Supplementary Appendix: Partisanship and Trust in Personal Doctors: Causes and Consequences
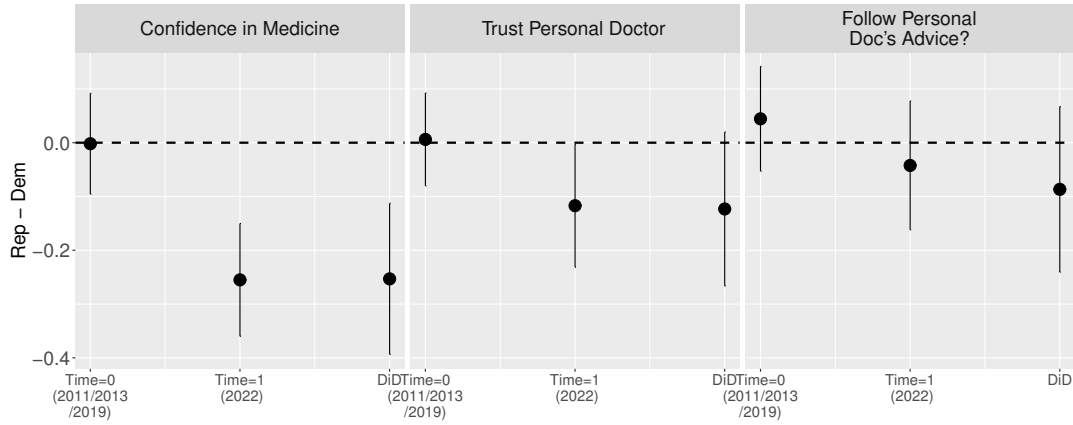
June 10, 2024

Contents

1 Overtime Trends

Figure 1: Trust in Personal Doctor: Partisan Differences

Note. Graph represents the partisan difference of Figure 1 for each time period. For example, the left-most point in each panel is the difference between Republicans and Democrats' confidence/trust/adherence in 2011, 2013 and 2019 respectively. Negative values mean Republicans have less confidence/trust/adherence. The third-point is the difference-in-difference (difference between regression coefficient in 2022 and first time period).

Figure 2: Trust in Personal Doctor: By Race & Education
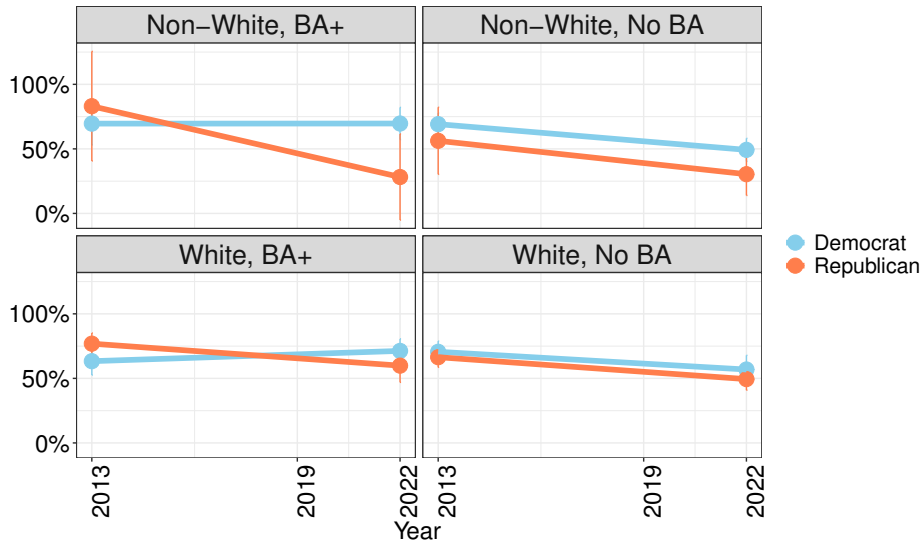
Note. Trust in personal doctors (same question/coding as middle panel of Figure 1) broken down by sub-group.

Table 1: Change in Trust: Controlling for Covariates

	(1) Doctor	(2) Doctor	(3) Doctor	(4) Judges	(5) MoC	(6) Neighbors
Dem/Rep	0.01	-0.00	-0.07	0.01	-0.11	0.25
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Year	-0.06	-0.08	-0.12	-0.19	-0.23	-0.26
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Dem/Rep $\times$ Year	-0.15	-0.11	-0.11	-0.16	-0.19	-0.14
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.10)
BA+		0.14	0.06			
		(0.04)	(0.05)			
Inc<30K			-0.07			
			(0.05)			
Inc>100K			0.14			
			(0.05)			
Male			-0.04			
			(0.04)			
White			0.15			
			(0.08)			
Black			0.10			
			(0.10)			
Hispanic			0.11			
			(0.09)			
Age			0.01			
			(0.00)			
Constant	3.59	3.55	3.14	3.01	2.69	3.13
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)
N	1169	1169	1146	1131	1144	1164

Standard errors in parentheses

Note. The dependent variable for each model is trust in the given person (people) listed across the top of each column on a 1-4 scale (columns 1-3, your doctor; column 4 judges; column 5 your member of congress; column 6 neighbors). Higher values represent more trust. The independent variable of interest is the interaction between partisanship and time ("Dem/Rep x Year"). The interaction term in column 1 shows that Republicans became .15 points less trusting of their personal doctor compared to Democrats between 2013 and 2022 on a four point scale. Models 2 and 3 control for demographic covariates that are available in both survey waves. Models 4-6 show trust in other people by partisanship between 2013 and 2022. For the income, the omitted group are people who earn between 30,000 and 100,000. For race, the omitted group are respondents who identify as something other than White, Black or Hispanic.

# 2 Trust Personal Doctors: Controlling for Covariates

Figure 3: Trust Your Doctor: Multi-variable Regression

	(1) doctor_trust
Rep/Dem	-0.185
	(0.055)
Hlth Ins	0.053
	(0.111)
BA+	0.062
	(0.057)
Male	0.000
	(0.050)
Black	-0.258
	(0.077)
Hispanic	-0.159
	(0.073)
Asian	-0.025
	(0.146)
Other Race	-0.034
	(0.122)
Inc<30k	-0.079
	(0.079)
30k> Inc <60k	-0.056
	(0.071)
60k> Inc <100k	-0.000
	(0.068)
Age	0.007
	(0.001)
Constant	3.314
	(0.143)
N	511

Note. Regression coefficients from regressing the four-point trust scale in one's doctor on partisanship and a host of covariates in 2022 among respondents that report having a regular medical provider. Negative values indicate decreased trust. For example, the variable "Dem/Rep" is coded 1 if the respondent identifies as a Republican, 0 if they identify as a Democrat. Identifying as a Republican corresponds with decreased trust in doctors, controlling for each of the covariates. Each variable is binary (0-1), with the exception of age. Standard errors in parentheses.

3   Confidence In Institutions: General Social Survey

Figure 4: Difference (Rep-Dem) Confidence in Institutions
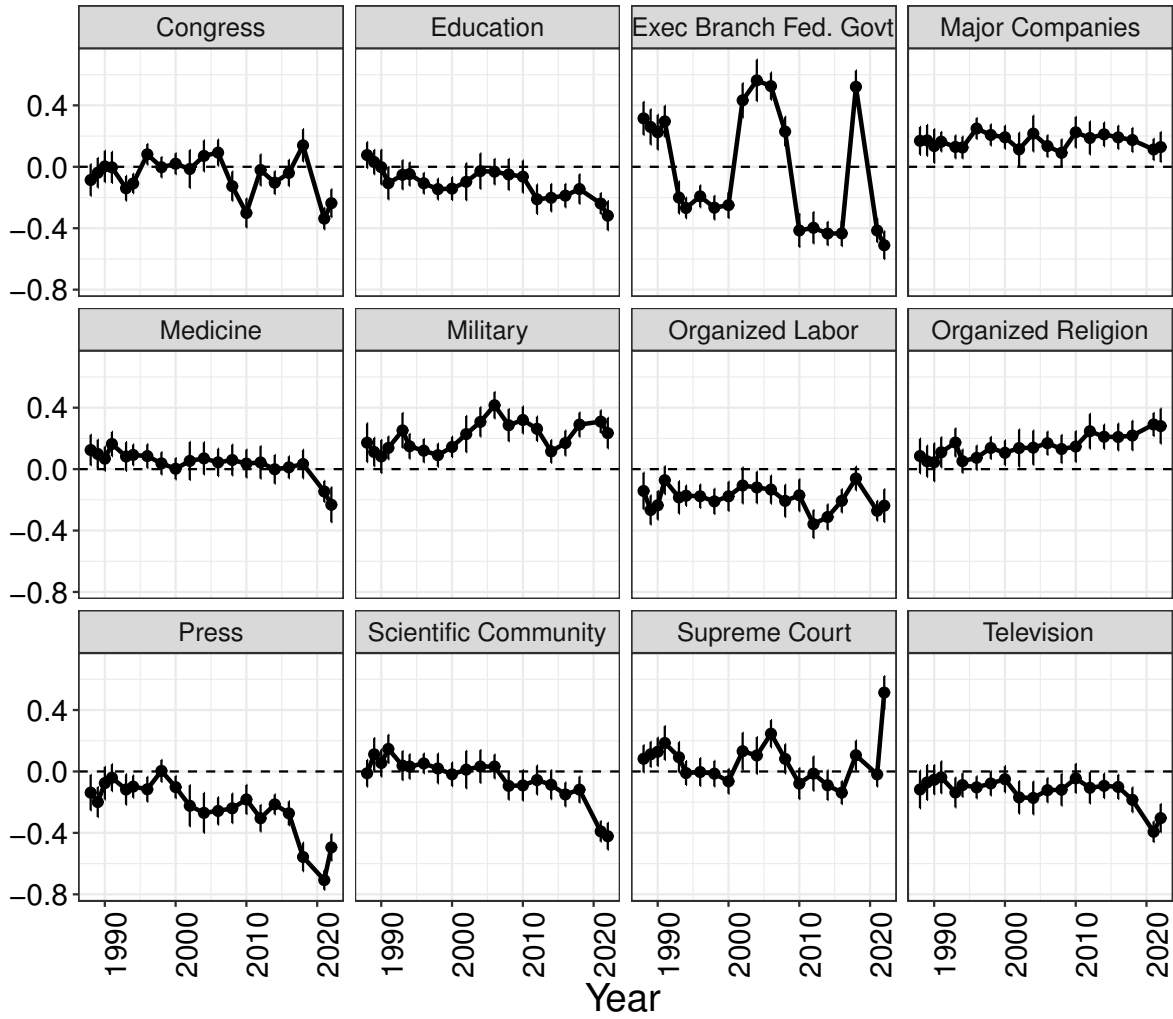
Note. Each point is the difference in average confidence in institutions (scaled 1-3, higher values represent more confidence), between Republicans and Democrats.

Figure 5: Democrat & Republican Confidence in Institutions
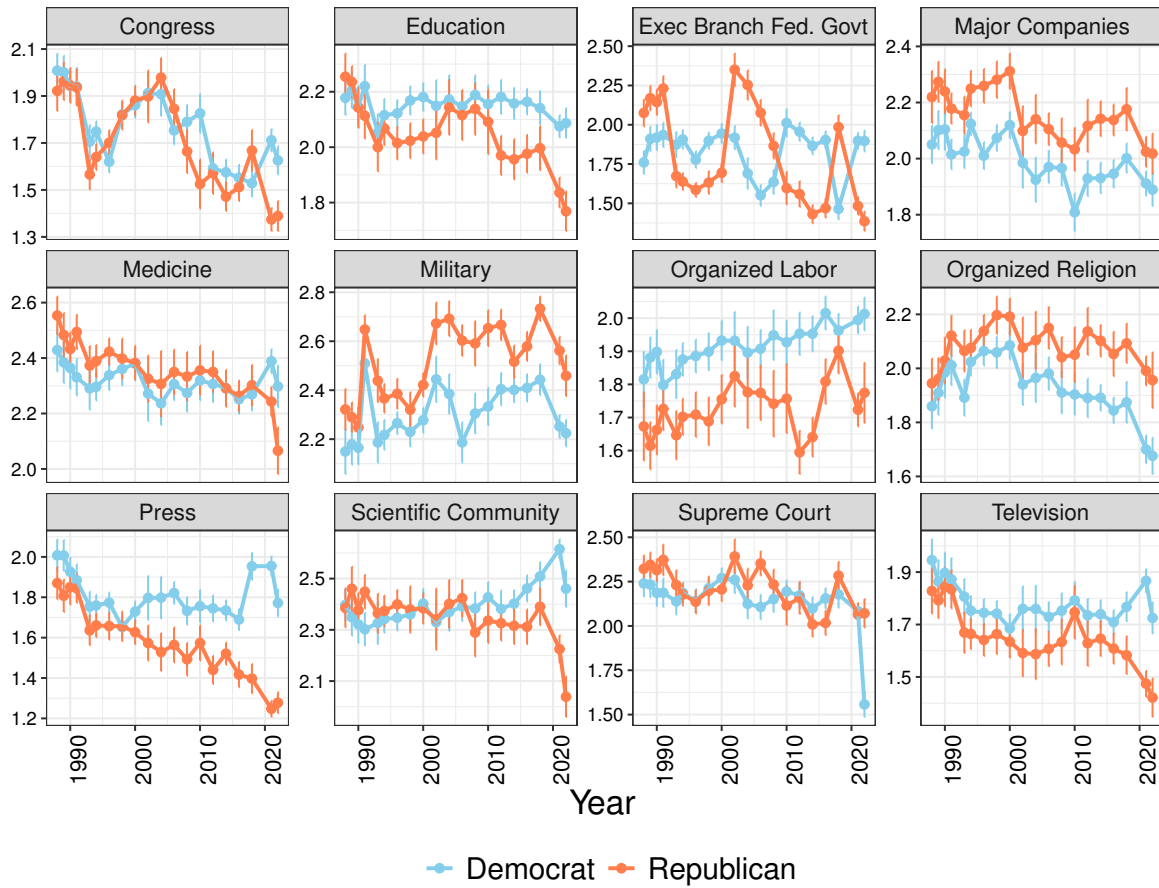
Note. Each point is the average confidence in institutions (scaled 1-3, higher values represent more confidence).

4   Attrition Between Wave 1 and 2 Prolific Surveys

Table 2: Attrition between Wave 1 and 2

	(1) wave2
Vote Trump	-0.01
	(0.03)
BA+	0.02
	(0.02)
Male	-0.02
	(0.02)
Black	0.02
	(0.04)
Hispanic	0.00
	(0.03)
Other Race	0.04
	(0.07)
AAPI	0.02
	(0.04)
Ideology	0.01
	(0.01)
Constant	0.88***
	(0.03)
N	911

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

	(1) wave2
Adherence W1	0.00
	(0.01)
Personal Trust W1	-0.01
	(0.01)
General Conf W1	0.02
	(0.01)
Constant	0.90***
	(0.04)
N	1149

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

5 Conjoint

Figure 6: Conjoint with "Unknown" Partisan Label
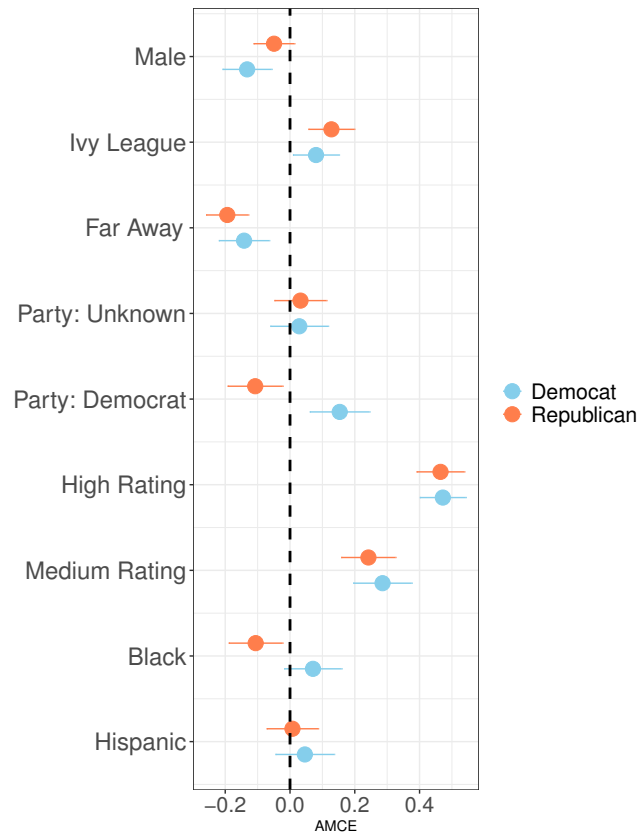
Note. This conjoint experiment replicates the main tables but includes unknown partisanship for doctor. Thus, respondents can choose between a doctor that shares their partisan label, has the opposing partisan label, or for whom their partisanship is now known. In the above graph, the "Republican" label is the omitted category. As in the main text, sharing a partisan label increases the propensity to choose that doctor while having the opposite decreases it. Statistically, Democrats prefer a Democratic doctor compared to Republican doctor and a doctor whose partisanship is unknown. However, they are indifferent between Republican doctors and doctors who partisanship is unknown. Republicans are much less likely to prefer a Democratic compared to a Republican doctor, but are statistically indifferent between a Republican and an unknown doctor.

6 ZocDoc Experiment: Additional Results

	Dependent variable:			
	Seek	Seek	Email	Email
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
CP Treat	−2.42**	−2.44**	−0.31**	−0.32**
	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Liberal	−0.11	−0.09	−0.14*	−0.14**
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Slightly Liberal	−0.51	−0.49	−0.05	−0.07
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Moderate	−0.24	−0.26	−0.10	−0.10
	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Slightly Conservative	−0.31	−0.33	−0.08	−0.09
	(0.34)	(0.34)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Conservative	−0.37	−0.36	−0.14*	−0.14*
	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Extremely Conservative	−1.10**	−1.15**	−0.18*	−0.18*
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Health Ins		−0.30*		−0.02
		(0.16)		(0.04)
Overall Health		0.08		−0.02
		(0.08)		(0.02)
Regular Doctor		−0.03		0.03
		(0.13)		(0.03)
CP Treat x Liberal	0.41	0.42	0.22**	0.23**
	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.10)	(0.10)
CP Treat x Slightly Liberal	1.14**	1.14**	0.09	0.11
	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.12)	(0.12)
CP Treat x Moderate	1.33**	1.34**	0.25**	0.26**
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.10)	(0.10)
CP Treat x Slightly Conservative	1.88**	1.91**	0.35**	0.36**
	(0.46)	(0.47)	(0.12)	(0.12)
CP Treat x Conservative	2.71**	2.73**	0.40**	0.40**
	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.11)	(0.11)
CP Treat x Extremely Conservative	3.39**	3.49**	0.38**	0.38**
	(0.59)	(0.59)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Constant	2.89**	2.94**	0.35**	0.40**
	(0.23)	(0.34)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Observations	773	772	773	772

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; $*p < .01$; $**p < .05$

Note. Our pre-registration plan specified that willingness to seek care might be conditional on the means and the motive of the respondent. The table shows treatment effect among different ideological groups, controlling for health insurance status, whether the respondent indicated they have a regular doctor they visit, and their self reported overall health. The DV for columns 1-2 is interest in seeking care from the respective online directory (1-7 scale; higher values equal more interest) and the DV for columns 3-4 is willingness to provide an email address. CP Treat is 1 if respondent is shown CP prime; 0 if shown the ZD prime. The interaction (e.g., CP Treat x Conservative) shows the difference in treatment effect for the given group compared to the treatment effect among people who identify as extremely liberal (which can be seen by the variable Treat).

Table 3: Pre-Registered Hypotheses

	Dependent variable:	
	Place Doctors (Conservatives)	Trust (Conservatives)
	(1)	(2)
Treat	0.11	−0.07
	(0.17)	(0.09)
Constant	3.88**	2.60**
	(0.13)	(0.06)
Observations	230	230

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; $*p < .01; **p < .05$

Note. Our pre-registration plan hypothesized that conservatives assigned to the CP treatment would perceive doctors, as a whole, to be more conservative. Column 1, for which the DV is the ideological placement of doctors on a 1-7 scale, shows that this hypothesis is not confirmed. We also hypothesized that exposure to "conservativeprofessionals.com" would increase trust among conservatives by priming that doctors were ideologically mixed. The evidence (column 2) is not consistent with this hypothesis.

7　Conservative Therapists

An earlier version of this paper used an experiment similar to the one presented in the paper but focused instead on the political leanings of mental healthcare professionals. In this experiment, we showed respondents a vignette identical to the one presented in the main text but we asked about "conservativetherapists.com," the precursor to "conservativeprofessionals.com" discussed in the paper. "Conservativetherapists.com" focused just on mental health professionals. For the comparison group, we asked about "betterhelp.com" which is a generic online tool to find therapists (and have therapy sessions). We re-ran the experiment to focus on doctors more generally as we received feedback that mental healthcare might be different from physical care, and that the mental healthcare focus did not align with the earlier portions of the paper focused on physicians. The results, though, are similar: conservatives are more likely to seek care in the conservative therapists frame compared to the betterhelp frame.

Table 4: Exposure to "conservativetherapists.com/betterhelp.com" among Conservative Respondents

	Seek Care		Email		Perceive Therapist		Trust Most Therapists		Trust Own Therapist	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
CT Treat	0.460	0.500	0.040	0.079	0.263	0.250	0.230	0.290	1.012	0.997
	(0.273)	(0.291)	(0.068)	(0.072)	(0.197)	(0.211)	(0.112)	(0.119)	(1.048)	(0.858)
K6 Index		0.042		0.019		-0.020		-0.026		-0.303
		(0.031)		(0.008)		(0.022)		(0.012)		(0.070)
Mntl Hlth Ins		0.317		0.066		0.270		0.256		1.432
		(0.306)		(0.075)		(0.222)		(0.125)		(1.309)
Have Therapist		0.017		0.041		-0.501		0.038		0.000
		(0.426)		(0.105)		(0.308)		(0.174)		(.)
Constant	2.778	2.406	0.222	0.073	3.012	3.028	2.407	2.329	6.571	7.820
	(0.192)	(0.305)	(0.048)	(0.075)	(0.139)	(0.221)	(0.079)	(0.124)	(0.712)	(1.392)
N	161	142	161	142	161	142	161	142	26	24

Note. Results for respondents who identify as conservative. "CT Treat" equals 1 if respondent is assigned to conservativetherapists.com, 0 if assigned to betterhelp.com. The dependent variable is listed across the top of each column. Positive coefficients mean people in the CT treatment are more likely to express willingness to seek care or learn more information from the respective website (columns 1-4), trust therapists (columns 5-8) and perceive mental professionals as more conservative (columns 9-10). K6 index is a self reported measure of mental health well being where higher values are associated with higher levels of mental distress.

8 Comparative Context

Figure 7: Doctors can be Trusted, demeaned
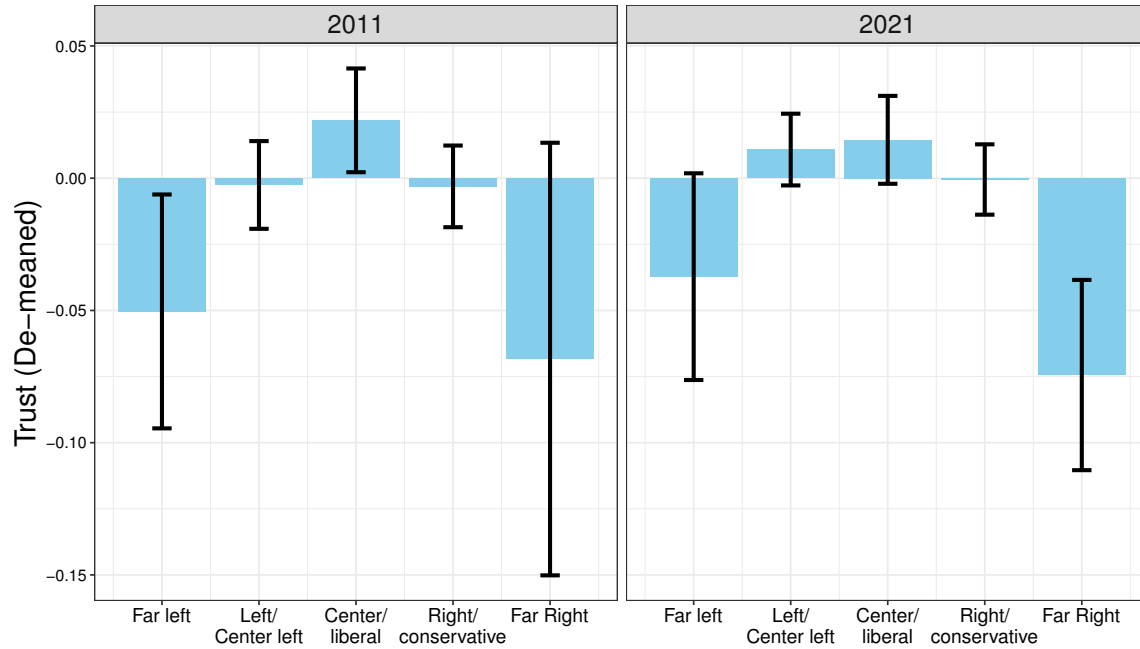
Note. The outcome variable is the question: "All things considered, doctors can be trusted," coded 1 if the respondent answers either "agree" or "strongly agree," 0 otherwise. Data are demeaned by country and year (e.g., values below 0 are below average trust for that country-year). Each year includes respondents from countries that are in both the 2011 and 2021 ISSP modules (Croatia, Denmark, Finland, German, Italy, Japan, Norway, Phillipines, Poland, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia).

Table 5: OLS: Doctors can be Trusted

	(1) 2011	(2) 2021	(3) Combined
Party Category	0.004	-0.007	0.004
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Year			0.033
			(0.020)
Party $\times$ Year			-0.011
			(0.006)
Constant	-0.012	0.022	-0.012
	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.016)
N	9359	11354	20713

Note. The outcome variable is the question: "All things considered, doctors can be trusted," coded 1 if the respondent answers either "agree" or "strongly agree," 0 otherwise. The data-set includes responses from countries that are included in both the 2011 and 2021 ISSP survey (Croatia, Denmark, Finland, German, Italy, Japan, Norway, Phillipines, Poland, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia). The predictor variable "Party Category" is a five-point scale of party family (as coded by the ISSP 2011/2021) from "Far left" to "Far Right" (see x-axis for coding in the figure, above). The first category are the OLS regression results for trust by party category in 2011, column 2 is for year 2021. Positive values mean that the further right a political party is, the less its voters say doctors can be trusted. The third column, the interaction variable $Party \times Year$ is the difference between 2011 and 2021.

9 Sample Demographics

Table 6: NORC-Amerispeak 2022 (Weighted)

	Statistic	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Weight
1	BA	1067.00	0.35	0.48	0.00	1.00	1.00
2	White	1067.00	0.62	0.49	0.00	1.00	1.00
3	Black	1067.00	0.12	0.33	0.00	1.00	1.00
4	Hispanic	1067.00	0.17	0.38	0.00	1.00	1.00
5	Asian	1067.00	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	1.00
6	Male	1067.00	0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00	1.00
7	Age	1067.00	47.80	17.96	18.00	94.00	1.00
8	Party	1064.00	3.89	2.10	1.00	7.00	1.00

Table 7: PROLIFIC 2022 (Priming & Conjoint)

	Statistic	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Weight
1	BA	1150.00	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.00
2	White	1150.00	0.72	0.45	0.00	1.00	0.00
3	Black	1150.00	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	0.00
4	Hispanic	1150.00	0.11	0.31	0.00	1.00	0.00
5	Asian	1150.00	0.08	0.27	0.00	1.00	0.00
6	Male	1150.00	0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.00
7	Over 65	1150.00	0.05	0.23	0.00	1.00	0.00
8	Party	1150.00	3.37	2.10	1.00	7.00	0.00

Table 8: PROLIFIC 2023 (ZocDoc Survey)

	Statistic	Obs	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Weight
1	BA	774.00	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.00
2	White	777.00	0.66	0.48	0.00	1.00	0.00
3	Black	777.00	0.10	0.30	0.00	1.00	0.00
4	Hispanic	774.00	0.12	0.33	0.00	1.00	0.00
5	Asian	777.00	0.08	0.28	0.00	1.00	0.00
6	Male	765.00	0.45	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.00
7	Over65	773.00	0.06	0.24	0.00	1.00	0.00
8	Party	773.00	3.48	2.06	1.00	7.00	0.00

10 Survey Wording

10.1 NORC 2022

1. Here is a list of organizations and individuals. For each one, please indicate to what extent you trust them.

   Your doctor/ Your member of Congress / Judges / Your neighbors

   (a) A great deal
   (b) Somewhat
   (c) Not too much
   (d) Not at all

2. Now as far as people running each of the following institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

   Medicine / The Police / Science / Law Firms

   (a) A great deal of confidence
   (b) Some confidence
   (c) Hardly any confidence

3. How closely would you say you follow your doctor's advice or treatment recommendations, such as, taking medications as instructed, returning for follow-up appointments, etc.? Do you follow it extremely closely, very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely, or not at all closely?

   (a) Extremely closely
   (b) Very closely
   (c) Somewhat closely
   (d) Not very closely
   (e) Not at all closely

10.2 Prolific 2022

1. How closely would you say you follow your doctor's advice or treatment recommendations, such as, taking medications as instructed, returning for follow-up appointments, etc.? Adjust the slider from 0 (not at all), to 10 (very closely).

2. Generally speaking, how much do you trust your personal doctor or healthcare provider? Adjust the slider from 0 (do not trust them at all), to 10 (trust them a great deal).

3. When it comes to the people in charge of the healthcare industry, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, hardly any confidence, or no confidence at all in them?

   (a) Great deal of confidence

   (b) Some confidence

   (c) Hardly any confidence

   (d) No confidence at all

4.

NEWS

Trump bashes Anthony Fauci as 'a Democrat' and 'Cuomo's friend'

Anthony Fauci has been the nation's leading medical doctor throughout the coronavirus pandemic. Some people have accused Fauci of being a Democrat (see headline above). Do you believe Fauci leans towards one party or the other?

   (a) Yes

   (b) No

   (c) Not sure

10.3   Prolific 2023

1. There are growing ways to seek healthcare, including online navigators that connect patients to healthcare providers. One such navigator is [**"Zocdoc.com"/ "conservativeprofessionals.com"**] which connects potential patients to physicians and other health professionals [**/ who hold conservative values**].

   How likely are you to seek healthcare from websites like [**zocdoc.com/ conservativeprofessionals.com**]?

   (a) Extremely likely

   (b) Likely

   (c) Somewhat likely

   (d) Neither likely or unlikely

   (e) Somewhat unlikely

   (f) Unlikely

   (g) Extremely unlikely

2. Would you be willing to share your Prolific email to learn more information about [**Zocdoc.com/ conservativeprofessionals.com**]?

   (a) Yes

   (b) No

3. How much of the time do you think you can trust doctors and other healthcare providers to do what is right for you or your community?

   (a) Almost all of the time

   (b) Most of the time

   (c) Some of the time

   (d) Almost none of the time

4. Generally speaking, how much do you trust your personal doctor or healthcare provider? Adjust the slider from 0 (do not trust them at all), to 10 (trust them a great deal).

5. How would you describe the political views of the following groups and people: [Most medical doctors / Your personal doctor]

   (a) Extremely liberal

   (b) Liberal

   (c) Slightly liberal

   (d) Moderate

   (e) Slightly conservative

   (f) Conservative

   (g) Extremely conservative

   (h) Not sure

11   Publicly Available Historical Data

1. (FROM AARP 2013) I'm going to read you a list of organizations and individuals. For each one, please tell me to what extent you trust them. How about ...? Your doctor Would you say ...?

   (a) A great deal

   (b) Somewhat

   (c) Not too much

   (d) Not at all

   (e) Don't know Refused (Vol.)

2. (FROM AARP 2011, U.S. Adults, 50+) How closely would you say you follow your doctor's advice or treatment recommendations (such as, taking medications as instructed, returning for follow-up appointments, etc.)? Do you follow it...?

   (a) Extremely closely

   (b) Very closely

   (c) Somewhat closely

   (d) Not very closely

   (e) Not at all closely

   (f) Don't know / Refused (Vol.)

3. (FROM CCES 2019) As far as the people running each institution are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all? [Grid shown with various institutions including "Medicine"]

   (a) A great deal of confidence

   (b) Some confidence

   (c) Hardly any confidence

12 Human Subjects

This research involves human subjects and complies with APSA's Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research (we do not seek any exceptions to the Principles laid out by APSA). The research was deemed exempt by the IRB. Respondents were provided a consent script outlining the purpose of the study, and participation was voluntary. Respondents were aware that they were part of a research study and the study did not involve deception. Participants' confidentiality was maintained and risk posed to participants was avoided and the survey did not compromise the integrity of political processes. Subjects were compensated $1.35 for the 2022 surveys across both waves conducted on Prolific which worked out to $12 per hour for wave 1 for the median respondent and $18 per hour for the median respondent in wave 2. Respondents in the Prolific 2023 sample were paid $1 for a median completion time of about 3.5 minutes. NORC compensated their panel respondents directly in accordance with their standard compensation procedures.