Supporting Information for:

Which Republican Constituencies Support Restrictive Abortion Laws? Comparisons among donors, wealthy, and mass publics

- **Fig D4.** Replicating Figure 3, Panel B among Republican general population (Unweighted). 71 Republicans live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape, and 81 live elsewhere. When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.
- **Fig. D5.** Replication of Figure 3, Panel A but only in states without exceptions for rape. Support for abortion restrictions among Republican donors living in one of the 15 states enacting a ban on abortion in the case of rape by whether they think abortion is "one of the most important issues." When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

Appendix E. Support for Abortion Among Republicans By Demographics & Characteristics

- **Fig. E1.** Support for abortion among Republican donors by whether donor has a 4-year degree or a postgraduate degree versus whose who have some college or less.
- **Fig. E2.** Support for abortion among Republican donors by gender.
- **Fig. E3.** Support among Republican donors who describe religion as "very important" to them versus those who do not.
- **Fig. E4.** Support for abortion restrictions for Republican donors who live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape by whether they think religion is "very important." When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.
- **Fig. E5.** Support for abortion restrictions for donors who live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape by whether they think abortion is "one of the most important issues" and self-identified importance of religion. When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.
- **Fig. E6.** Support for abortion restrictions for Republicans based on levels of political activity. We create an index of political activity based on six activities: attending political meetings, attending protests, contacting elected officials, working for candidates, putting up political signs, and making a donation.
- **Fig. E7.** Support for abortion restrictions among general population by region.
- **Fig. E8.** Support for abortion restrictions among Republican verified donors by region.

Appendix F. Alternative Question Wordings & Robustness Using Alternative Wordings

- **Fig. F1.** Alternative question on abortion asked of respondents
- **Fig. F2.** Replication of Figure 1 using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. General population opinion on abortion by self-reported partisanship (unweighted).
- **Fig. F3.** Replication of Figure 2 using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. Opinions of Republicans by sample (unweighted).

- **Fig. F4.** Replication of Figure 3, Panel A using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. Opinions of Republican donors by issue importance (unweighted).
- **Fig. F5.** Replication of Figure 3, Panel A using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. Opinions of Republican donors who live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape (unweighted). When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.
- **Fig. F6.** Replication of Figure 3 Panel B among Republican donors (unweighted) using alternative measure of abortion restrictions based on states with (N=51) and without (N=214) abortion bans as of Oct 3, 2022 and no exception for rape according to the *New York Times* (https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/abortion-laws-roe-v-wade.html). This list included the states of: AL, AZ, AR, ID, KY, LA, MO, OK, SD, TN, TX, WV, and WI (dropping FL and MI from the states analyzing in the text).

Appendix G. Regression Results

- **Table G1.** OLS and Probit Regression Results for Figure 4
- **Table G2.** Regression Coefficients Predicting Republican Donors' Probability of Saying Abortion should never be allowed when asked the question in Fig. F1 using OLS and Probit.

Appendix H. Misc.

- **Figure H1.** Abortion Exceptions as of July 2022 Based on Poynter Institute.
- **Table H1:** Comparison of survey results across surveys and survey questions.
- **Fig. H2.** Support for abortion policies in the CES survey from 2020 to 2022, the period spanning the *Dobbs* decision.
- **Table H2.** Characteristics of Donors and Affluent By Party

Appendix A. Sampling Details.

To interview political donors we obtained a randomly selected list of 69,000 individuals who donated to at least one congressional campaign in 2018 from the contributor database maintained by *TargetSmart*. The median number of donations given was 6, and the 95th percentile was 52. 16.6% of the sample gave only a single time. While the FEC only requires campaigns to report donations if individuals give more than $200 to a single campaign, we found that among those who gave only a single time, 37% were reported as having given less than $200. The median total donation amount in our data is $750, and ranges from $52 at the 5th percentile to $13,809 at the 95th percentile.

To sample affluent individuals we obtained a randomly selected list of 40,000 individuals from the *TargetSmart* consumer database that they identified as being either high income or high net worth (and had not previously been selected for the first sample). High income was defined as earning at least $150,000 per year, while high net worth was defined as a total net worth of at least $1 million dollars. While the sample may contain political donors, only 3% of the affluent sample was identified as a 2018 midterm donor.

Finally, our "general public" sample is composed of 44,000 randomly selected records from a general consumer file maintained by TargetSmart. This general population sample excluded any records from the earlier two samples. 74% of this sample was registered to vote, 15% satisfied the criteria we used to select affluent respondents, and 1% of this sample is a validated donor from FEC records in the 2018 midterm elections.

Sampled individuals were sent a personalized letter on university letterhead inviting them to participate in the online survey and offering a $1 contribution to a charity of their choice in return.[1] A short URL included in the letter directed subjects to the survey entry page, on a university website, which described the purpose of the survey and provided additional details. Respondents who accessed the URL were redirected to a Qualtrics survey and asked to provide a personalized code and pin that linked their survey response to their sample selection. The initial invitation letters were mailed in late November 2019 and 50% of the sample who had not taken the survey were mailed a

[1] The letter included this text: "We are writing to ask for your help in understanding people's political views and behavior. To help provide valuable input, we invite you to participate in the Collaborative Study of Democracy and Politics, a special online survey conducted by [REDACTED]." The charitable donation was described using this text: "As a small token of our appreciation for you taking the time to share your thoughts and opinions, we will donate $1.00 to one of three charities of your choice: the American Red Cross, the United Way, or the American Cancer Society."

follow-up postcard in late January 2020.[2] Approximately 10.6% of the donor sample provided a completed survey (N=7,335), while only 3.5% of the high-income sample (N=1,409) and 2.4% of the general population sample (N=1,038) did so.

Respondents were encouraged to take the survey on a computer and only 163 out of 9,782 chose to take the survey on a mobile phone.

[2] For each group, we estimate that a second mailing more than doubled the completion rate among those who were eligible to receive a follow-up (i.e., had not already completed the survey or been removed from the sample). A small number of individuals took the survey twice; we used their first response.

Appendix B. Weighting Details

B.1 General Population

To weight the results of our general population survey we simply weighted the results to the most-recent demographics of the American Community Survey (ACS) using standard demographic targets.

B.2 Donors

To help ensure that our conclusions about the opinions of donors are representative we create post-stratification weights to correct for non-response. We contacted 69,062 donors who were verified as donating to a Congressional campaign in 2018 using the services of *TargetSmart*. The list of contacted donors was a random sample of records with valid mailing addresses from the file of verified donors (*FECbase*) of individuals.

Because the sampling frame is a random sample of the universe of donors, we can compare the demographics of the donors who complete our survey to those who do not. For example, our letters and reminder postcards were able to obtain 7,335 completes (10.6%) but there was a partisan difference in who responded. Among registered Democrats, 13.6% of the contacted donors responded, but only 6.9% of registered Republicans completed the survey.

Because our sampling frame is a random sample of the target population, we use the parameters of the sampling frame to create weighting targets to create individual level weights so that the weighted sample of respondents matches the overall population of donors. This is important for ensuring that the relationships we find are not being driven by having a disproportionate number of Democrats in the sample, for example. The fact that we have voter file information on respondents and non-respondents allows us to use this information to construct the weights.

Table B1. Comparing Respondents and the Population (Sampling Frame) of Verified Donors

	Sampling Frame	Respondents
Sample Size	69,062	7,335
Age (Quartiles)		
< 53	18.8%	15.6%
53-63	20.1%	18.9%
64-73	19.3%	23.8%
73-100	21.5%	22.9%
Missing	20.3%	18.8%
Registered Democrat		
Yes	28.8%	36.8%
Registered Republican		
Yes	18.8%	12.4%
Imputed Partisanship (Quartiles)		
< 5	26.1%	18.1%
5-66	23.8%	17.9%
67-97	20.5%	23.1%
98+	29.5%	40.9%
Gender		
Male	54.2%	56.1%
Female	37.1%	36.0%
Missing	8.7%	7.9%
Race: Black?		
Yes	4.7%	3.9%
Wealth		
< $100k	14.9%	13.9%
$100k – $199k	12.1%	12.3%
$200k - $499k	10.9%	12.3%
$500k - $999k	11.3%	12.1%
$1 mil – $2.5 mil	13.8%	15.4%
$2.5 mil +	19.2%	18.2%
Missing	17.8%	15.8%
Voted in 2016 general?		
Yes	94.2%	97.2%
Voted in 2016 primary?		
Yes	26.4%	30.3%
Voted in 2018 general?		
Yes	91.9%	97.0%
Number of Contributions		
0	4.3%	2.6%
1	16.6%	16.0%
2	11.2%	11.5%
3	8.2%	8.0%
4	6.5%	6.8%
5-9	19.4%	20.6%
10-19	15.4%	16.6%
20-49	13.1%	12.7%
50+	5.2%	5.2%

Table B1 reports the demographics of the sampling frame – i.e., the random sample of 69,000 verified donors with known addresses – and the sample of respondents to reveal the factors that were related to non-response. As noted, the largest difference is among partisanship – using either official party registration status or a measure of imputed partisanship based on demographics and precinct voting behavior – although other minor differences are also evident.

To create respondent weights that ensure that our analyses are representative of the larger population we create post-stratification weights using both iterative raking and the inverse of the propensity score. Iterative raking adjusts the weights so that the marginal distribution of each variable in the sample matches the marginal distribution in the population by adjusting the weights one-at-a-time and iterating until the weights are relatively stable. In other words, a sample weight is created for age – where "missing" is included as a weighting category - so that the weighted sample matches the age distribution in the sampling frame. A new weight is then created by making the age-weighted sample match the distribution of percentage registered Democrats in the sampling frame, that new weight is then used when making the age-Democrat-reweighted sample match the distribution of registered Republicans and so on. This process iterates over every marginal distribution until the weights are "stable."

To ensure that the results are not sensitive to the weighting algorithm being used, we also construct weights based on the inverse of the propensity score. That is, we model the probability that an individual in the sampling frame completes the survey using a logistic regression with every response category for every demographic variable in Table S2 included as a separate indicator variable. The weight is then the inverse of the predicted probability (renormalized so that the sum of the inverse weights is the number of completed interviews).

Reassuringly, the two weights correlate at 0.99 – indicating that the precise method of adjustment does not matter. Substantively, the effect of either weight is to increase the influence of Republican donors and decrease the influence of Democratic donors given the differential response rates noted at the outset.

B.3 Affluent

To help ensure that our conclusions about the opinions of donors are representative we create post-stratification weights to correct for non-response. We contacted a random sample of 40,000 individuals from the general consumer file of TargetSmart that are high income, high net-worth, or both. High-income individuals were defined as those having incomes of $150,000 or more, and high net-worth was defined as having a net income of $1 million or more according to the information contained in the consumer file. These are based on information obtained from commercial transactions and other information that were then merged to create a file of consumers based.

Because the sampling frame is a random sample of the consumer file, we are able to compare the demographics of the individuals who complete our survey to those who do not. For example, our letters and reminder postcards were able to obtain 1,409 completes (3.5%) but there was a partisan difference in who responded. Among registered Democrats, 5.0% of the contacted individuals, but only 3.5% of registered Republicans completed the survey.

Because it is the best data available to us for which we have identically measured characteristics for those who do and do not respond – and it is also data available to political elites who may be interested in reaching the opinions of the wealthy – we use the parameters of the sampling frame as the weighting targets when constructing non-response weights for the sample of completed interviews. That is, we use the parameters of the sampling frame of 40,000 records to create weighting targets to create individual level weights for the 1,409 completes so that the demographics of the weighted sample of respondents matches the overall demographics in the sampling frame.

Table B2. Comparing Respondents and the Population (Sampling Frame) of Affluent Respondents

	Sampling Frame	Respondents
Sample Size	40,005	1,409
Age (Quartiles)		
< 53	17.5%	14.0%
53-63	17.1%	18.0%
64-73	18.0%	20.9%
73-100	18.6%	25.3%
Missing	28.8%	21.7%
Registered Democrat		
Yes	18.5%	26.3%
Registered Republican		
Yes	17.6%	18.5%
Imputed Partisanship (Quartiles)		
< 7	25.9%	27.7%
7-39	24.0%	18.9%
40-92	24.2%	18.2%
93+	25.9%	35.0%
Gender		
Male	41.4%	51.7%
Female	42.5%	36.4%
Missing	16.1%	11.9%
Race: Black?		
Yes	5.6%	4.1%
Wealth		
< $100k	8.1%	4.5%
$100k – $199k	5.4%	4.2%
$200k - $499k	6.0%	5.4%
$500k - $999k	8.8%	7.4%
$1 mil – $2.5 mil	38.0%	43.3%
$2.5 mil +	22.0%	27.1%
Missing	11.7%	8.1%
Voted in 2016 general?		
Yes	66.2%	85.8%
Voted in 2016 primary?		
Yes	12.2%	20.5%
Voted in 2018 general?		
Yes	59.4%	86.6%
Number of Contributions		
0	4.3%	2.6%
1	16.6%	16.0%
2	11.2%	11.5%
3	8.2%	8.0%
4	6.5%	6.8%
5-9	19.4%	20.6%
10-19	15.4%	16.6%
20-49	13.1%	12.7%
50+	5.2%	5.2%

Table B2 reports the demographics of the sampling frame – i.e., the random sample of 40,000 high-income or high net-worth individuals with known addresses that were matched to a voter file – and the sample of respondents to reveal the factors that were related to non-response. Respondents, for example, were far more likely to have voted in recent elections compared to non-respondents. Weights constructed using iterative raking or the inverse propensity score correlate at .98.

Appendix C. Replication of Paper Results Using Sample Non-Response Weights

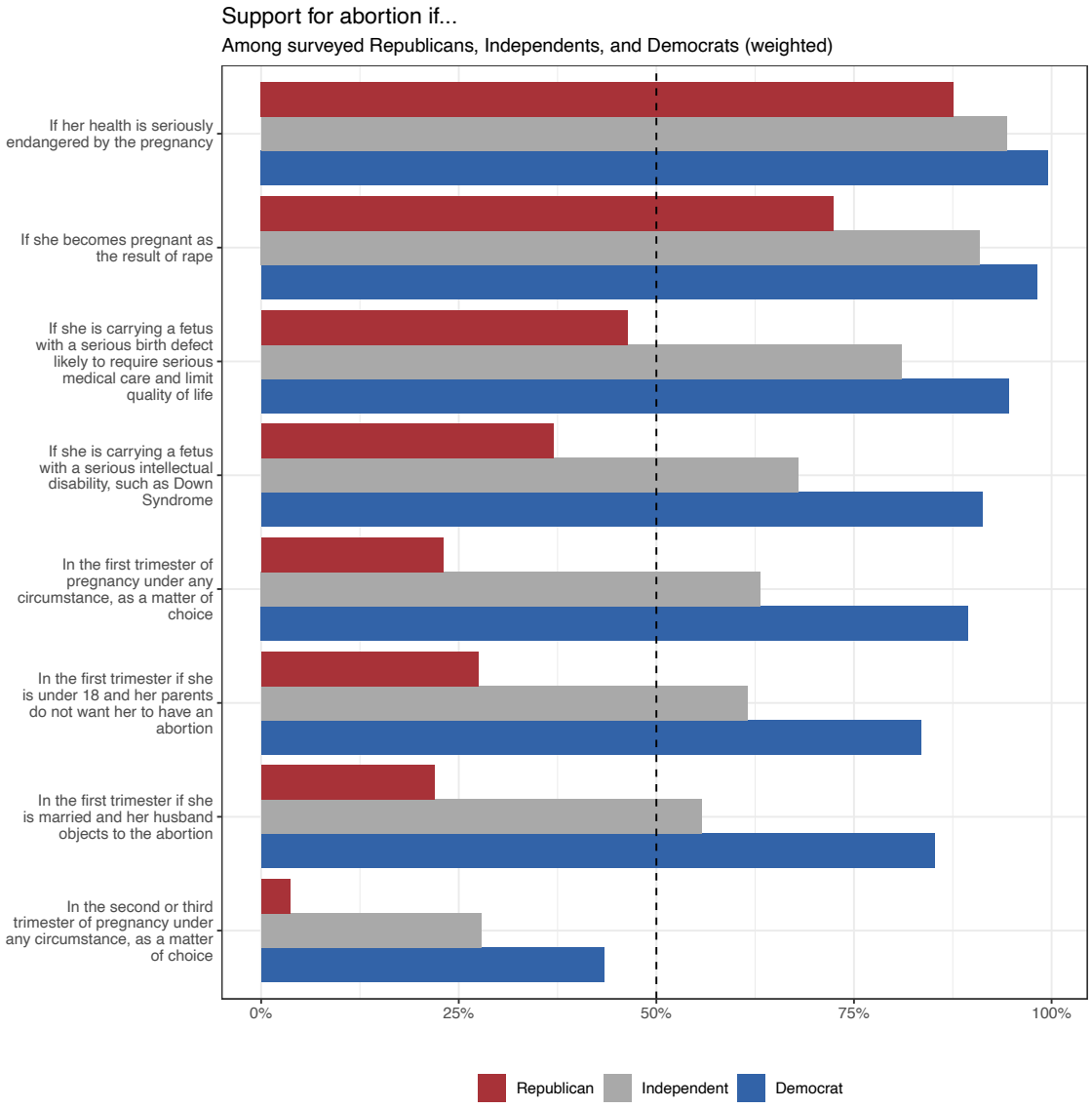

Fig. C1. Replicating Figure 2, Panel A with general population weights.

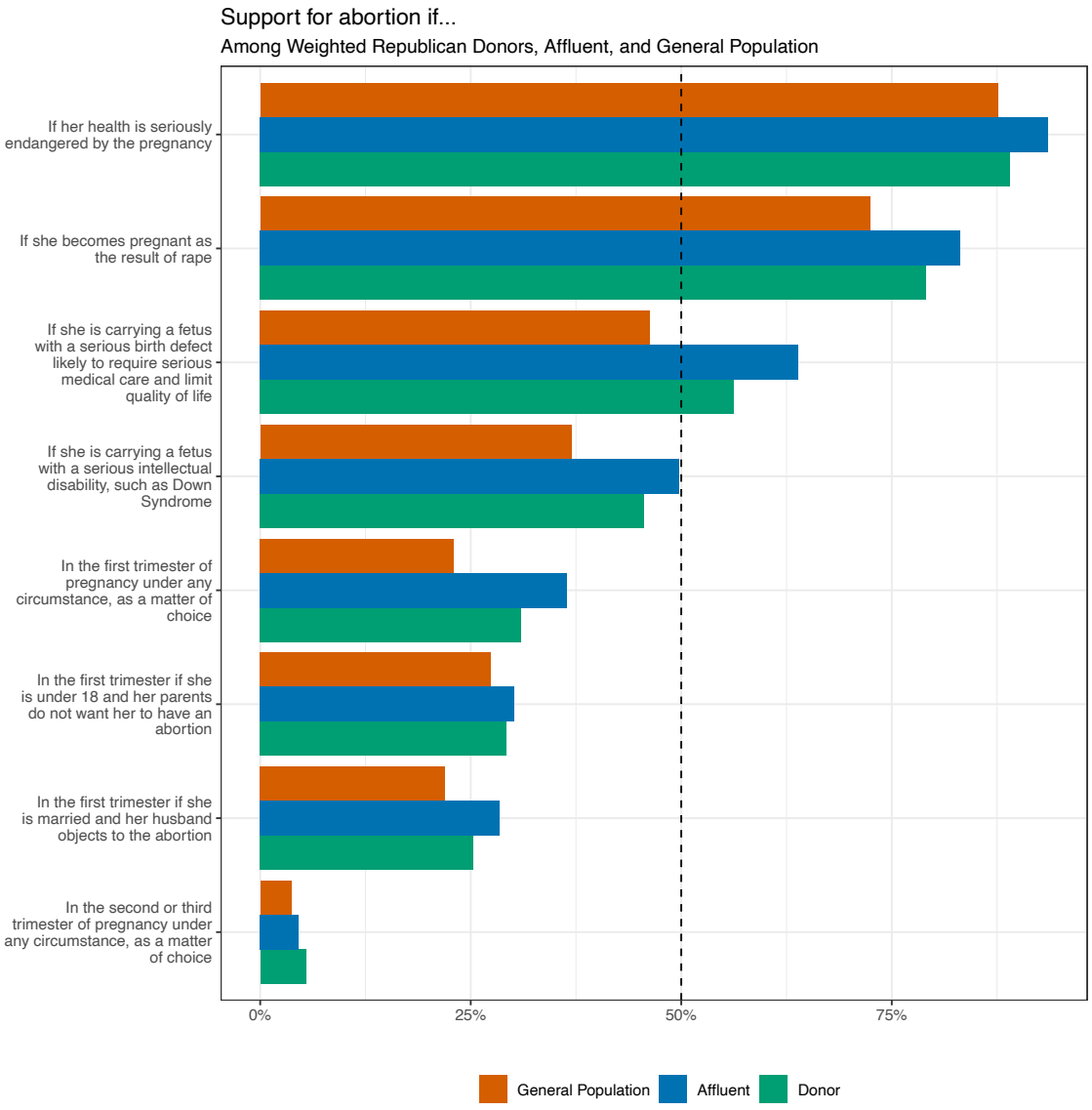

Fig. C2. Replicating Figure 2, Panel B with sample weights. Each sample is weighted to its population marginals. Results are then restricted to self-identified Republicans.

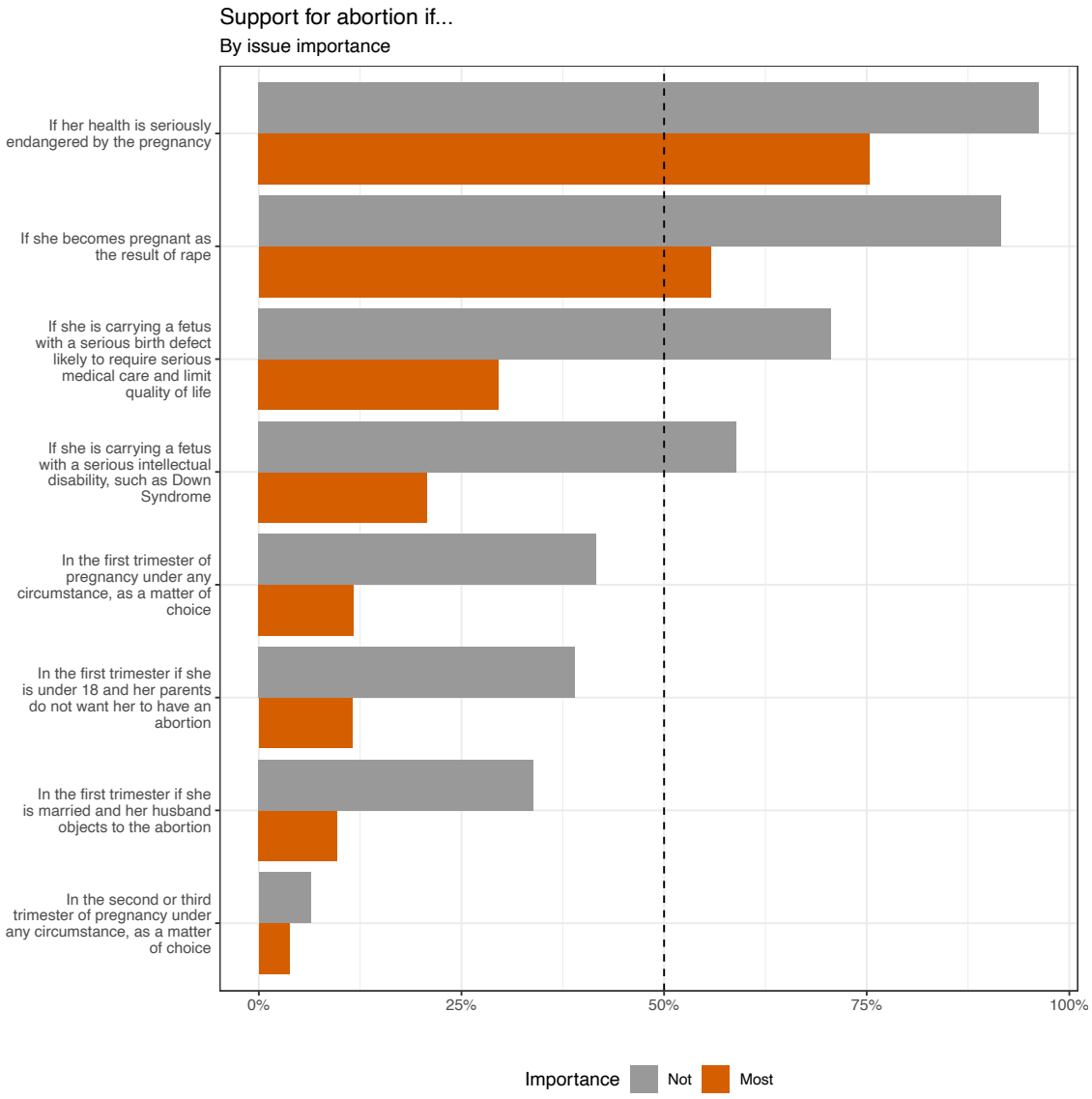

Fig. C3. Replicating Figure 3, Panel A with Weights. Weighted Republican donors' views on support for abortion based on whether abortion is "one of the most important issues" or not.

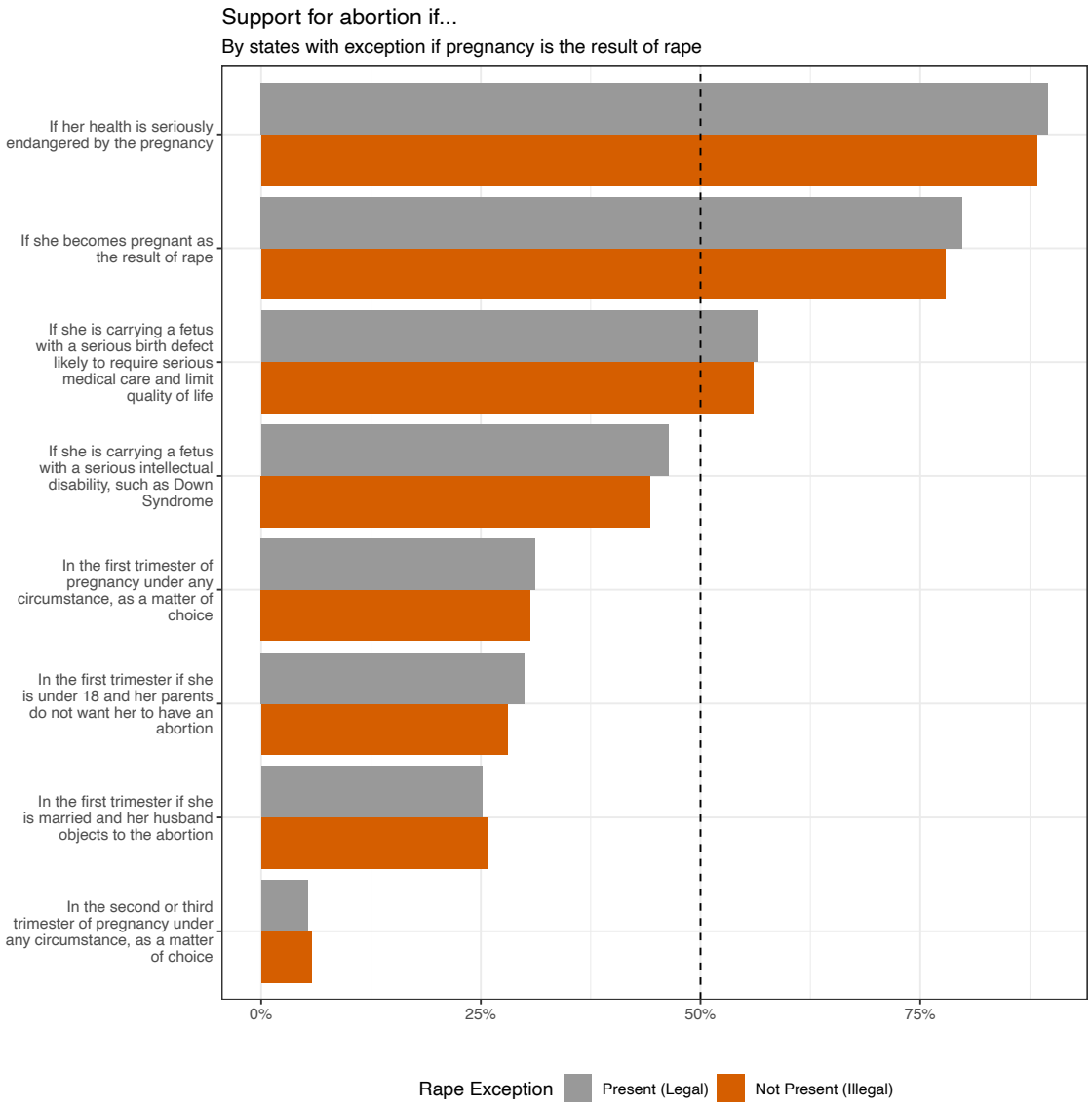

Fig. C4. Replicating Figure 3, Panel B with Weights. Weighted Republican donors' views on support for abortion based on whether the respondent lives in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape. When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

Appendix D. Robustness of Results Using Other Republican Subconstituencies

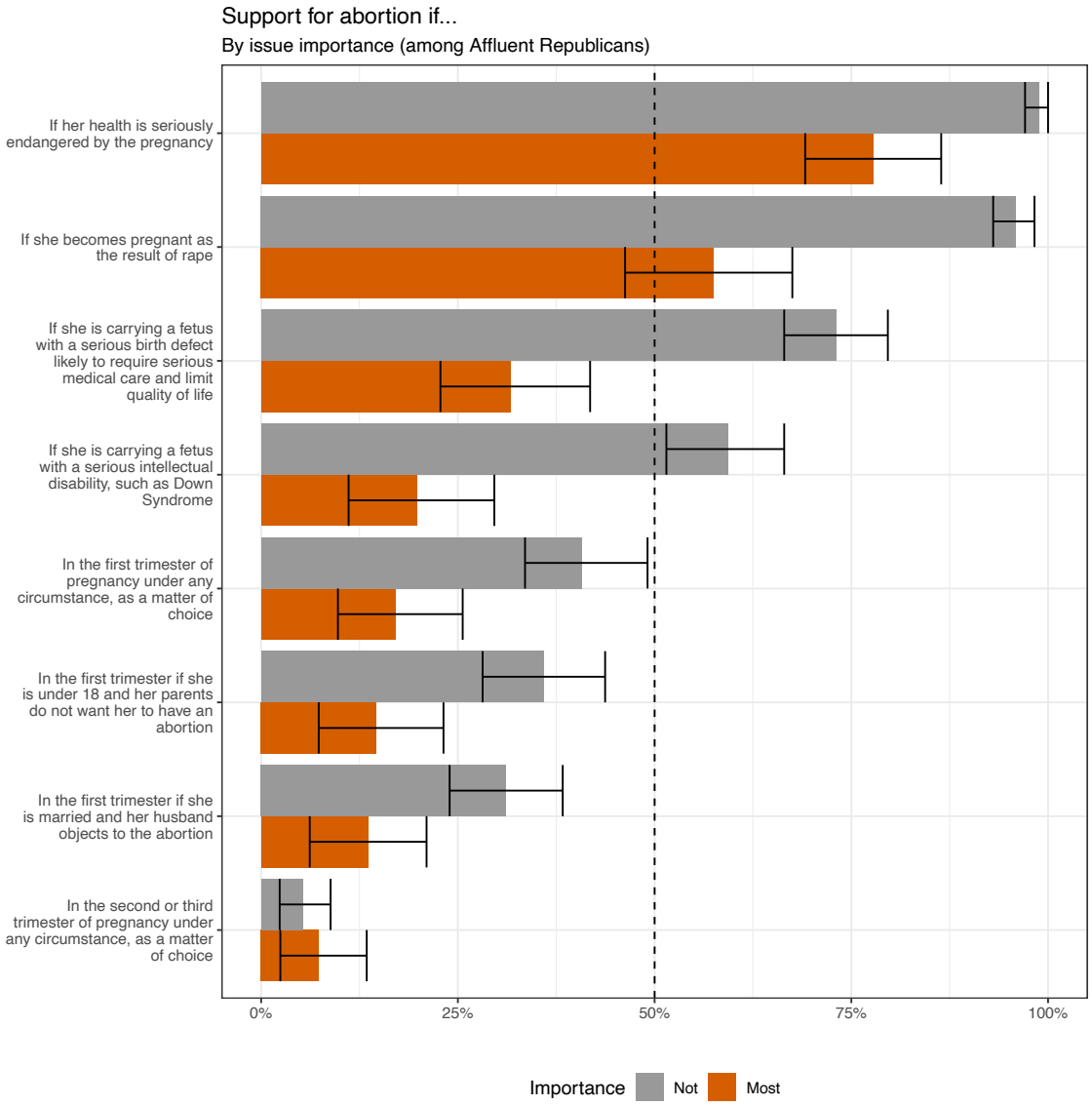

Fig D1. Replicating Figure 3, Panel A Among Affluent Republicans (Unweighted). 83 Affluent Republicans identify abortion as being "one of the most important" and 175 respond that it is not.

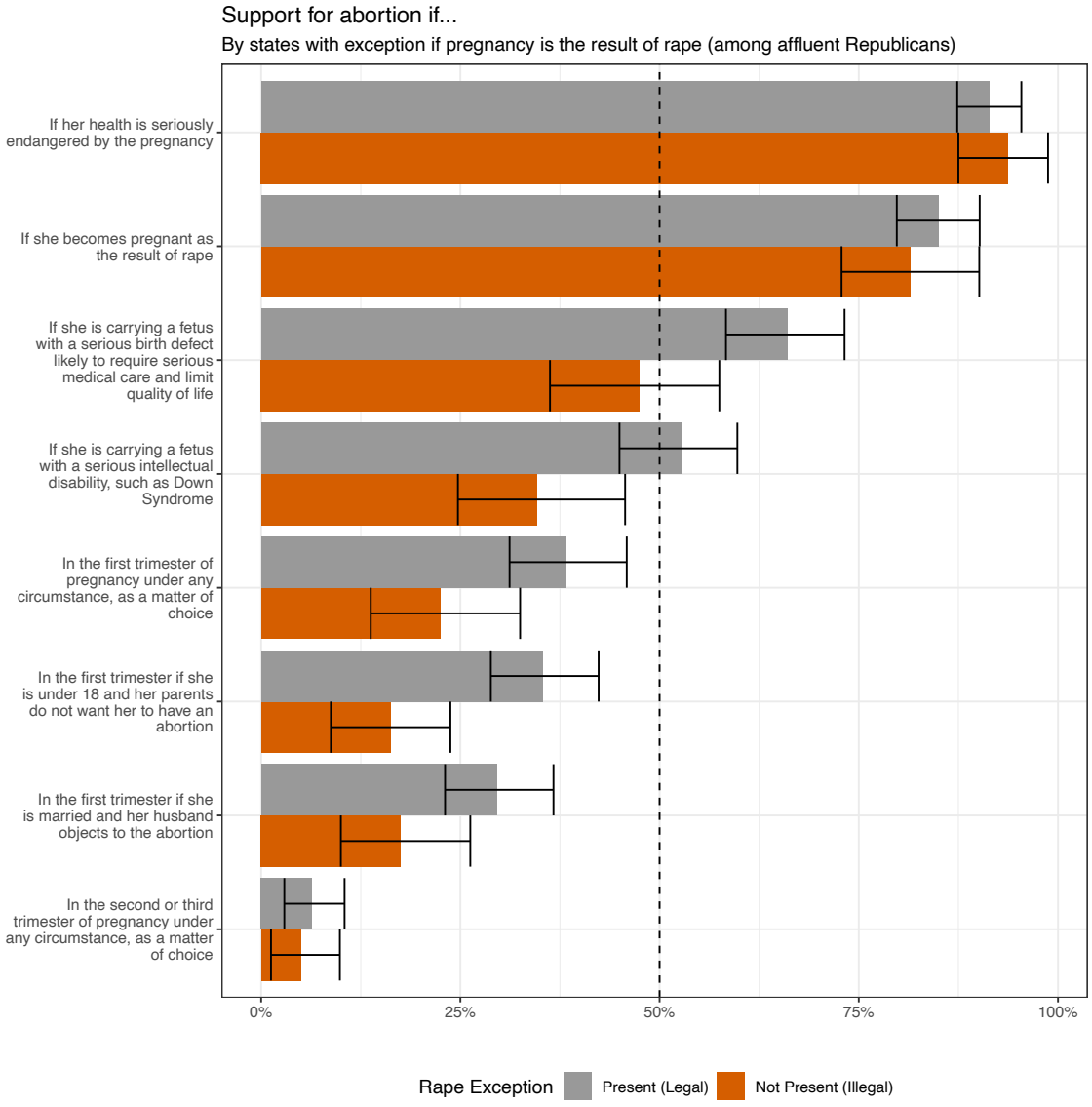

Fig D2. Replicating Figure 3, Panel B Among Affluent Republicans (Unweighted). 86 Affluent Republicans live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape, and 179 live elsewhere. When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

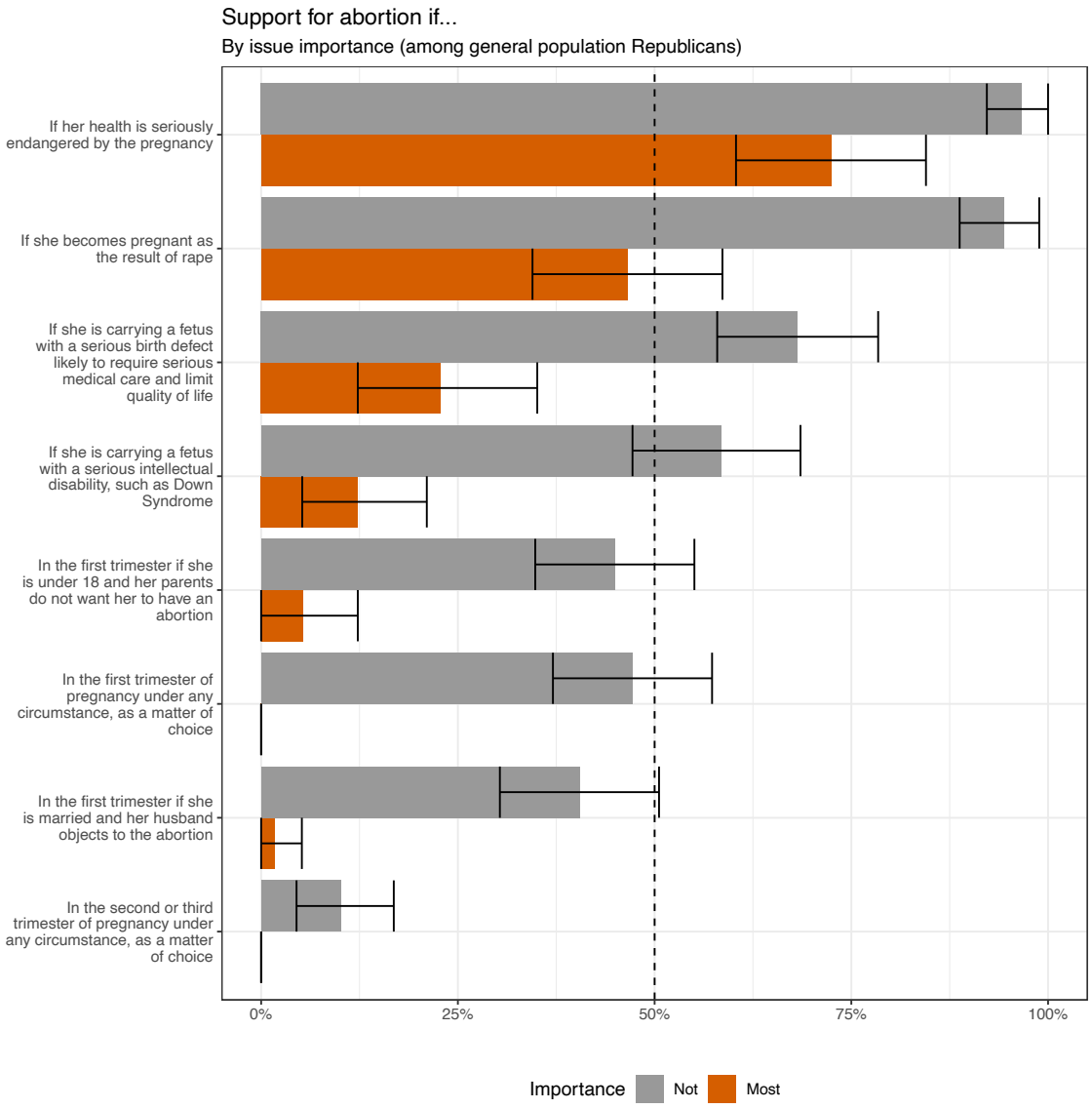

Fig D3. Replicating Figure 3, Panel A among Republican general population (Unweighted). 60 Republicans in the general population sample identify abortion as being "one of the most important" and 91 respond that it is not.

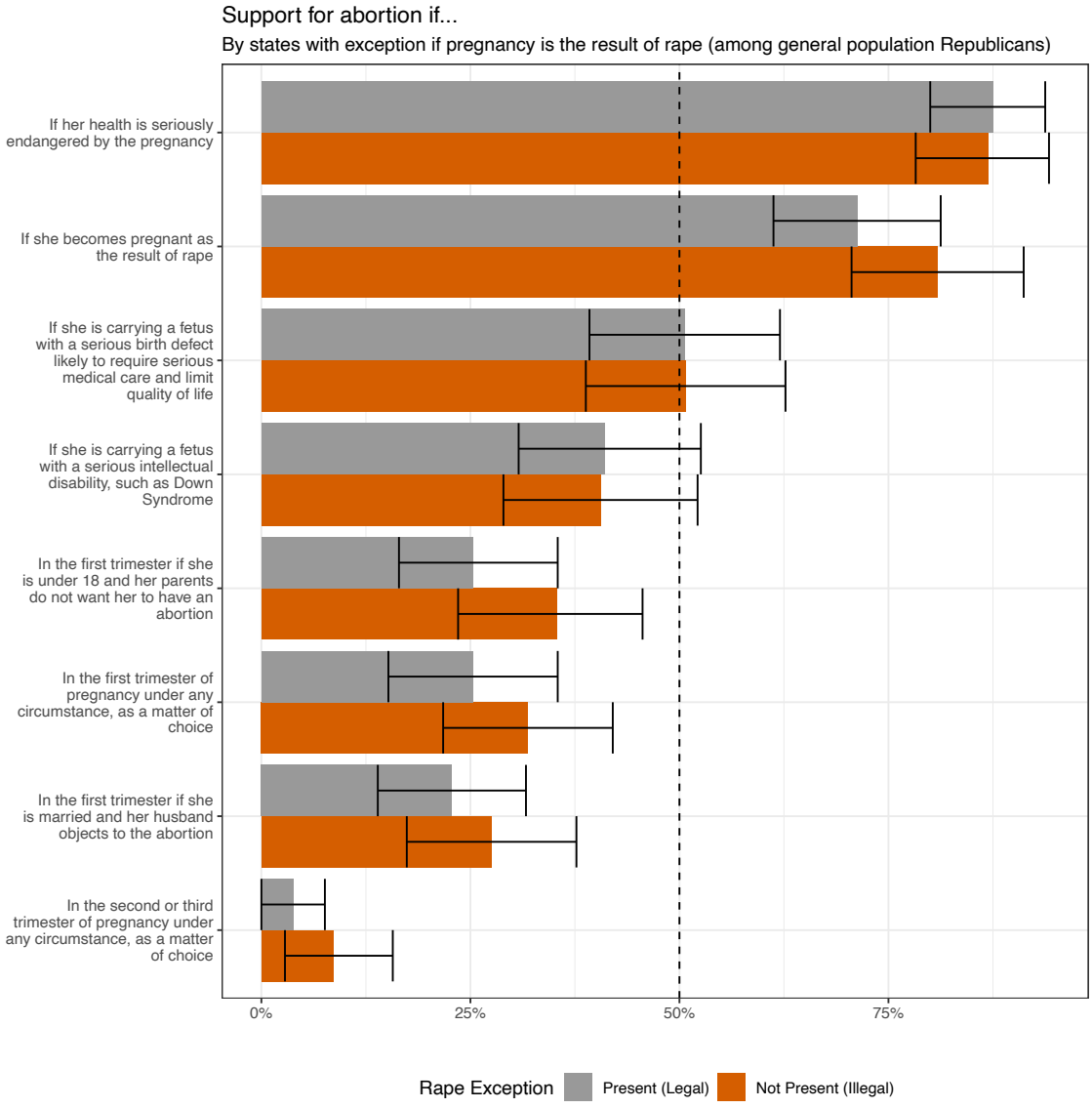

Fig D4. Replicating Figure 3, Panel B among Republican general population (Unweighted). 71 Republicans live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape, and 81 live elsewhere. When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

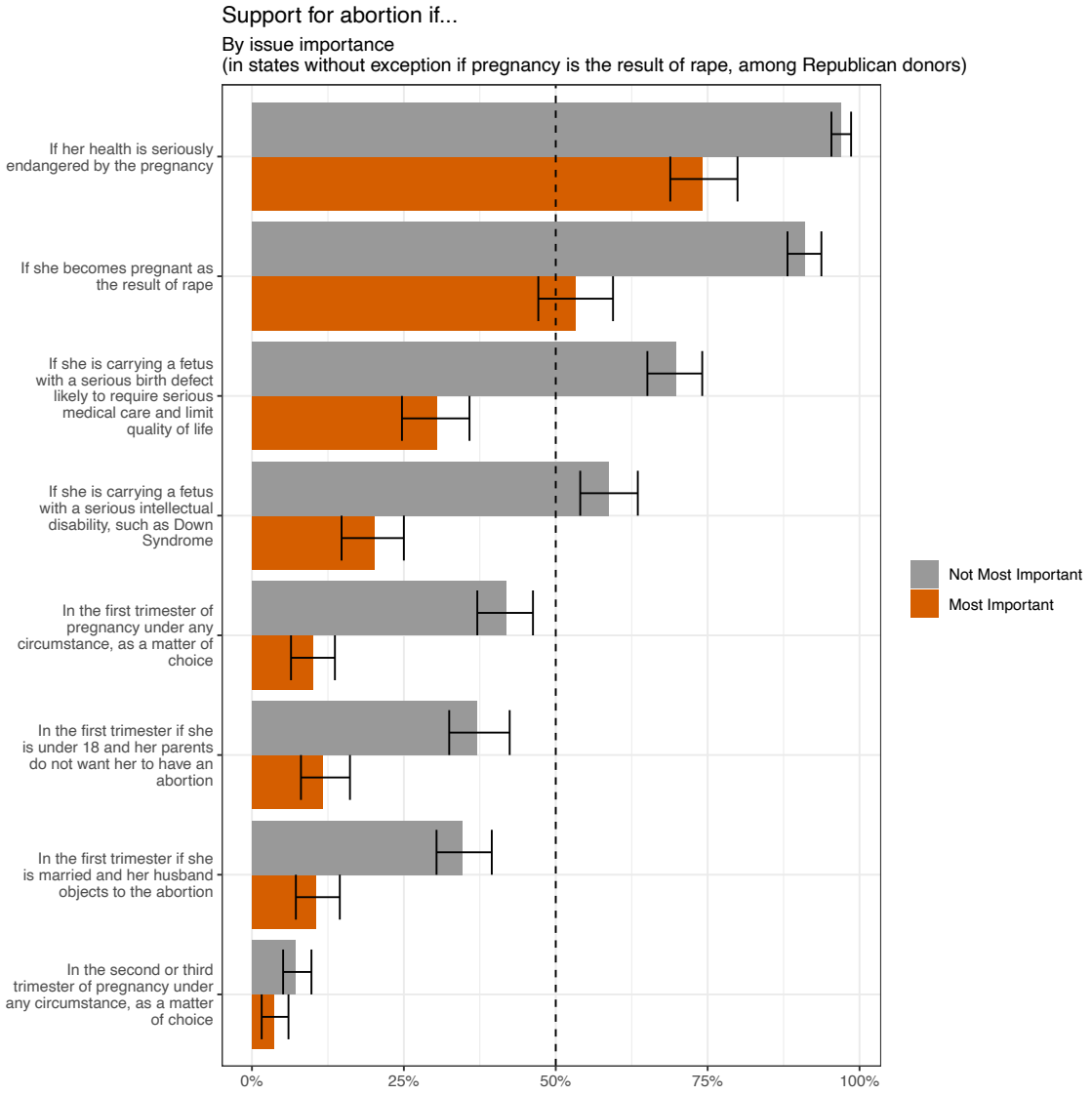

Fig. D5. Replication of Figure 3, Panel A but only in states without exceptions for rape. Support for abortion restrictions among Republican donors living in one of the 15 states enacting a ban on abortion in the case of rape by whether they think abortion is "one of the most important issues." When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

Appendix E. Support for Abortion Among Republicans By Demographics & Characteristics

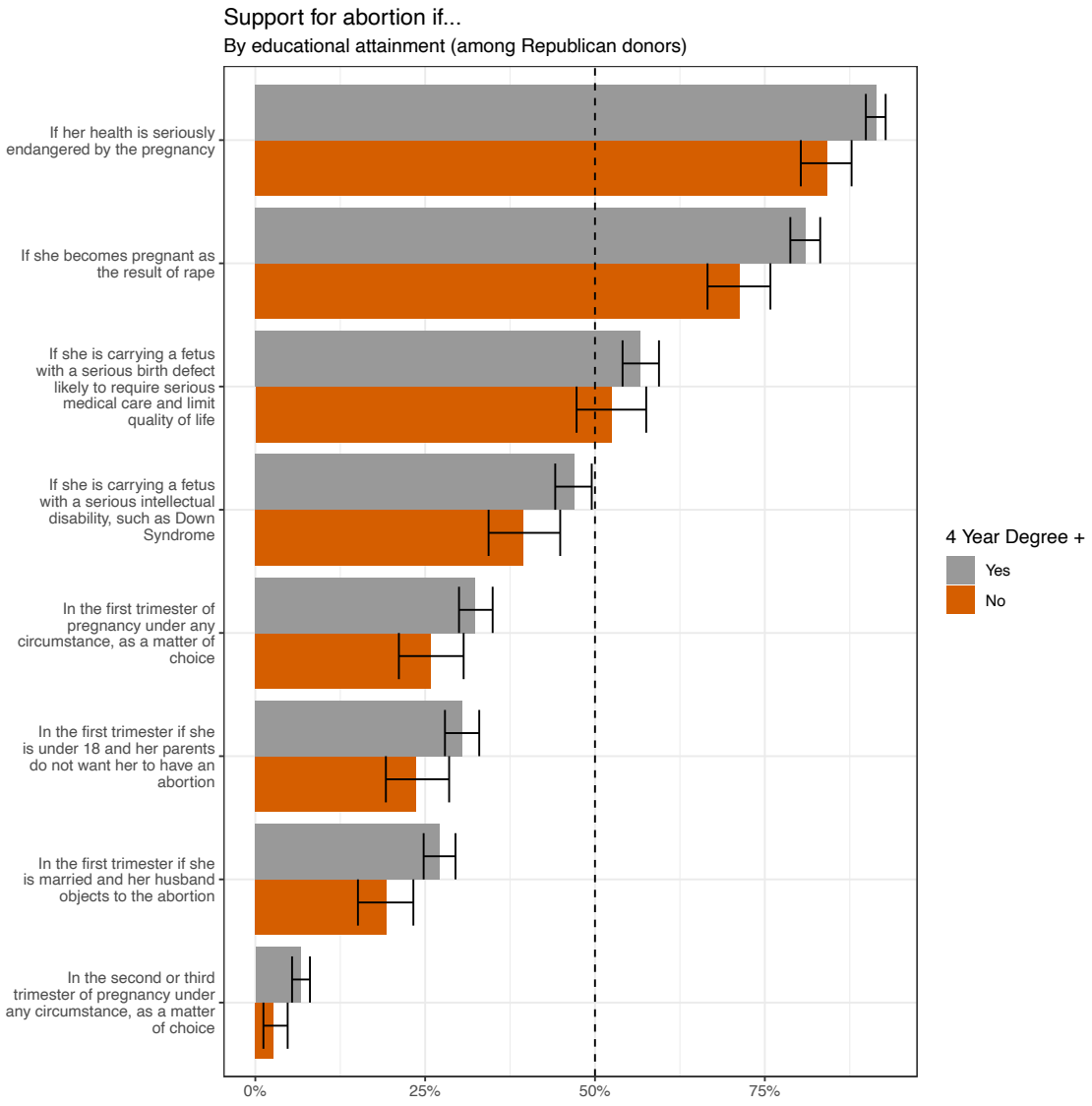

Fig. E1. Support for abortion among Republican donors by whether donor has a 4-year degree or a postgraduate degree versus whose who have some college or less.

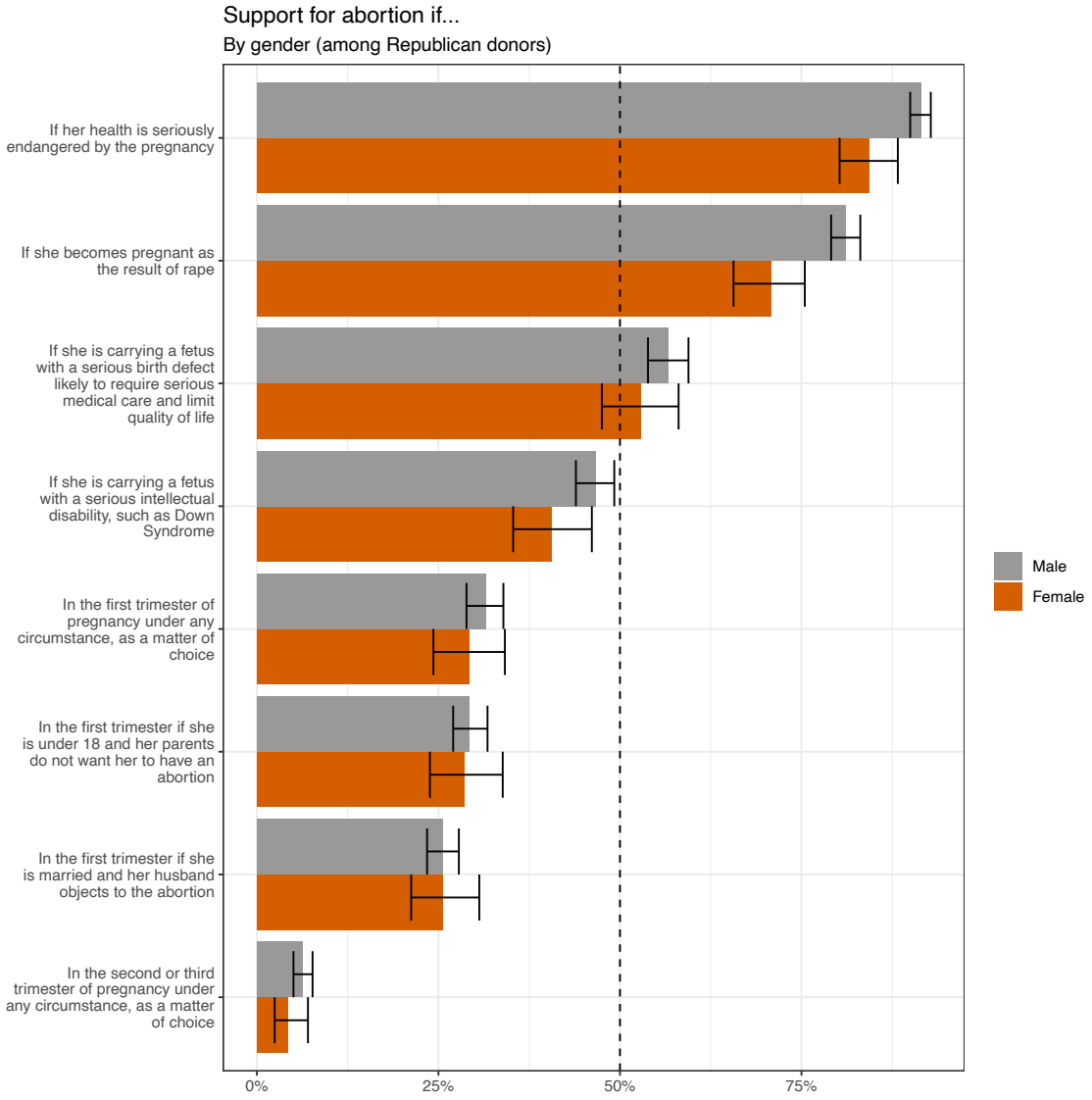

Fig. E2. Support for abortion among Republican donors by gender.

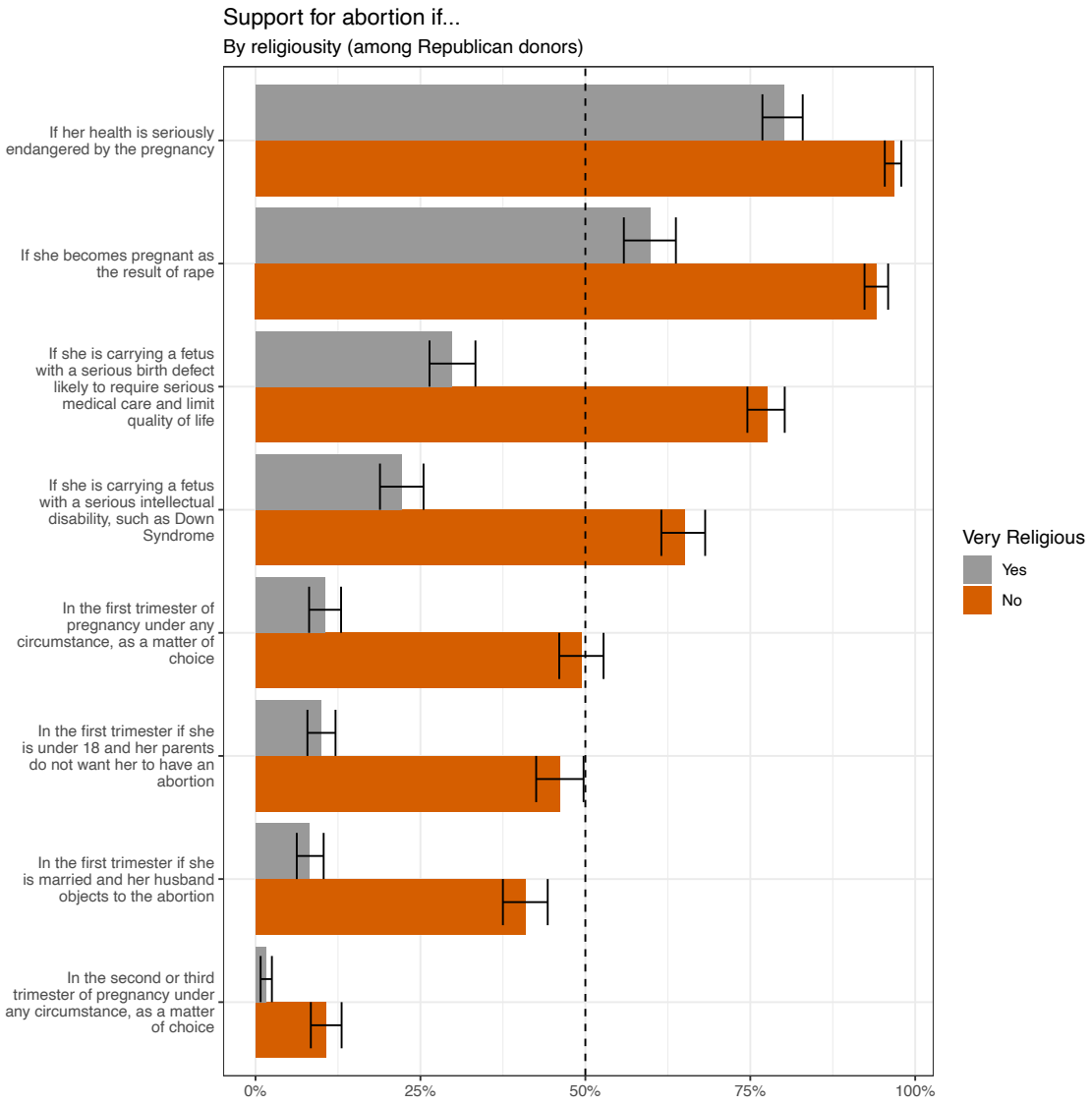

Fig. E3. Support among Republican donors who describe religion as "very important" to them versus those who do not.

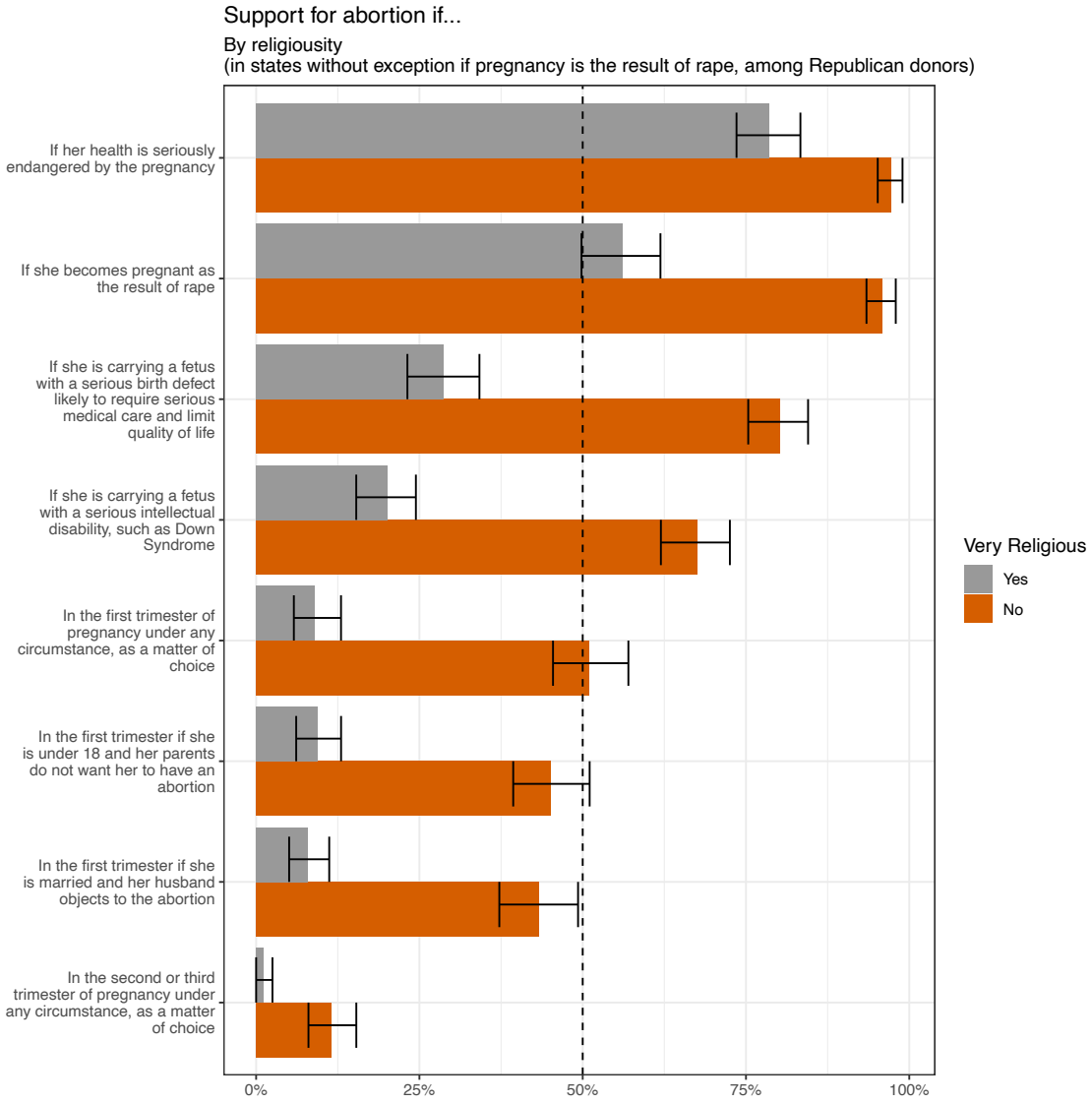

Fig. E4. Support for abortion restrictions for Republican donors who live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape by whether they think religion is "very important." When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

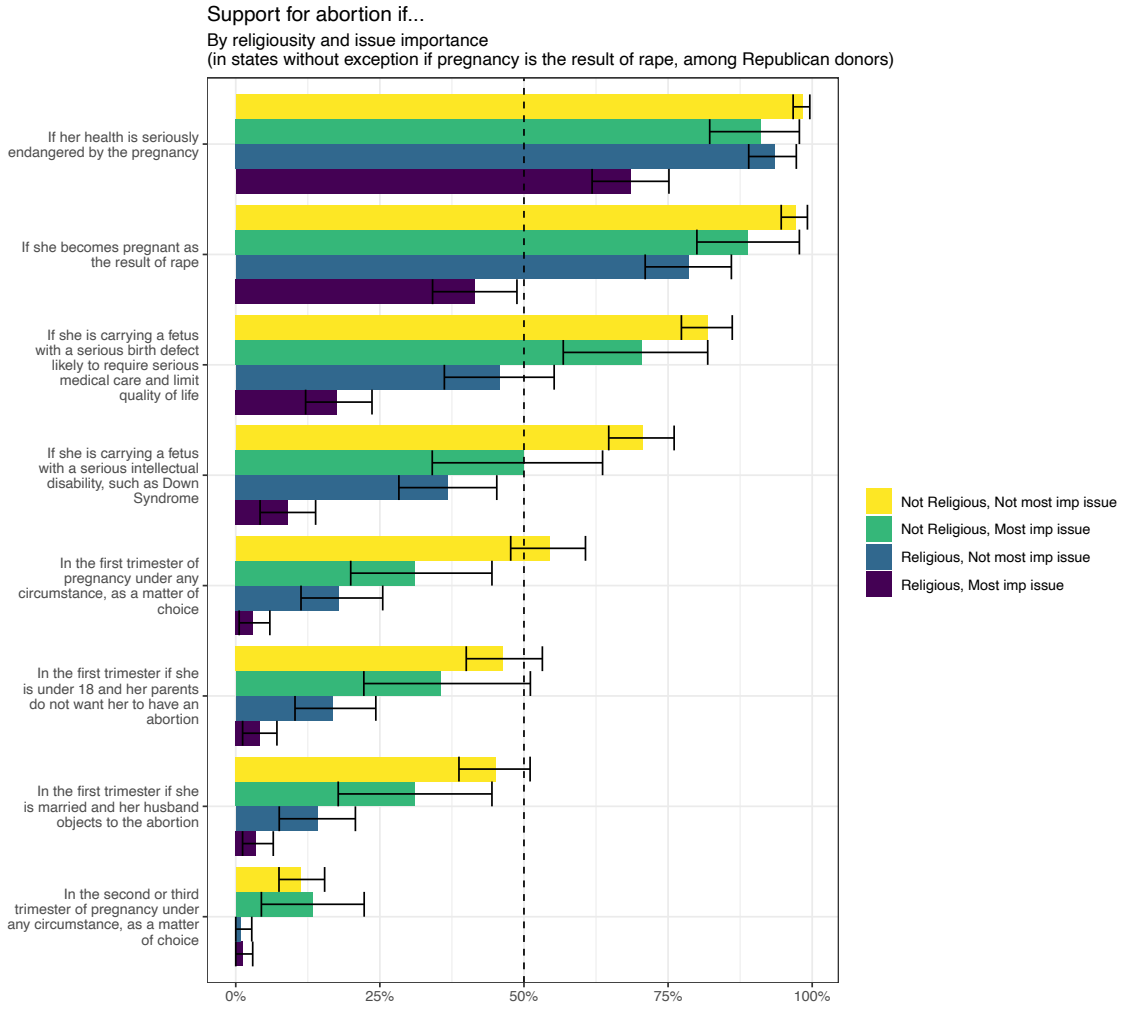

Fig. E5. Support for abortion restrictions for donors who live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape by whether they think abortion is "one of the most important issues" and self-identified importance of religion. When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

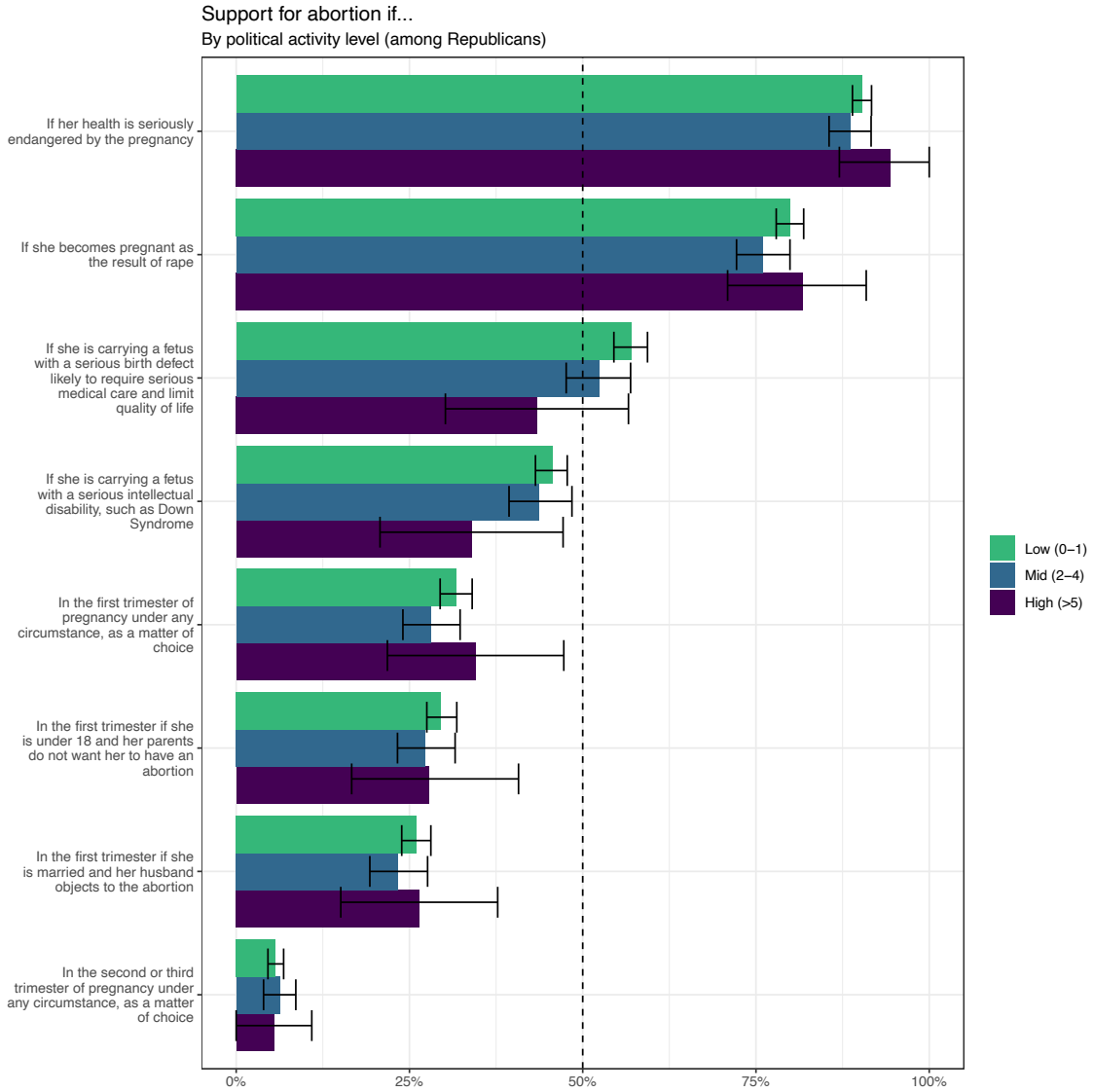

Fig. E6. Support for abortion restrictions for Republicans based on levels of political activity. We create an index of political activity based on six activities: attending political meetings, attending protests, contacting elected officials, working for candidates, putting up political signs, and making a donation.

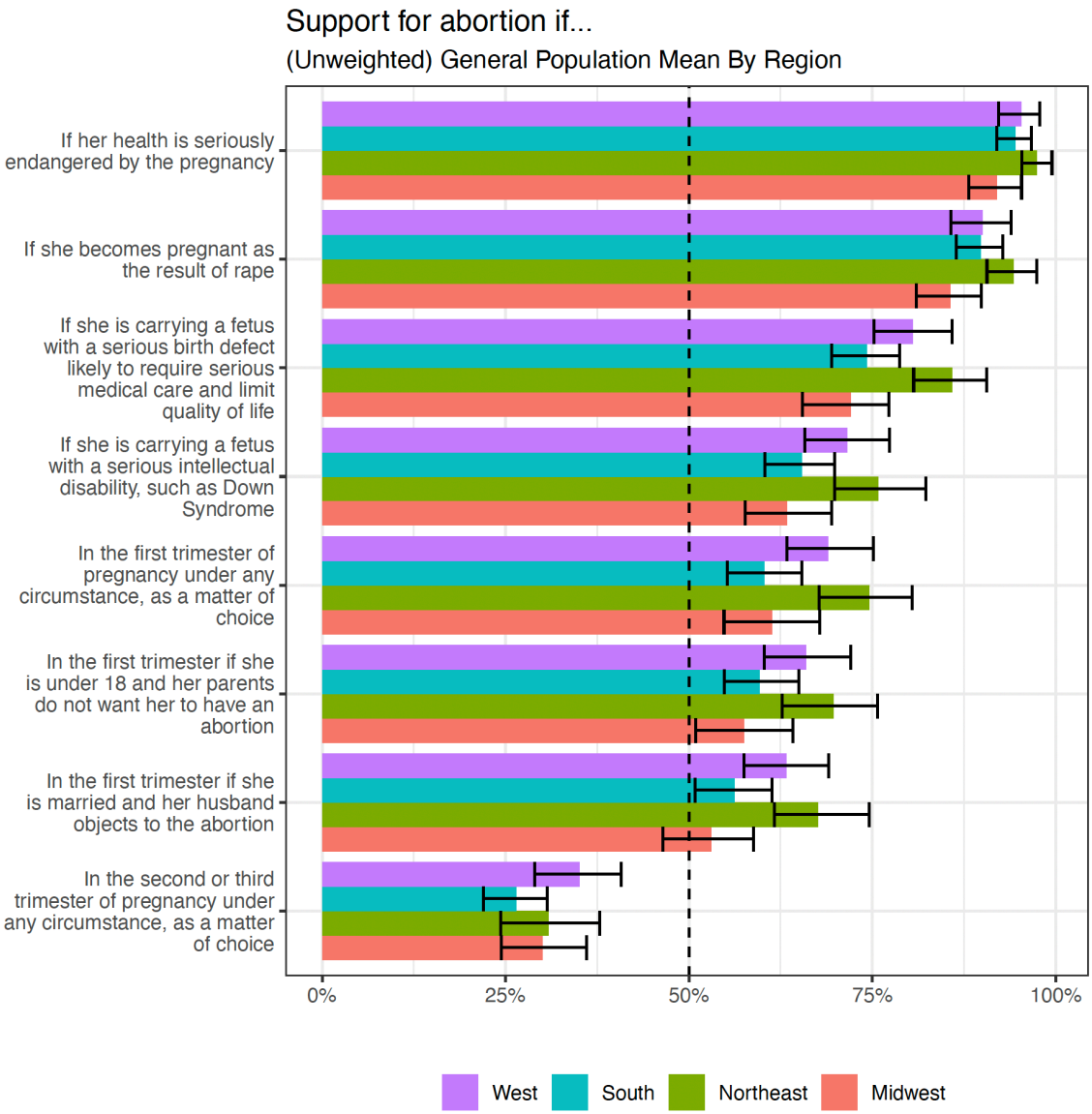

Fig. E7. Support for abortion restrictions among general population by region.

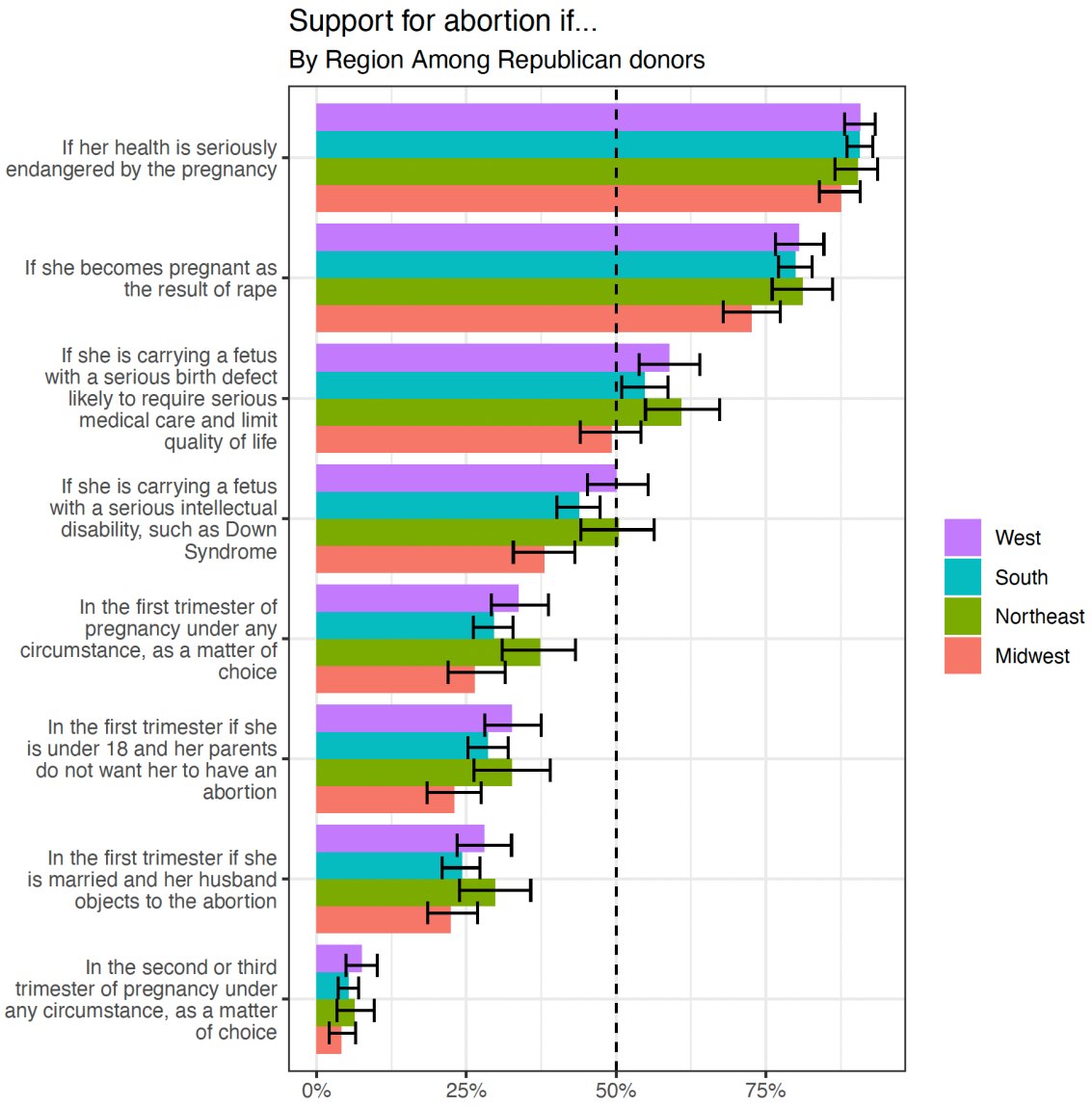

Fig. E8. Support for abortion restrictions among Republican verified donors by region.

Appendix F. Alternative Question Wordings & Robustness Using Alternative Wordings

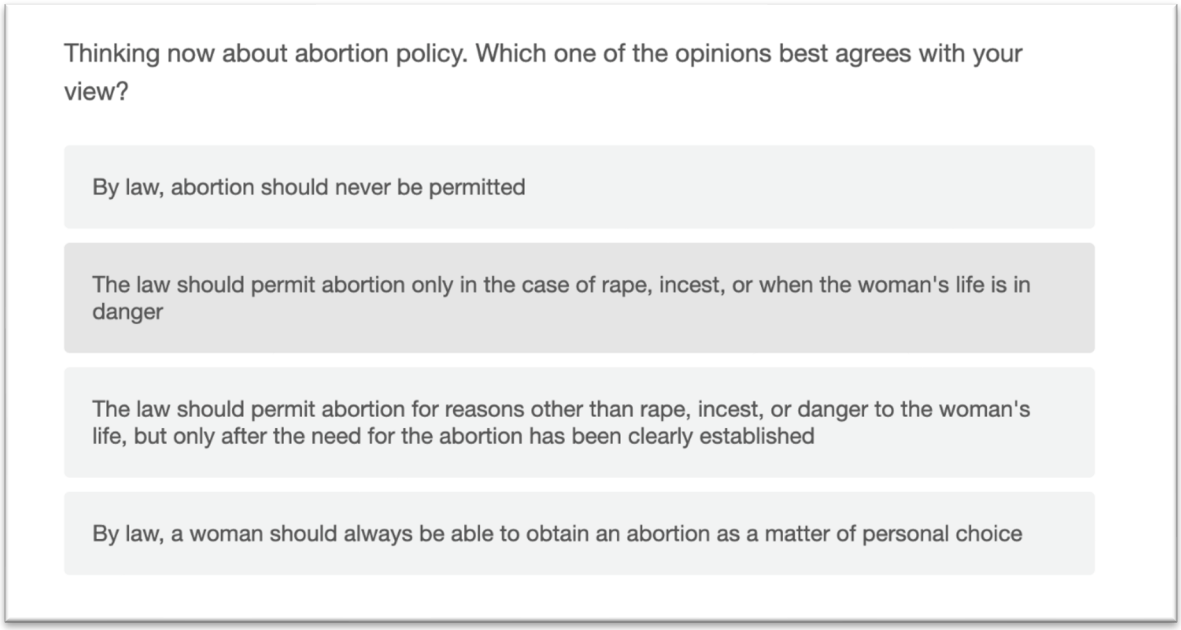

Fig. F1. Alternative question on abortion asked of respondents

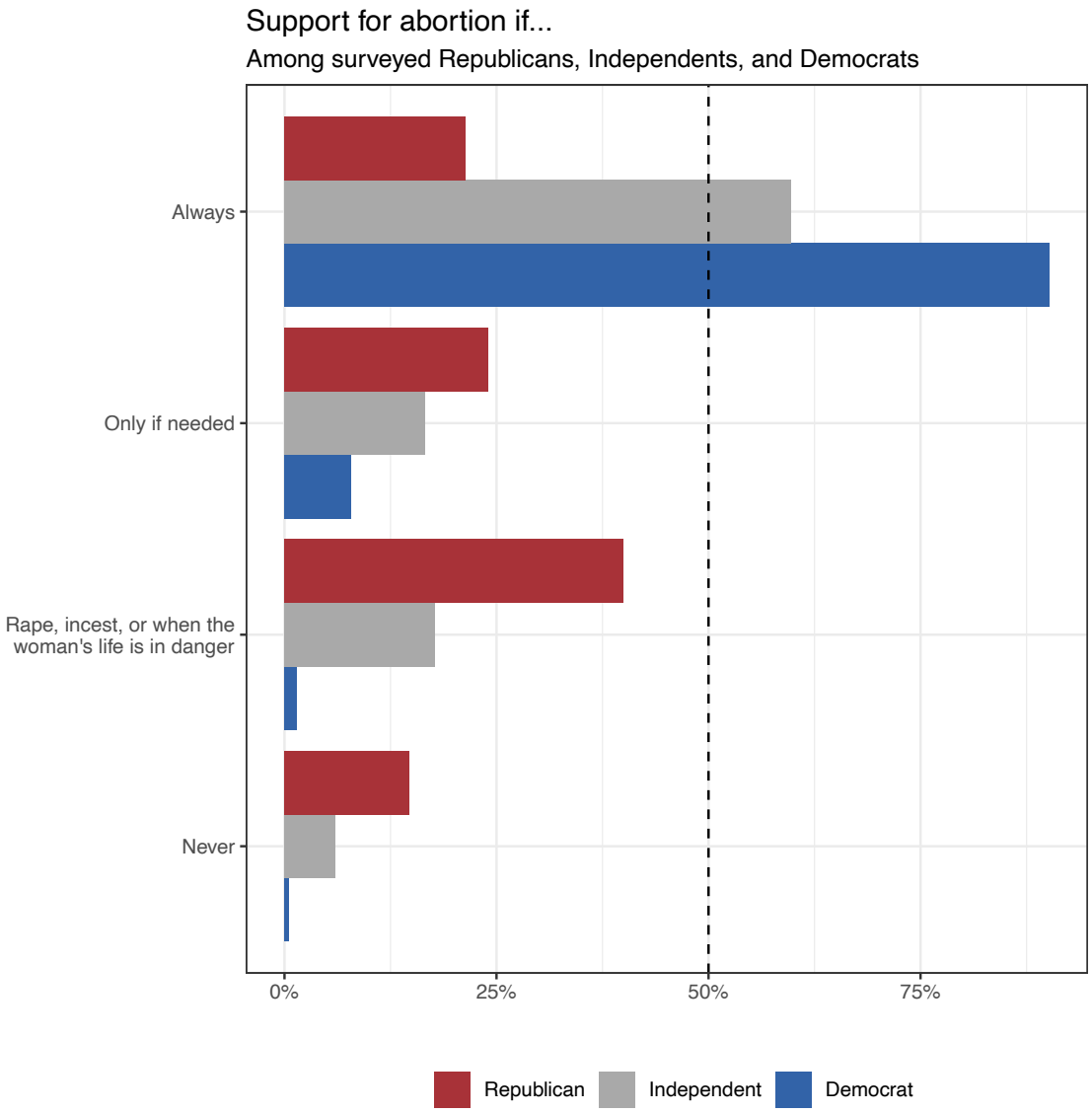

Fig. F2. Replication of Figure 1 using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. General population opinion on abortion by self-reported partisanship (unweighted).

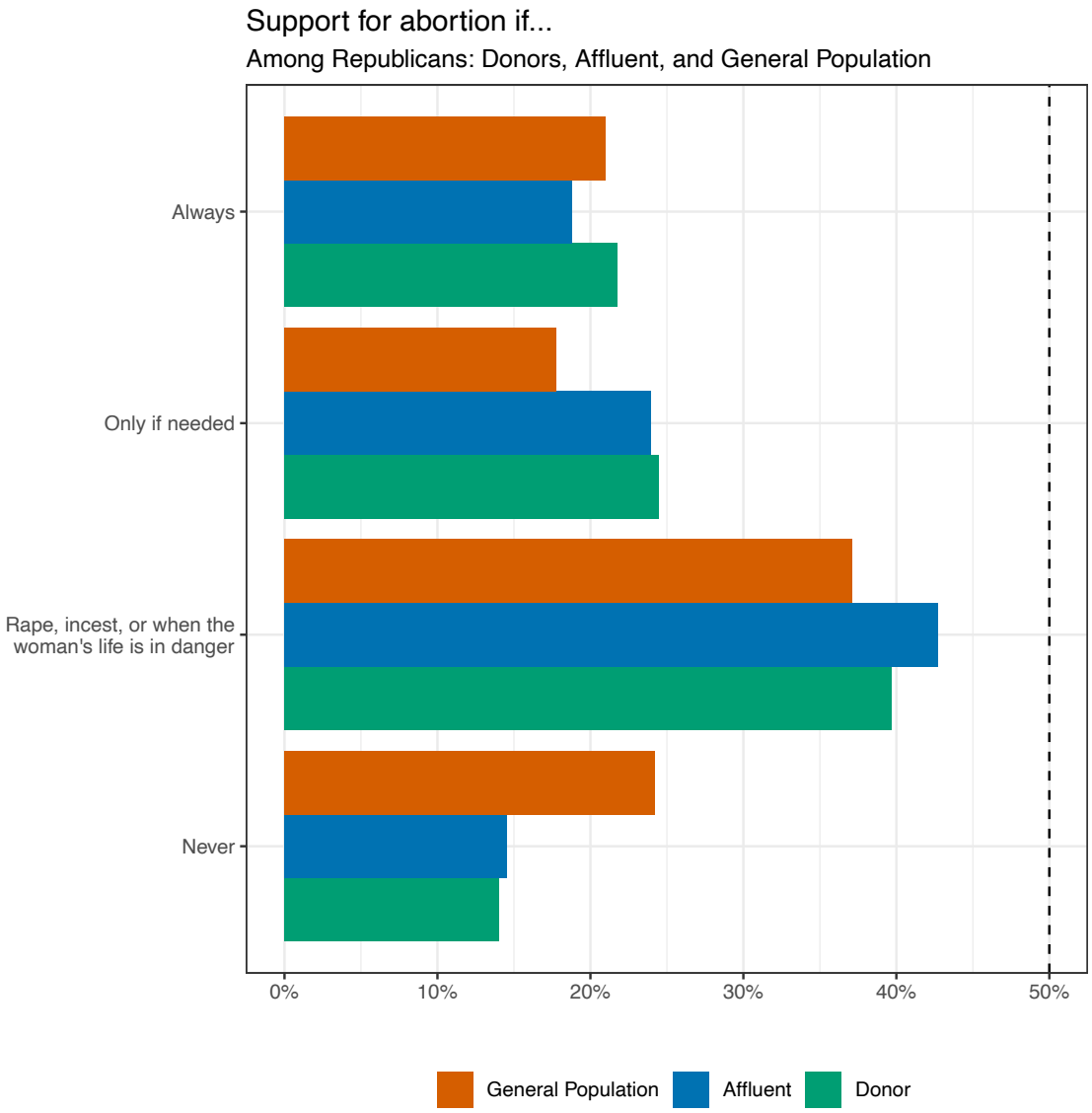

Fig. F3. Replication of Figure 2 using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. Opinions of Republicans by sample (unweighted).

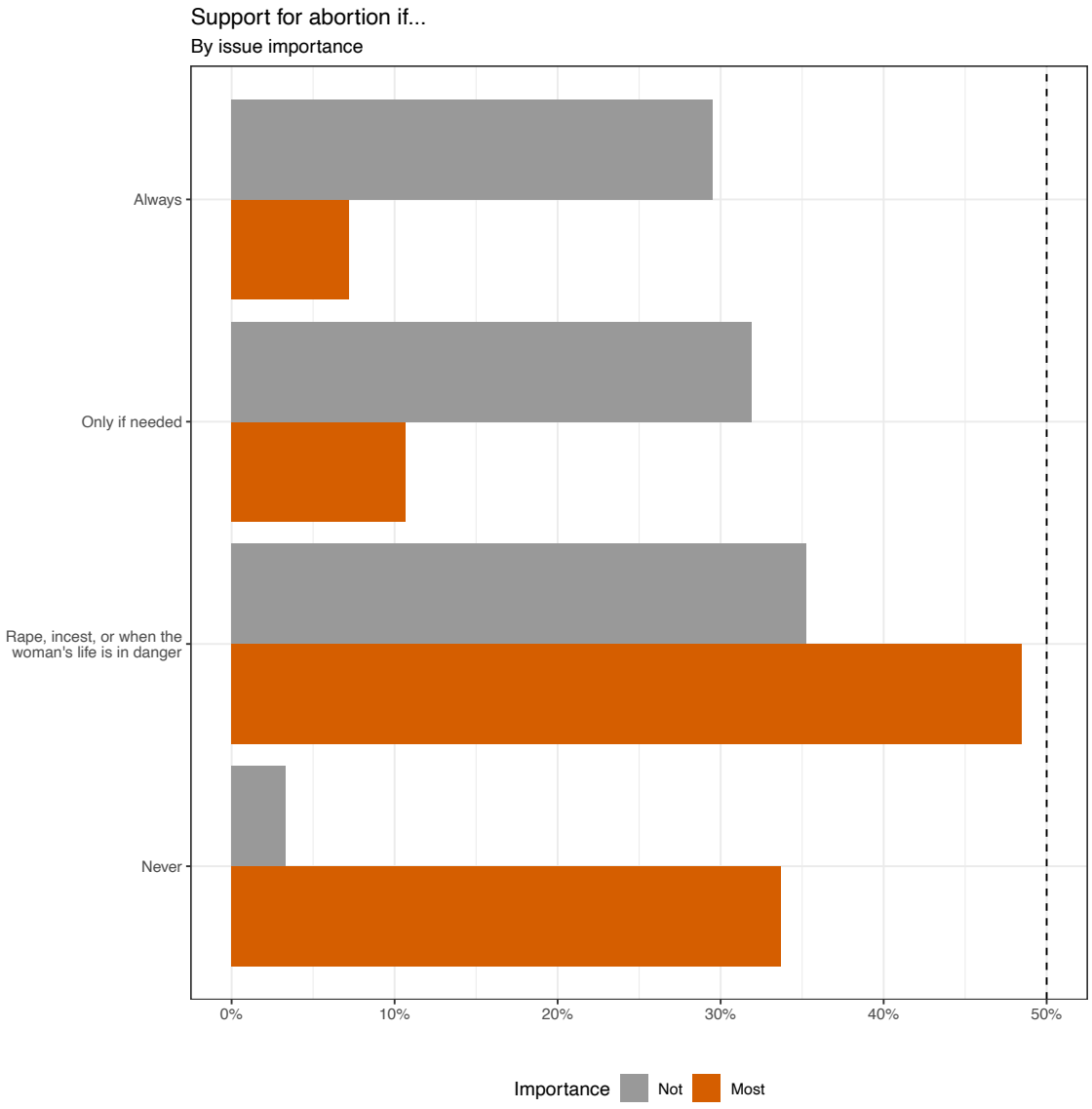

Fig. F4. Replication of Figure 3, Panel A using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. Opinions of Republican donors by issue importance (unweighted).

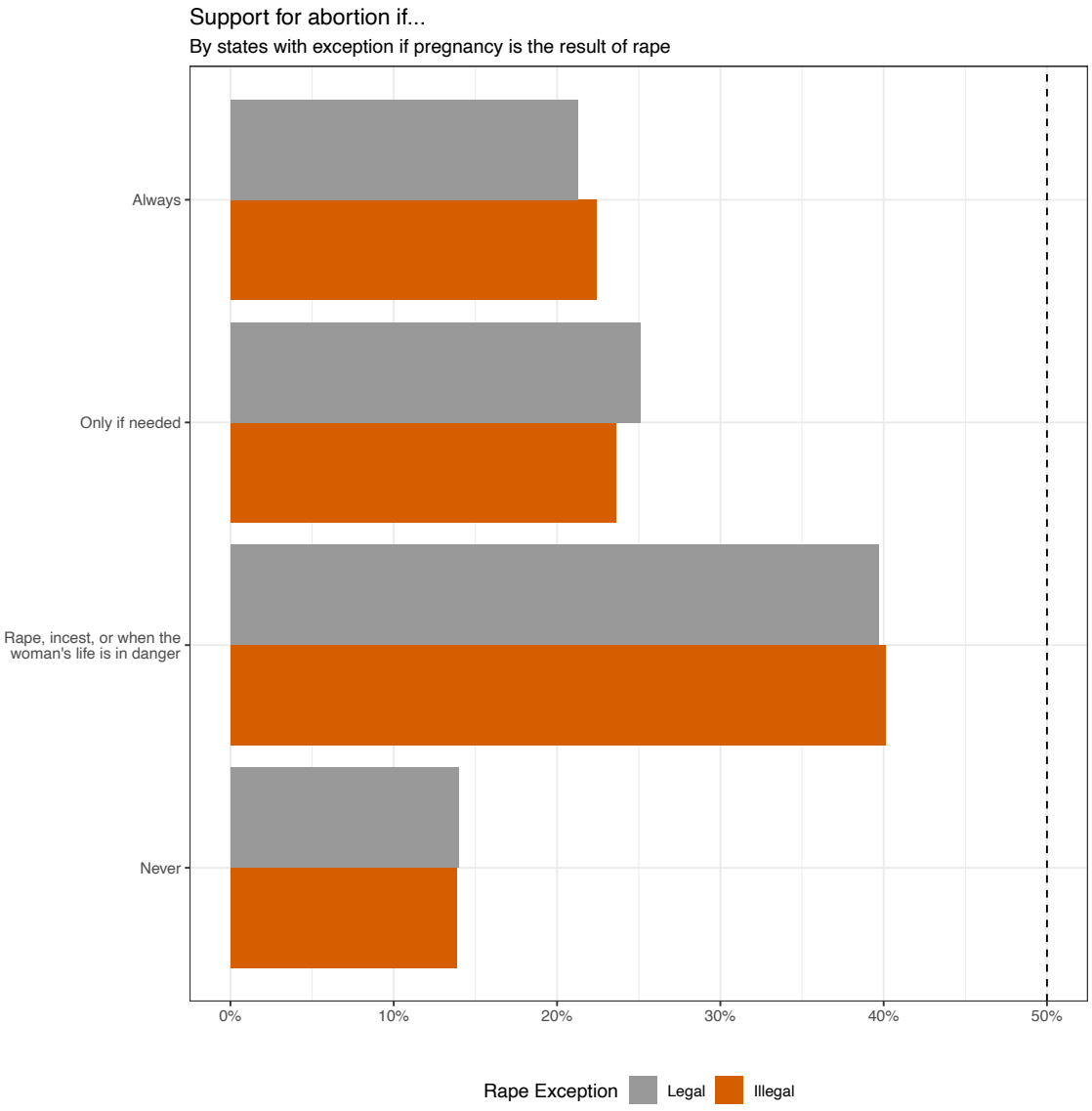

Fig. F5. Replication of Figure 3, Panel A using alternative survey question wording of Fig F1. Opinions of Republican donors who live in a state that passed a law banning abortion without an exception for rape (unweighted). When analyzed, this included the states of: AL, AR, AZ, FL, KY, LA, MI, MO, OH, OK, SD, TN, TX, WI, and WV.

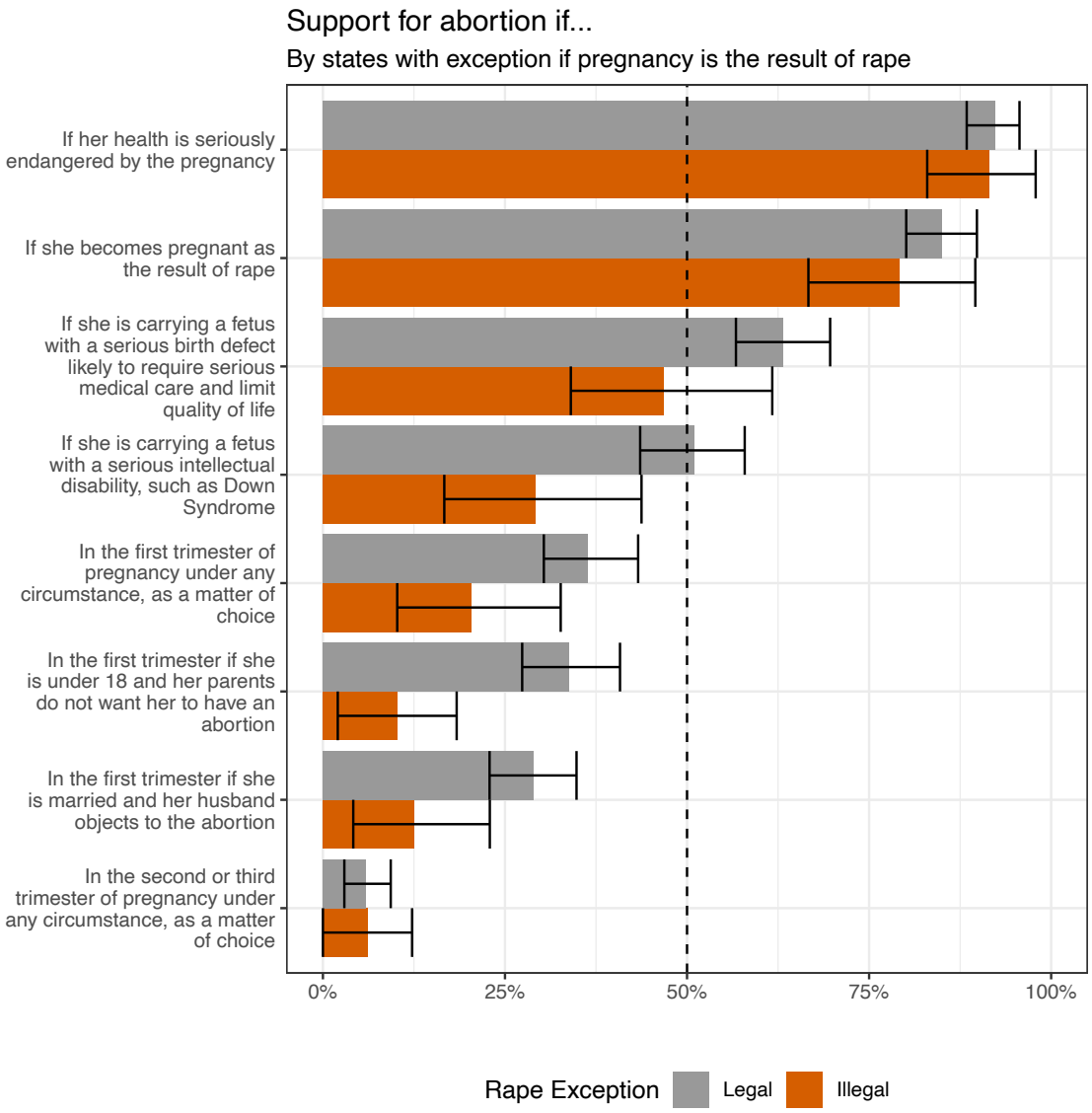

Fig. F6. Replication of Figure 3 Panel B among Republican donors (unweighted) using alternative measure of abortion restrictions based on states with (N=51) and without (N=214) abortion bans as of Oct 3, 2022 and no exception for rape according to the *New York Times* (https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/us/abortion-laws-roe-v-wade.html). This list included the states of: AL, AZ, AR, ID, KY, LA, MO, OK, SD, TN, TX, WV, and WI (dropping FL and MI from the states analyzing in the text).

Appendix G. Regression Results

Table G1. OLS and Probit Regression Results for Figure 4

	If Rape OLS (1)	1st Trimester OLS (2)	If Rape probit (3)	1st Trimester probit (4)	If Rape OLS (5)	1st Trimester OLS (6)
Abortion most important issue	0.290***	0.173***	1.059***	0.703***	0.290***	0.172***
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.077)	(0.080)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Religion very important	−0.081***	−0.221***	−0.470***	−0.663***	−0.079***	−0.220***
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.107)	(0.086)	(0.022)	(0.026)
Attend Church Weekly	−0.145***	−0.127***	−0.564***	−0.490***	−0.142***	−0.116***
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.099)	(0.091)	(0.022)	(0.026)
Parent	0.030	−0.020	0.137	−0.061	0.026	−0.017
	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.124)	(0.099)	(0.025)	(0.029)
Under 40	−0.093**	0.078	−0.389**	0.213	−0.086**	0.068
	(0.042)	(0.050)	(0.194)	(0.169)	(0.043)	(0.051)
Age: Over 65	0.041**	−0.010	0.191**	−0.032	0.038**	−0.013
	(0.017)	(0.021)	(0.083)	(0.073)	(0.018)	(0.021)
Male	0.042**	−0.050**	0.156*	−0.180**	0.048**	−0.043*
	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.088)	(0.083)	(0.020)	(0.024)
Educ: HS or Less	−0.053	−0.097*	−0.213	−0.391*	−0.061	−0.101*
	(0.044)	(0.053)	(0.191)	(0.204)	(0.044)	(0.053)
Educ: Some College	0.005	−0.050	−0.012	−0.162	0.009	−0.058
	(0.036)	(0.042)	(0.168)	(0.149)	(0.036)	(0.043)
Educ: Postgraduate	−0.006	−0.027	−0.036	−0.102	−0.007	−0.023
	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.081)	(0.071)	(0.017)	(0.020)
Homeowner	0.085**	0.031	0.392**	0.106	0.084**	0.030
	(0.040)	(0.047)	(0.179)	(0.164)	(0.041)	(0.048)
Race: White	0.034	−0.007	0.146	−0.020	0.038	0.002
	(0.034)	(0.041)	(0.160)	(0.141)	(0.035)	(0.042)
State has no rape exception	0.002	−0.001	0.005	−0.011	0.276	−0.042
	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.076)	(0.067)	(0.302)	(0.360)
Income: <50k	−0.075*	−0.062	−0.283	−0.292	−0.081*	−0.074
	(0.043)	(0.051)	(0.186)	(0.196)	(0.043)	(0.051)
Income: 50−100k	−0.054**	−0.064**	−0.254***	−0.220**	−0.059***	−0.070***
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.099)	(0.097)	(0.022)	(0.027)
Sample: Donor	−0.014	−0.011	−0.110	−0.0003	−0.021	−0.021
	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.146)	(0.133)	(0.031)	(0.037)
Sample: Affluent	0.042	−0.009	0.179	0.011	0.028	−0.023
	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.179)	(0.157)	(0.038)	(0.045)
Intercept	0.472***	0.396***	−0.115	−0.467	0.193	0.426
	(0.093)	(0.110)	(0.414)	(0.383)	(0.264)	(0.314)
State Fixed Effect?	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	1,975	1,964	1,975	1,964	1,975	1,964
R2	0.271	0.206			0.292	0.230
Log Likelihood			−727.386	−988.910		
Akaike Inf. Crit.			1,490.772	2,013.819		
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table G2. Regression Coefficients Predicting Republican Donors' Probability of Saying Abortion should never be allowed when asked the question in Fig F1 using OLS and Probit.

	Abortion Never Allowed		
	OLS	probit	OLS
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Abortion most important issue	−0.256***	−1.191***	−0.256***
	(0.023)	(0.129)	(0.024)
Religion very important	0.073***	0.629***	0.073***
	(0.027)	(0.177)	(0.028)
Attend Church Weekly	0.077***	0.292*	0.073***
	(0.027)	(0.153)	(0.028)
Parent	−0.062**	−0.459**	−0.061*
	(0.031)	(0.218)	(0.031)
Under 40	0.058	0.279	0.065
	(0.056)	(0.345)	(0.058)
Age: Over 65	−0.050**	−0.232*	−0.049**
	(0.023)	(0.129)	(0.023)
Male	−0.038	−0.151	−0.034
	(0.026)	(0.140)	(0.027)
Educ: HS or Less	0.014	0.051	0.036
	(0.056)	(0.299)	(0.058)
Educ: Some College	0.019	0.154	0.031
	(0.044)	(0.242)	(0.045)
Educ: Postgraduate	−0.023	−0.179	−0.024
	(0.022)	(0.133)	(0.023)
Homeowner	−0.018	−0.085	−0.034
	(0.055)	(0.309)	(0.056)
Race: White	0.003	−0.002	0.007
	(0.043)	(0.249)	(0.044)
State has no rape exception	−0.008	−0.057	0.190
	(0.021)	(0.121)	(0.366)
Income: <50k	0.155***	0.662**	0.150***
	(0.055)	(0.273)	(0.055)
Income: 50−100k	0.026	0.165	0.021
	(0.029)	(0.157)	(0.029)
Sample: Donor	−0.076*	−0.338	−0.070
	(0.044)	(0.234)	(0.045)
Sample: Affluent	−0.077	−0.253	−0.071
	(0.052)	(0.278)	(0.053)
Intercept	0.411***	−0.334	0.357
	(0.126)	(0.706)	(0.345)
State Fixed Effect	NO	NO	YES
Observations	960	960	960
R2	0.240		0.288
Log Likelihood		−284.203	
Akaike Inf. Crit.		604.407	
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table G3. OLS and Probit Regression Results for Figure 4 with logged contribution amount

	If Rape OLS (1)	1st Trimester OLS (2)	If Rape probit (3)	1st Trimester probit (4)	If Rape OLS (5)	1st Trimester OLS (6)
Abortion most important issue	0.290***	0.173***	1.059***	0.703***	0.290***	0.172***
	(0.018)	(0.021)	(0.077)	(0.080)	(0.018)	(0.022)
Log(Contribution Amount)	−0.081***	−0.221***	−0.470***	−0.663***	−0.079***	−0.220***
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.107)	(0.086)	(0.022)	(0.026)
Religion very important	−0.145***	−0.127***	−0.564***	−0.490***	−0.142***	−0.116***
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.099)	(0.091)	(0.022)	(0.026)
Attend Church Weekly	0.030	−0.020	0.137	−0.061	0.026	−0.017
	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.124)	(0.099)	(0.025)	(0.029)
Parent	−0.093**	0.078	−0.389**	0.213	−0.086**	0.068
	(0.042)	(0.050)	(0.194)	(0.169)	(0.043)	(0.051)
Under 40	0.041**	−0.010	0.191**	−0.032	0.038**	−0.013
	(0.017)	(0.021)	(0.083)	(0.073)	(0.018)	(0.021)
Age: Over 65	0.042**	−0.050**	0.156*	−0.180**	0.048**	−0.043*
	(0.020)	(0.024)	(0.088)	(0.083)	(0.020)	(0.024)
Male	−0.053	−0.097*	−0.213	−0.391*	−0.061	−0.101*
	(0.044)	(0.053)	(0.191)	(0.204)	(0.044)	(0.053)
Educ: HS or Less	0.005	−0.050	−0.012	−0.162	0.009	−0.058
	(0.036)	(0.042)	(0.168)	(0.149)	(0.036)	(0.043)
Educ: Some College	−0.006	−0.027	−0.036	−0.102	−0.007	−0.023
	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.081)	(0.071)	(0.017)	(0.020)
Educ: Postgraduate	0.085**	0.031	0.392**	0.106	0.084**	0.030
	(0.040)	(0.047)	(0.179)	(0.164)	(0.041)	(0.048)
Homeowner	0.034	−0.007	0.146	−0.020	0.038	0.002
	(0.034)	(0.041)	(0.160)	(0.141)	(0.035)	(0.042)
Race: White	0.002	−0.001	0.005	−0.011	0.276	−0.042
	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.076)	(0.067)	(0.302)	(0.360)
State has no rape exception	−0.075*	−0.062	−0.283	−0.292	−0.081*	−0.074
	(0.043)	(0.051)	(0.186)	(0.196)	(0.043)	(0.051)
Income: <50k	−0.054**	−0.064**	−0.254***	−0.220**	−0.059***	−0.070***
	(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.099)	(0.097)	(0.022)	(0.027)
Income: 50-100k	−0.014	−0.011	−0.110	−0.0003	−0.021	−0.021
	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.146)	(0.133)	(0.031)	(0.037)
Sample: Donor	0.042	−0.009	0.179	0.011	0.028	−0.023
	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.179)	(0.157)	(0.038)	(0.045)
Sample: Affluent	0.472***	0.396***	−0.115	−0.467	0.193	0.426
	(0.093)	(0.110)	(0.414)	(0.383)	(0.264)	(0.314)
State Fixed Effects	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Observations	1,975	1,964	1,975	1,964	1,975	1,964
R2	0.271	0.206			0.292	0.230
Log Likelihood			−727.386	−988.910		
Akaike Inf. Crit.			1,490.772	2,013.819		
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Appendix H. Misc.

Figure H1. Abortion Exceptions as of July 2022 Based on Poynter Institute.

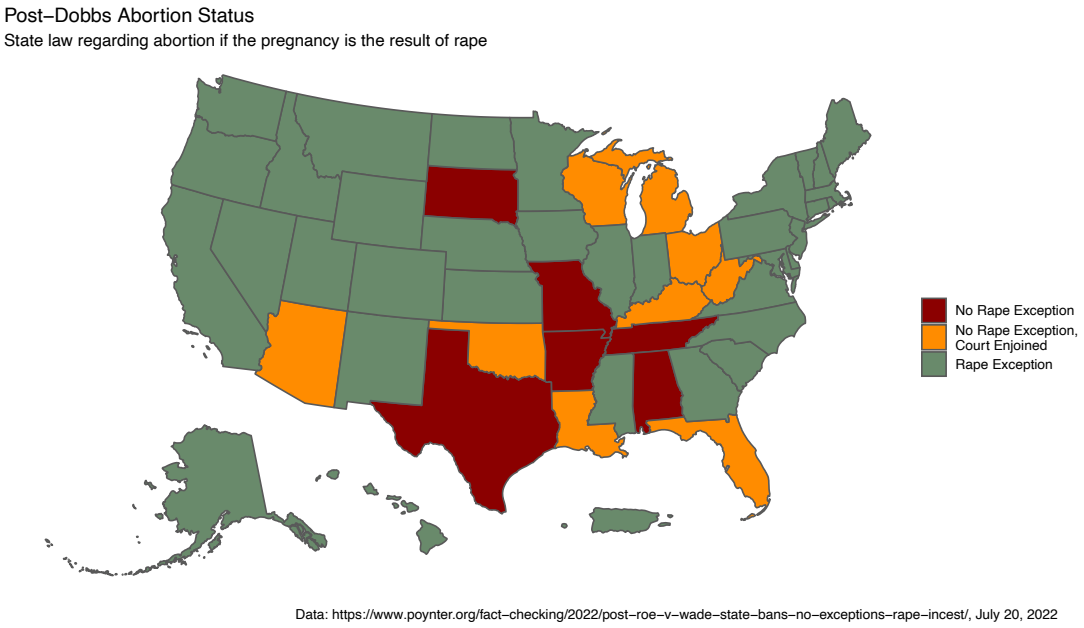

Table H1: Comparison of survey results across surveys and survey questions. Different surveys ask different questions regarding abortion, but we have tried here to find a set of questions that are relatively similar. Results are displayed among Republican respondents.

ANES asks agreement with the following statement: “The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.

CES asks agreement with the following statement: “Permit abortion only in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger”.

GSS asks: “Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if she became pregnant as a result of rape.”

Pew asks agreement with: “Abortion should be legal if pregnancy is the result of rape.” Unlike other surveys here, respondents were able to agree, disagree, or choose “it depends”. We suspect this explains the lower support in this survey.

Our original survey asked: “In which of the following circumstances, if any, should a pregnant woman be able to legally have an abortion? If she becomes pregnant as a result of rape.”

Survey	Percent in Favor
ANES 2020	**79.6%**
CES 2020	**62.5%**
GSS 2021	**72.8%**
Pew 2022	**56.0%**
Authors’ Survey	**75.7%**

Fig. H2. Support for abortion policies in the CES survey from 2020 to 2022, the period spanning the *Dobbs* decision.

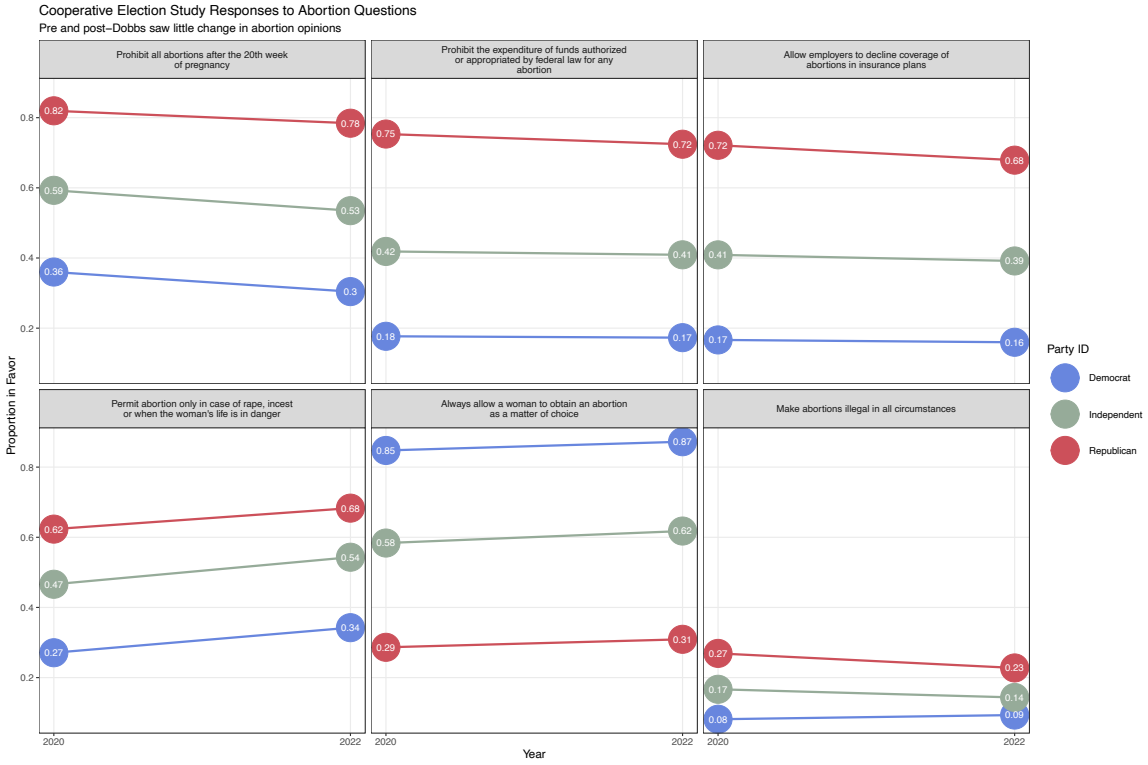

Table H2. Characteristics of Donors and Affluent By Party

	Republican Donors	Democrat Donors	Republican Affluent	Democrat Affluent
% Male	81%	55%	69%	57%
% College Plus Education	81%	91%	74%	87%
% Very Religious	46%	14%	42%	15%
% Abortion Most Important Issue	65%	48%	68%	54%
Avg. Age	65.5	64.7	60.4	56.8
Region: Midwest	20%	21%	17%	12%
Region: Northeast	14%	21%	20%	25%
Region: South	43%	29%	38%	29%
Region: West	23%	29%	25%	35%