the 20th century. Our predicted levels of change are now between zero and one, because of the transformation necessary to fit the beta regression. Comparatively, the overall levels of change are slightly higher in this model. This is the result of getting rid of the lower end of the distribution of the outcome variable (the zeroes).

A graph of a person's age

AI-generated content may be incorrect.

Figure SB3: Predicted level of absolute change by age and cohort across all questions for zero-inflated negative binomial model. N=906,615.

When analyzing the zero part of the model, we see yet again a consistent pattern. Here, we do not examine predicted levels of change but rather predicted probabilities of displaying no change at all. We notice that the respondents who are less likely to display no change at all are young adults in contemporary cohorts and, to a slightly lesser degree, older adults in earlier cohorts. It is worth noting that the differences in probabilities are slight, with a difference of only 0.12 between the highest predicted probabilities and the lowest. Thus, it is worth being cautious about how much to conclude from these differences.

A graph of a number of people

AI-generated content may be incorrect.

Figure SB4: Predicted probability of no change by age and cohort across all questions for zero-inflated negative binomial model. N=906,615.

The results of this model, then, are entirely consistent with the ones we present in the main text. We decided to present the linear model for two reasons. The first is interpretability: the results of the linear model are much more interpretable and – given that the insights are consistent – we decided to go for the simpler option. The second is more theoretical. While this model addresses the features of our dependent variable, we do not have a strong theoretical reason to assume that the data-generating process leading to no change is distinct from that leading to some attitudinal change. We are more comfortable, then, with the model that does not necessitate that assumption.