Elite Cues and Public Polarization on Transgender Rights

Supplemental Material

Table A-1: Models using pooled data with interaction between ideology, awareness, and year

	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections
Intercept	3.90 (0.37)***	4.10 (0.32)***
Ideology	−0.25 (0.10)*	−0.17 (0.09)†
Political awareness	−0.19 (0.50)	0.45 (0.43)
2016 survey	−1.25 (0.53)*	−0.98 (0.52)†
Ideology × awareness	0.04 (0.14)	−0.03 (0.13)
Ideology × 2016	0.34 (0.16)*	0.24 (0.16)
Awareness × 2016	1.73 (0.73)*	1.54 (0.71)*
Ideology × awareness × 2016	−0.53 (0.21)*	−0.45 (0.22)*
Party ID	−0.09 (0.02)***	−0.08 (0.02)***
Religiosity	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.08 (0.03)*
Age (decades)	−0.44 (0.19)*	−1.01 (0.19)***
Hispanic	0.05 (0.12)	−0.04 (0.11)
Black	0.11 (0.10)	−0.12 (0.11)
Female	0.33 (0.06)***	0.29 (0.06)***
McFadden's pseudo-R^2	.21	.21
F statistic	28.65	28.58
N	1,430	1,422

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{†}p < 0.1$

Table A-2: Replicating Table 2 with ordered logit estimator

	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Ideology	$-0.65\,(0.25)^{**}$	$-0.37\,(0.24)$	$0.24\,(0.23)$	$0.13\,(0.29)$	$0.34\,(0.27)$
Political awareness	$-0.93\,(1.22)$	$1.97\,(1.21)$	$3.38\,(1.15)^{**}$	$3.94\,(1.53)^{*}$	$3.67\,(1.35)^{**}$
Ideology $\times$ awareness	$0.19\,(0.34)$	$-0.33\,(0.34)$	$-1.05\,(0.35)^{**}$	$-0.93\,(0.47)^{*}$	$-1.10\,(0.39)^{**}$
Party ID	$-0.20\,(0.05)^{***}$	$-0.10\,(0.05)^{*}$	$-0.13\,(0.06)^{*}$	$-0.23\,(0.07)^{***}$	$-0.21\,(0.06)^{***}$
Religiosity	$-0.28\,(0.11)^{*}$	$-0.19\,(0.10)$	$-0.13\,(0.09)$	$-0.10\,(0.10)$	$-0.22\,(0.10)^{*}$
Age (decades)	$-0.36\,(0.54)$	$-1.70\,(0.55)^{**}$	$-0.76\,(0.53)$	$-2.28\,(0.56)^{***}$	$1.05\,(0.55)$
Hispanic	$-0.44\,(0.32)$	$-0.08\,(0.35)$	$0.58\,(0.35)$	$0.03\,(0.35)$	$-0.00\,(0.38)$
Black	$-0.02\,(0.28)$	$0.12\,(0.35)$	$0.55\,(0.34)$	$-0.49\,(0.36)$	$-0.70\,(0.36)^{*}$
Female	$0.90\,(0.17)^{***}$	$0.79\,(0.18)^{***}$	$0.48\,(0.19)^{**}$	$0.35\,(0.19)$	$0.57\,(0.19)^{**}$
Threshold 1	$-5.22\,(0.92)^{***}$	$-4.22\,(0.89)^{***}$	$-0.88\,(0.89)$	$-2.52\,(1.13)^{*}$	$-0.25\,(1.00)$
Threshold 2	$-3.64\,(0.91)^{***}$	$-3.18\,(0.88)^{***}$	$-0.04\,(0.88)$	$-1.65\,(1.12)$	$0.95\,(1.00)$
Threshold 3	$-1.57\,(0.90)$	$-0.99\,(0.87)$	$1.56\,(0.88)$	$-0.23\,(1.11)$	$1.74\,(1.01)$
N	721	740	709	682	703
F statistic	15.2	13.6	11.3	13.7	11.3

$^{***}p < 0.001$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Table A-3: Replicating Table 2 with education instead of awareness variable

	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Intercept	3.90 (0.27)***	4.20 (0.24)***	2.78 (0.36)***	3.97 (0.39)***	2.49 (0.39)***
Ideology	−0.22 (0.08)**	−0.23 (0.07)***	−0.02 (0.09)	−0.06 (0.10)	−0.02 (0.10)
Education	−0.15 (0.40)	0.10 (0.31)	1.44 (0.47)**	0.97 (0.49)*	1.41 (0.50)**
Ideology × education	−0.01 (0.12)	0.05 (0.10)	−0.35 (0.14)*	−0.22 (0.15)	−0.34 (0.14)*
Party ID	−0.09 (0.02)***	−0.06 (0.02)*	−0.09 (0.03)**	−0.14 (0.03)***	−0.13 (0.03)***
Religiosity	−0.12 (0.05)*	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.08 (0.05)†	−0.11 (0.06)†
Age (decades)	−0.28 (0.24)	−0.73 (0.24)**	−0.52 (0.29)†	−1.15 (0.29)***	0.74 (0.31)*
Hispanic	−0.18 (0.14)	−0.10 (0.14)	0.33 (0.18)†	−0.03 (0.18)	0.08 (0.21)
Black	−0.02 (0.13)	−0.03 (0.14)	0.24 (0.18)	−0.26 (0.17)	−0.38 (0.19)*
Female	0.39 (0.08)***	0.37 (0.08)***	0.27 (0.10)**	0.21 (0.10)*	0.30 (0.11)**
McFadden's pseudo-R^2	.25	.22	.20	.23	.19
F statistic	23.37	20.24	19.05	23.43	21.39
N	726	744	711	684	705

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < 0.1$

Figure A-1: Predicted support for transgender rights in 2015 and 2016, by education and ideology

(a) Support for gender–neutral bathrooms, 2015

--- Liberals —— Conservatives

(b) Support for student protections, 2015

--- Liberals —— Conservatives

(c) Support for gender–neutral bathrooms, 2016

--- Liberals —— Conservatives

(d) Support for student protections, 2016

--- Liberals —— Conservatives

(e) Support for bathroom access, 2016
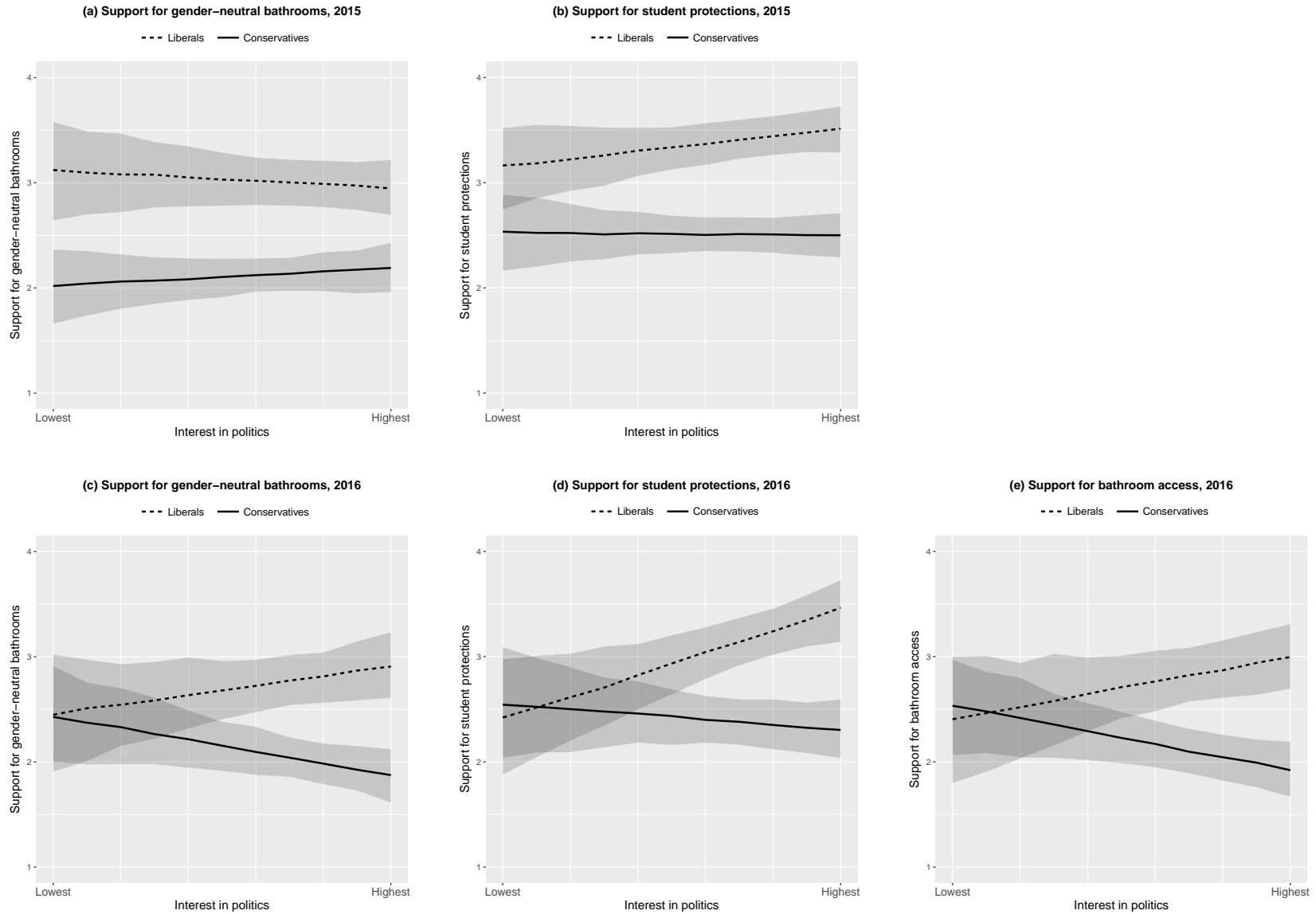
--- Liberals —— Conservatives
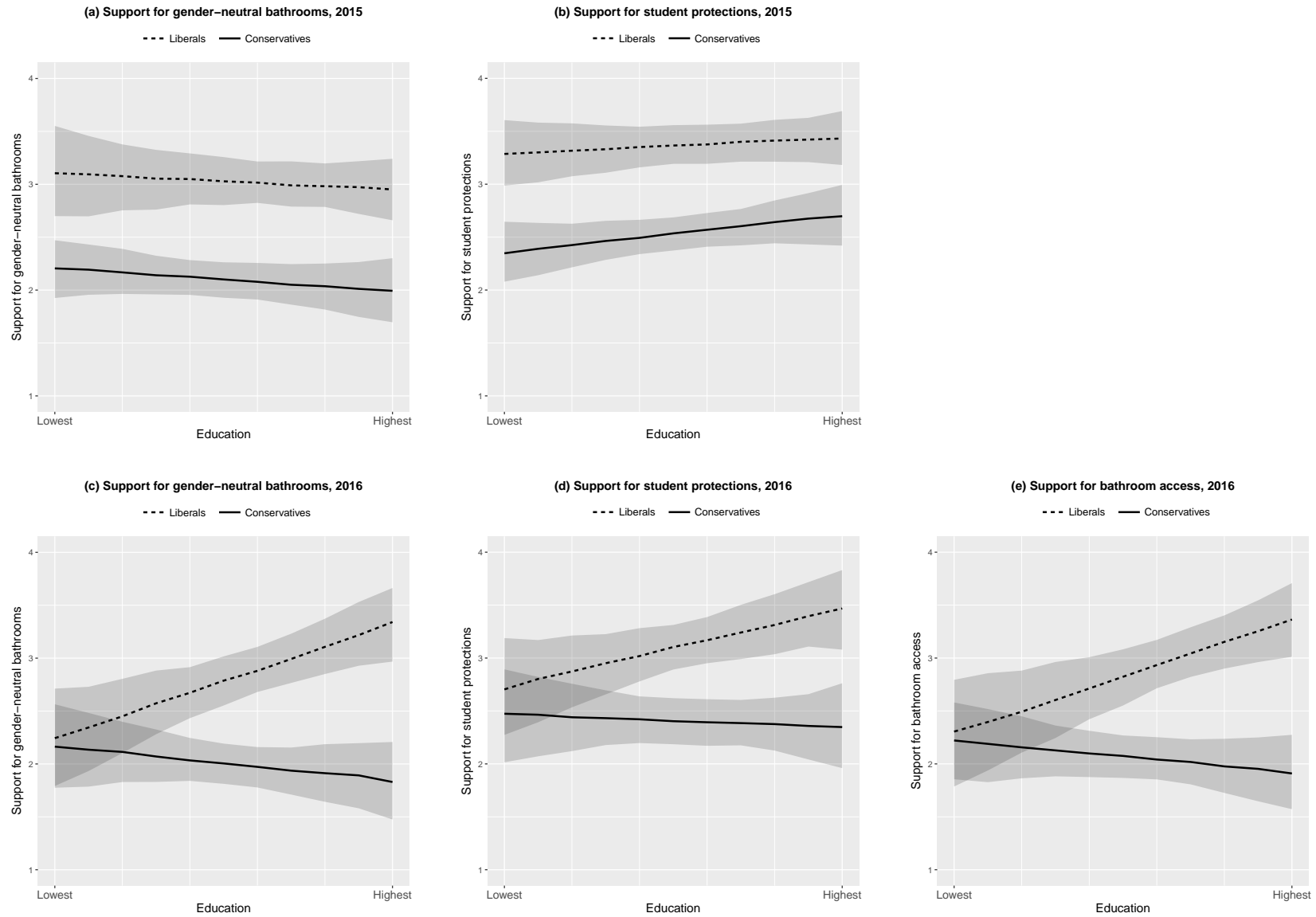
Note: Replicates the plots in Figure 3 using education as political awareness measure. Simulated from models in Table A-3. For each simulation, all other numeric values are held to their mean in that year's survey; Black, Hispanic, and female are set to zero.

4

Table A-4: Replicating Table 2 with interest instead of awareness variable

	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Intercept	4.01 (0.33)***	3.95 (0.29)***	3.01 (0.42)***	3.54 (0.45)***	2.57 (0.47)***
Ideology	−0.27 (0.09)**	−0.16 (0.08)†	−0.00 (0.11)	0.03 (0.11)	0.03 (0.12)
Interest	−0.25 (0.38)	0.45 (0.33)	0.71 (0.48)	1.36 (0.48)**	0.90 (0.52)†
Ideology × interest	0.08 (0.11)	−0.09 (0.10)	−0.25 (0.13)†	−0.32 (0.15)*	−0.30 (0.15)*
Party ID	−0.10 (0.02)***	−0.05 (0.02)†	−0.09 (0.03)**	−0.12 (0.03)***	−0.12 (0.04)***
Religiosity	−0.13 (0.05)**	−0.09 (0.04)†	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.11 (0.06)†
Age (decades)	−0.29 (0.24)	−0.82 (0.25)**	−0.51 (0.29)†	−1.29 (0.29)***	0.70 (0.31)*
Hispanic	−0.18 (0.14)	−0.10 (0.14)	0.26 (0.19)	−0.05 (0.17)	0.01 (0.20)
Black	−0.02 (0.12)	−0.04 (0.14)	0.26 (0.18)	−0.21 (0.17)	−0.38 (0.20)†
Female	0.39 (0.08)***	0.37 (0.08)***	0.28 (0.10)**	0.22 (0.10)*	0.31 (0.11)**
McFadden's pseudo-R^2	.24	.22	.20	.25	.19
F statistic	22.53	19.80	14.24	24.04	16.00
N	724	743	713	686	707

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, † $p < 0.1$

Figure A-2: Predicted support for transgender rights in 2015 and 2016, by interest in politics and ideology

(a) Support for gender–neutral bathrooms, 2015

(b) Support for student protections, 2015

(c) Support for gender–neutral bathrooms, 2016

(d) Support for student protections, 2016

(e) Support for bathroom access, 2016

Note: Replicates the plots in Figure 3 using interest in politics as political awareness measure. Simulated from models in Table A-4. For each simulation, all other numeric values are held to their mean in that year's survey; Black, Hispanic, and female are set to zero.

9

Table A-5: Replicating Table 2 with interaction between education and interest instead of awareness variable

	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Intercept	4.32 (0.57)***	4.53 (0.43)***	2.71 (0.75)***	3.16 (0.81)***	2.87 (0.84)***
Ideology	−0.32 (0.15)*	−0.33 (0.12)**	0.07 (0.20)	0.17 (0.22)	−0.04 (0.22)
Interest	−0.65 (0.67)	−0.41 (0.53)	0.05 (0.98)	1.43 (0.94)	−0.53 (1.05)
Education	−0.63 (1.00)	−1.39 (0.69)*	0.87 (1.27)	1.02 (1.38)	−0.69 (1.43)
Ideology × interest	0.16 (0.19)	0.12 (0.16)	−0.12 (0.27)	−0.41 (0.28)	0.02 (0.28)
Ideology × education	0.05 (0.29)	0.46 (0.22)*	−0.24 (0.36)	−0.36 (0.40)	0.15 (0.40)
Interest × education	0.82 (1.12)	1.90 (0.83)*	0.75 (1.61)	−0.55 (1.59)	2.68 (1.70)
Ideology × interest × education	−0.13 (0.34)	−0.52 (0.27)†	−0.14 (0.44)	0.29 (0.46)	−0.62 (0.47)
Party ID	−0.09 (0.02)***	−0.05 (0.02)*	−0.08 (0.03)**	−0.12 (0.03)***	−0.12 (0.04)**
Religiosity	−0.12 (0.05)**	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.06 (0.05)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.09 (0.06)†
Age (decades)	−0.31 (0.24)	−0.81 (0.25)***	−0.48 (0.30)	−1.28 (0.29)***	0.70 (0.31)*
Hispanic	−0.17 (0.14)	−0.09 (0.14)	0.34 (0.18)†	−0.02 (0.18)	0.10 (0.21)
Black	−0.03 (0.13)	−0.04 (0.14)	0.25 (0.18)	−0.20 (0.17)	−0.39 (0.19)*
Female	0.39 (0.08)***	0.38 (0.08)***	0.26 (0.10)*	0.21 (0.10)*	0.28 (0.11)**
McFadden's pseudo-R^2	.25	.23	.21	.25	.21
F-statistic	16.05	16.34	15.29	20.18	22.60
N	721	740	709	682	703

$^{***}p < 0.001,\ ^{**}p < 0.01,\ ^{*}p < 0.05,\ ^{†}p < 0.1$

Table A-6: Simulated values from Table A-5

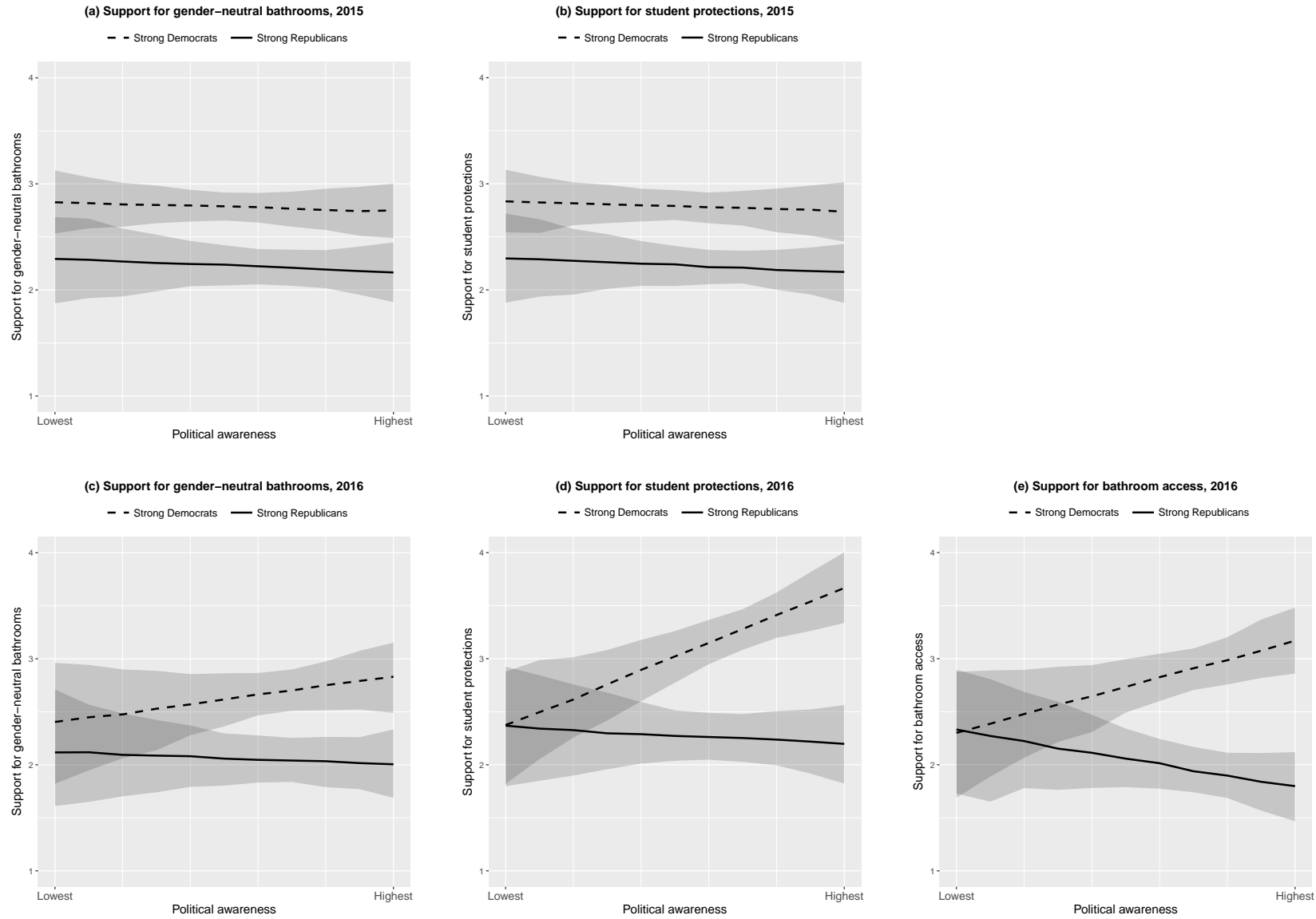|	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Least aware conservatives	1.98 [1.41, 2.52]	2.09 [1.57, 2.63]	2.40 [1.51, 3.34]	2.85 [1.87, 3.84]	2.37 [1.48, 3.63]
Most aware conservatives	1.90 [1.53, 2.25]	2.46 [2.11, 2.82]	1.57 [1.13, 2.03]	2.36 [1.88, 2.89]	1.59 [1.21, 1.97]
Least aware liberals	3.24 [2.42, 4.04]	3.42 [2.81, 3.95]	2.12 [1.09, 3.15]	2.20 [1.06, 3.29]	2.58 [1.43, 3.63]
Most aware liberals	2.86 [2.55, 3.18]	3.54 [3.28, 3.81]	3.30 [2.93, 3.72]	3.61 [3.26, 3.97]	3.57 [3.15, 3.96]

Note: Simulated values and 95% confidence intervals from models in Table A-5. "Least-aware"=both education and interest in politics set to 0; "Most-aware"=both education and interest in politics set to 1. All control variables set to mean or modal value.

Table A-7: Replicating Table 2 with party identity instead of ideology interaction

	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Intercept	3.87 (0.24)***	3.80 (0.22)***	3.23 (0.39)***	3.64 (0.38)***	2.64 (0.41)***
Party ID	−0.09 (0.05)†	0.04 (0.06)	−0.05 (0.08)	−0.00 (0.08)	0.00 (0.09)
Political awareness	−0.09 (0.26)	0.68 (0.23)**	0.44 (0.42)	1.29 (0.38)***	0.87 (0.41)*
Party ID × awareness	−0.01 (0.08)	−0.15 (0.08)†	−0.09 (0.11)	−0.24 (0.11)*	−0.23 (0.12)*
Ideology	−0.22 (0.05)***	−0.20 (0.04)***	−0.17 (0.05)***	−0.14 (0.05)**	−0.15 (0.06)**
Religiosity	−0.12 (0.05)*	−0.09 (0.04)*	−0.08 (0.05)	−0.08 (0.05)	−0.12 (0.06)*
Age (decades)	−0.26 (0.24)	−0.74 (0.24)**	−0.53 (0.30)†	−1.28 (0.28)***	0.70 (0.31)*
Hispanic	−0.19 (0.14)	−0.10 (0.14)	0.27 (0.19)	−0.02 (0.18)	0.02 (0.21)
Black	−0.02 (0.13)	−0.05 (0.14)	0.27 (0.18)	−0.22 (0.17)	−0.37 (0.19)†
Female	0.39 (0.08)***	0.36 (0.08)***	0.29 (0.10)**	0.21 (0.10)*	0.31 (0.11)**
McFadden's pseudo-R^2	.24	.22	.19	.25	.19
F statistic	22.86	22.52	13.82	26.02	19.52
N	721	740	709	682	703

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, †$p < 0.1$

Figure A-3: Predicted support for transgender rights in 2015 and 2016, by political awareness and party identity

(a) Support for gender–neutral bathrooms, 2015

- - Strong Democrats —— Strong Republicans

(b) Support for student protections, 2015

- - Strong Democrats —— Strong Republicans

(c) Support for gender–neutral bathrooms, 2016

- - Strong Democrats —— Strong Republicans

(d) Support for student protections, 2016

- - Strong Democrats —— Strong Republicans

(e) Support for bathroom access, 2016

- - Strong Democrats —— Strong Republicans

Note: Replicates the plots in Figure 3 using party identity rather than ideology as key political predisposition. Simulated from models in Table A-7. For each simulation, all other numeric values are held to their mean in that year's survey; Black, Hispanic, and female are set to zero.

Table A-8: Replicating Table 2 with ideology/party identity index

	2015		2016		
	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Gender-neutral bathrooms	Student protections	Bathroom access
Intercept	3.71 (0.28)***	3.57 (0.27)***	2.69 (0.40)***	3.20 (0.43)***	2.12 (0.44)***
Ideology/party identity	−1.50 (0.47)**	−0.52 (0.49)	−0.14 (0.61)	−0.01 (0.68)	0.14 (0.66)
Political awareness	−0.14 (0.35)	0.80 (0.33)*	1.04 (0.47)*	1.73 (0.48)***	1.43 (0.50)**
Ideology/party identity × awareness	0.14 (0.63)	−0.95 (0.66)	−1.83 (0.80)*	−2.38 (0.91)**	−2.56 (0.86)**
Religiosity	−0.13 (0.05)**	−0.10 (0.04)*	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.10 (0.06)†
Age (decades)	−0.31 (0.24)	−0.85 (0.24)***	−0.58 (0.29)†	−1.26 (0.28)***	0.68 (0.31)*
Hispanic	−0.19 (0.14)	−0.10 (0.14)	0.28 (0.19)	0.01 (0.18)	0.05 (0.21)
Black	−0.05 (0.13)	−0.10 (0.14)	0.24 (0.17)	−0.20 (0.17)	−0.37 (0.19)*
Female	0.38 (0.08)***	0.35 (0.08)***	0.28 (0.10)**	0.21 (0.10)*	0.30 (0.11)**
McFadden's pseudo-R^2	.24	.21	.19	.25	.20
F statistic	26.06	24.63	18.69	31.83	26.60
N	721	740	709	682	703

***$p < 0.001$, **$p < 0.01$, *$p < 0.05$, $^{\dagger}p < 0.1$

Note: Ideology/party identity is an average of respondents' ideology and party identity, rescaled to range from 0 (most liberal/Democratic) to 1 (most conservative/Republican).

Figure A-4: Predicted support for transgender rights in 2015 and 2016, by political awareness and ideology/party identity index
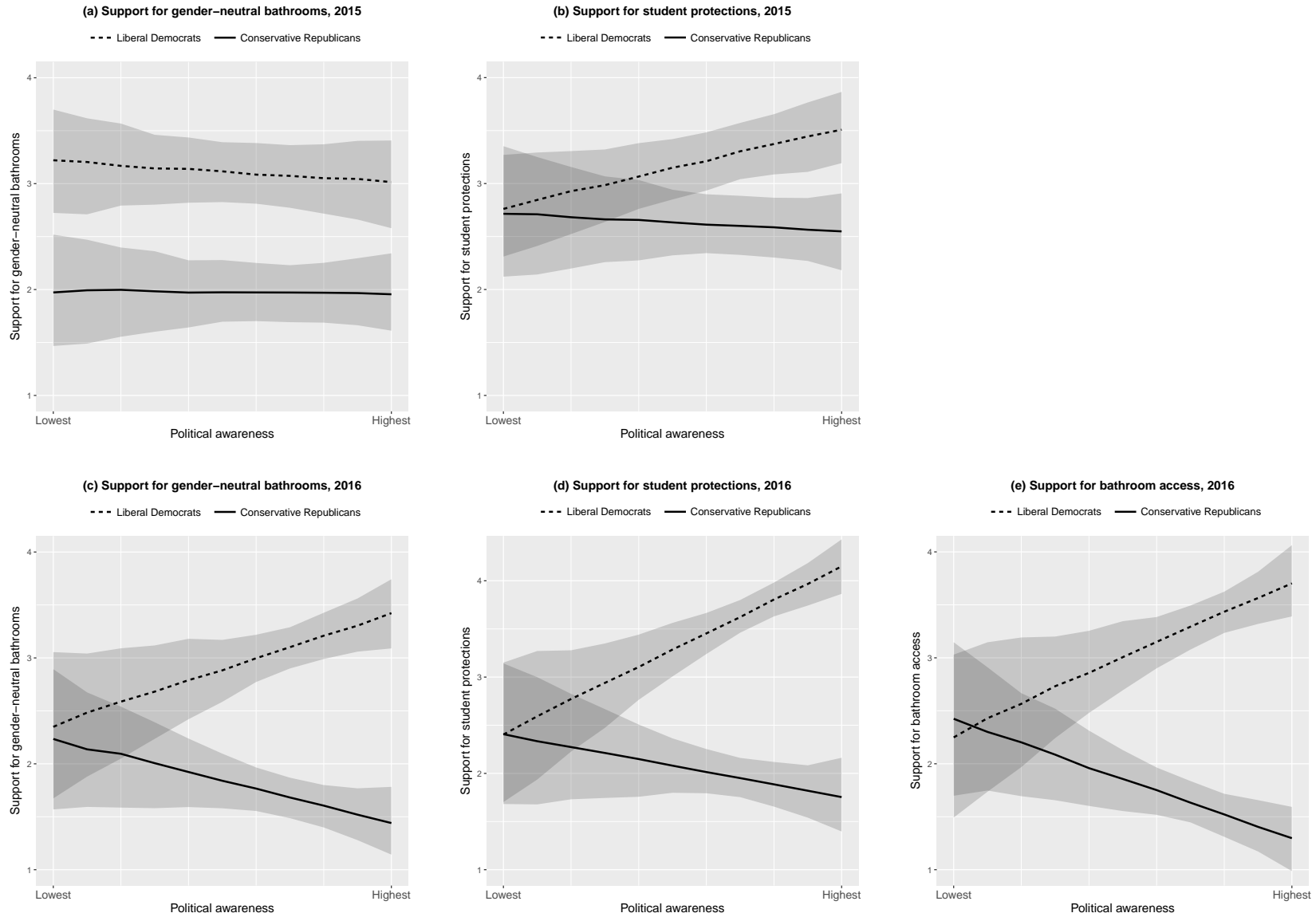
Note: Replicates the plots in Figure 3 using average of ideology and party identity as key political predisposition. Simulated from models in Table A-8. For each simulation, all other numeric values are held to their mean in that year's survey; Black, Hispanic, and female are set to zero.

Table A-9: Sample demographics, compared to population parameters

	Population parameters	2015 sample	2016 sample
Gender			
Male	48.3%	48.9%	47.7%
Female	51.7%	51.1%	52.3%
Age			
18-24	13.1%	13.0%	12.8%
25-34	17.5%	16.3%	16.1%
35-44	16.9%	16.3%	17.0%
45-54	18.1%	18.4%	18.0%
55-64	16.3%	16.9%	17.4%
65+	18.1%	19.0%	18.7%
Education			
HS graduate or less	41.2%	40.3%	39.4%
Some college/Assoc. degree	31.5%	31.3%	32.5%
College graduate	27.3%	28.4%	28.2%
Race/Ethnicity			
Non-Hispanic White	65.9%	67.7%	65.5%
Non-Hispanic Black	11.7%	11.5%	12.1%
Hispanic	15.0%	13.9%	14.3%
Non-Hispanic Other	7.4%	6.9%	8.1%
Region			
Northeast	18.2%	18.3%	17.2%
Midwest	21.5%	21.6%	21.8%
South	37.5%	37.2%	38.4%
West	22.8%	22.8%	22.7%

Note: Population parameters from the US Census Bureau's 2013 American Community Survey data. Sample demographics calculated using weighted data. Source: PSRAI.