# Supplemental Appendix: Trust in Government and American Public Opinion Toward Foreign Aid

Supplemental Appendix A: Detail on Variable Coding & Creation (pp. 1 - 8)

Supplemental Appendix B: Various Supplemental Analyses (pp. 9 - 17)

# Appendix A

The following pages provide information on how each variable (in Tables 1-4) was created and coded. Additional information on the surveys that I used, including the codebooks and data in Stata format are available at the following links (see below). I will also make all data publicly available for replication in the Harvard Dataverse upon acceptance for publication.

ANES Cross-Section (1996-2008) = https://electionstudies.org/data-center/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/.

 $ANES\ Panel\ (1994-1996) = \texttt{https://electionstudies.org/data-center/1992-1997-merged-file/}.$ 

 $ANES\ Panel\ (2002-2004) = \texttt{https://electionstudies.org/data-center/2000-2004-merged-file/.}$ 

 $\label{local_codebook} Codebook for GSS~2006-2014~Panels = \verb|https://gss.norc.org/Documents/codebook/Panel%~20Codebook.pdf$ 

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GSS \ Panel \ (06-08-10) = \texttt{https://gss.norc.org/Documents/stata/GSS\_2006\_Panel\_Stata.zip.}
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GSS Panel (08-10-12) = https://gss.norc.org/Documents/stata/GSS\_2008\_Panel\_Stata.zip.

GSS Panel (10-12-14) = https://gss.norc.org/Documents/stata/GSS\_2010\_Panel\_Stata.zip.

## Variable Creation & Coding

The text in italics refer to the name in each variable name. All descriptive statistics are based on unweighted survey data.

#### ANES, 1996-2008

In some survey years, not all respondents were asked all questions. For example, one of the political trust questions (VCF0604) was not asked in the same way to all respondents in the 2008 ANES. This is the primary factor that reduces my valid sample size, but not to the point of being statistically unreliable. For isolationism, which was asked in two different ways in the 2000 ANES (V000513a & V000513b), I created an appropriate combined variable (0 vs. 1) and merged data from this individual ANES survey into the larger ANES cumulative file. In short, my variable called *Isolationism* is constructed from both individual the 2000 ANES and the Cumulative ANES. For social trust, which was asked in two different ways in the 2008 ANES (both versions were included in the larger ANES cumulative file), I created a variable called  $Combo\_Trust\_People$  which harmonizes responses across versions of the 2008 ANES. I coded my data in this way to (1) ensure that my main concept of interest, political trust, was measured as similarly as possible for all ANES respondents and (2) to ensure that I had a roughly equal number of respondents (N  $\approx$  1,000) for each of the four ANES survey years I examine here (1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008).

## • Foreign Aid Spending Support

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Created from VCF0892
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Coded as follows: 1 = decreased; 2 = same; 3 = increased

Mean = 1.61; Standard Deviation = 0.658; Min = 1; Max = 3

Valid N = 6,980

#### • Political Trust

Created from *VCF0604*, *VCF0605*, *VCF0606*, and *VCF0608* 

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = higher political trust)

Mean = 0.350; Standard Deviation = 0.193; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 4.928

#### • Age

Created from VCF0101

Coded in years (higher values = older)

Mean = 47.4; Standard Deviation = 17.2; Min = 18; Max = 97

Valid N = 6,999

#### • Female

Created from VCF0104

Coded as follows: 0 = male; 1 = female

Mean = 0.557; Standard Deviation = 0.497; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 7,055

#### • White

Created from VCF0105b

Coded as follows: 0 = Non-White; 1 = White, non-Hispanic

Mean = 0.667; Standard Deviation = 0.471; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6,981

#### • Both Parents Born in USA

Created from VCF0143

Coded as follows: 0 = no; 1 = yes

Mean = 0.853; Standard Deviation = 0.354; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 7.025

#### • College Degree

Created from VCF0110

Coded as follows: 0 = grade school or less/high school/some college; 1 = college or advanced degree

Mean = 0.268; Standard Deviation = 0.443; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 7.031

## • Home Ownership

Created from VCF0146

Coded as follows: 0 = no; 1 = yes

Mean = 0.660; Standard Deviation = 0.474; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 7.025

#### • Married

Created from VCF0147

Coded as follows: 0 = no; 1 = yes

Mean = 0.493; Standard Deviation = 0.500; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 7,025

#### • High Family Income

Created from VCF0114

Coded as follows: 0 = 0.67th percentile/refused to answer; 1 = 68-100th percentile

Mean = 0.252; Standard Deviation = 0.434; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 7,055

## • Daily Newspaper Reader

Created from VCF9033

Coded as follows: 0 = none/0.6 days; 1 = every day

Mean = 0.287; Standard Deviation = 0.452; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 5,888

#### Partisanship

Created from VCF0301

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = stronger Republican partisanship)

Mean = 0.433; Standard Deviation = 0.344; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.975

#### • Ideology

Created from VCF0803

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = stronger conservatism; DK/Haven't thought much = Moderate)

Mean = 0.530; Standard Deviation = 0.212; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.107

## • Egalitarian Values

Created from VCF9013, VCF9014, VCF9015, VCF9016, VCF9017, VCF9018

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = stronger egalitarianism)

Mean = 0.611; Standard Deviation = 0.197; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6,177

#### • Traditionalist Values

Created from VCF0851, VCF0852, VCF0853, VCF0854

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = stronger traditionalism)

Mean = 0.585; Standard Deviation = 0.212; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6,179

#### • Isolationism

Created from VCF0823 (in the Cumulative ANES) and from V000513a & V000513b (in the 2000 ANES)

Coded as follows: 0 = disagree the U.S. is better off if unconcerned with rest of the world; 1 = agree the U.S. is better off if unconcerned with rest of the world

Mean = 0.277; Standard Deviation = 0.448; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.880

#### • Social Trust

Created from VCF0619 and VCF9244

Coded as follows: 0 = generally cannot trust people; 1 = generally can trust people

Mean = 0.411; Standard Deviation = 0.492; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.614

#### • Feeling Thermometer: Poor People

Created from VCF0223

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = warmer feelings toward poor people)

Mean = 0.740; Standard Deviation = 0.191; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.036

#### • Evaluations: National Economy

Created from VCF0871

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = more positive evaluations)

Mean = 0.388; Standard Deviation = 0.313; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.991

#### • Evaluations: Personal Finances

Created from VCF088a

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = more positive evaluations)

Mean = 0.515; Standard Deviation = 0.288; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6,903

## • Preferred Immigration Levels (only in secondary model as a robustness check)

Created from VCF0879a

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = pro-immigration sentiment)

Mean = 0.313; Standard Deviation = 0.332; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6,349

## ANES Panel, 1994-1996

This is a two-wave panel, in which the same ANES respondents answered questions in both 1994 and 1996. The Valid N consists of people who answered questions about political trust and foreign aid spending in both panel waves.

• Foreign Aid Spending Support - 1994

Created from V940818

Coded as follows: 0 = decreased/cut out entirely; 0.5 = kept about the same; 1 = increased

Mean = 0.257; Standard Deviation = 0.313; Min = 0; Max = 1 Valid N = 1.738

• Foreign Aid Spending Support - 1996

Created from V960499

Coded as follows: 0 = decreased/cut out entirely; 0.5 = kept about the same; 1 = increased

Mean = 0.230; Standard Deviation = 0.298; Min = 0; Max = 1 Valid N = 1,686

• Political Trust - 1994

Created from V941033, V941034, V941035, and V941036

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = higher political trust)

Mean = 0.284; Standard Deviation = 0.181; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 1,659

• Political Trust - 1996

Created from V961251, V961252, V961253, and V961254

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = higher political trust)

Mean = 0.334; Standard Deviation = 0.186; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 1,455

#### ANES Panel, 2002-2004

This is a two-wave panel, in which the same ANES respondents answered questions in both 2002 and 2004. The Valid N consists of people who answered questions about political trust and foreign aid spending in both panel waves.

• Foreign Aid Spending Support - 2002

Created from M025116X

Coded as follows: 0 = decreased/cut out entirely; 0.5 = kept about the same; 1 = increased

Mean = 0.322; Standard Deviation = 0.324; Min = 0; Max = 1 Valid N = 1.059

• Foreign Aid Spending Support - 2004

Created from M045076

Coded as follows: 0 = decreased/cut out entirely; 0.5 = kept about the same; 1 = increased

Mean = 0.310; Standard Deviation = 0.324; Min = 0; Max = 1 Valid N = 829

• Political Trust - 2002

Created from M025174, M025175, M025176, and M025177

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = higher political trust)

Mean = 0.438; Standard Deviation = 0.201; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 1,007

• Political Trust - 2004

Created from M045149, M045150, M045151, and M045152

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = higher political trust)

Mean = 0.393; Standard Deviation = 0.198; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 788

#### Combined GSS Panel Dataset, 2006-2014

As mentioned in the main paper, this dataset was created by combining responses to survey questions from the 2006-2008-2010, 2008-2010-2012, and 2010-2012-2014 GSS panels. I restricted the final sample to the 2,328 GSS respondents who answered questions about political trust (confed + conlegis), which ask respectively about confidence in the executive branch and confidence in Congress, and foreign aid spending (nataid & nataidy), which respectively ask about spending on foreign aid and spending on assistance to other countries, in all three waves of their respective panel studies. The valid N is 6,984 because each of the 2,328 individuals gave three valid survey responses.

## • Foreign Aid Spending Support

Created from  $nataid\_1$ ,  $nataid\_2$ ,  $nataid\_3$ ,  $nataidy\_1$ ,  $nataidy\_2$  and  $nataidy\_3$  (2006-2008-2010 GSS)

Created from

Created from nataid\_1, nataid\_2, nataid\_3, nataidy\_1, nataidy\_2 and nataidy\_3 (2008-2010-2012 GSS)

Created from

Created from  $nataid\_1$ ,  $nataid\_2$ ,  $nataid\_3$ ,  $nataidy\_1$ ,  $nataidy\_2$  and  $nataidy\_3$  (2010-2012-2014 GSS)

Coded as follows: (0 = too little/about the right amount; 1 = too much)

Mean = 0.676; Standard Deviation = 0.468; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6,984 (2,328 individuals  $\times$  3 panel waves)

## • Political Trust

Created from  $confed_1$ ,  $confed_2$ ,  $confed_3$ ,  $conlegis_1$ ,  $conlegis_2$ , and  $conlegis_3$  (2006-2008-2010 GSS)

Created from  $confed_1$ ,  $confed_2$ ,  $confed_3$ ,  $conlegis_1$ ,  $conlegis_2$ , and  $conlegis_3$  (2008-2010-2012 GSS)

Created from confed\_1, confed\_2, confed\_3, conlegis\_1, conlegis\_2, and conlegis\_3 (2010-2012-2014 GSS)

Coded to range between 0 and 1 (higher values = higher political trust/confidence in government)

Mean = 0.339; Standard Deviation = 0.279; Min = 0; Max = 1

Valid N = 6.984 (2.328 individuals  $\times$  3 panel waves)

# Appendix B

The following pages present results from additional regression models associated with main paper. These are (Table B1) analyses that restrict the sample to non-Hispanic Whites and control for a measure of ethnocentrism, (Table B2) analyses that control for a measure of authoritarianism, and (Table B3) analyses that control for feelings toward Muslims.

As mentioned in the main text these models do not include data from all four ANES years (1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008). This is because some of the questions were not included in all survey years. For instance, the models (Table B1) that control for ethnocentrism (among Whites) omit ANES data from 1996, the models (Table B2) that control for authoritarianism (among all respondents) omit ANES data from 1996, and the models (Table B3) that control for feelings toward Muslims (among all respondents) omit ANES data from 1996 and 2000.

These regression models are presented on the next pages.

Ethnocentrism is created from VCF0206, VCF0207, VCF0217, and VCF0227. I construct it (for Whites) by averaging feeling thermometer ratings (cold  $\rightarrow$  warm; each range 0-97) of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, and then subtracting that value from Whites' feeling thermometer rating of Whites (cold  $\rightarrow$  warm; ranges 0-97). This variable is re-coded to range between 0 and 1 and has (for Whites from 2000-2008; data for Asian feeling thermometer ratings is missing for 1996) a mean of 0.538 and a standard deviation of 0.087. The valid N = 2,772. Higher values = higher levels of ethnocentrism, which I expect to negatively correlate with support for foreign aid (Kam and Kinder 2007).

Table B1: Political Trust and Foreign Aid Spending Among Whites When Controlling for a Measure of Ethnocentrism, 2000-2008

Etimocentrism, 2000-2006		
	$\mathrm{DV} = \mathrm{Foreign} \ \mathrm{Aid} \ \$$	
	coef	(se)
Political Trust	0.577	(0.173)***
Ethnocentrism	-0.677	(0.375)*
Age	0.002	(0.002)
Female	0.084	(0.064)
White		
Parents_Native_Born	-0.076	(0.109)
College	0.055	(0.070)
$Home\_Ownership$	-0.225	(0.079)***
Married	0.079	(0.067)
High_Income	-0.023	(0.075)
Daily_Newspaper	-0.025	(0.074)
Partisanship01	-0.110	(0.114)
Ideology01	-0.553	(0.190)***
$Index\_Egalitarianism01$	0.462	(0.186)**
$Index\_Traditionalism01$	-0.622	(0.177)***
Isolationism	-0.584	(0.083)***
Combo_Trust_People	0.006	(0.065)
FT_Poor01	0.532	(0.177)***
National_Econ_Retro01	0.232	(0.139)*
Personal_Econ_Retro01	0.215	(0.123)*
Constant cut1	-0.220	(0.344)
Constant cut2	1.295	(0.343)***
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	
Observations	1,509	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.083	

Authoritarianism is created from VCF9246, VCF9247, VCF9248, and VCF9249. I construct it by summing responses (all dichotomous responses forming a scale that ranges 0 to 4 before re-coding) to these four child-rearing questions (e.g., Hetherington and Suhay 2011). This variable is re-coded to range between 0 and 1 and has (from 2000-2008; data is missing for 1996) a mean of 0.546 and a standard deviation of 0.334. The valid N = 4,677. Higher values = higher levels of authoritarianism, which I expect to negatively correlate with support for foreign aid.

Table B2: Political Trust and Foreign Aid Spending When Controlling for Authoritarianism, 2000-2008

	DV = I	Foreign Aid \$
	coef	(se)
Political Trust	0.706	(0.133)***
Authoritarianism	0.081	(0.081)
Age	-0.002	(0.002)
Female	0.054	(0.050)
White	-0.235	(0.060)***
Parents_Native_Born	-0.083	(0.074)
College	0.022	(0.059)
$Home\_Ownership$	-0.113	(0.059)*
Married	-0.010	(0.051)
High_Income	-0.059	(0.061)
Daily_Newspaper	-0.011	(0.059)
Partisanship01	-0.187	(0.088)**
Ideology01	-0.269	(0.145)*
$Index\_Egalitarianism01$	0.342	(0.145)**
$Index\_Traditionalism01$	-0.683	(0.137)***
Isolationism	-0.473	(0.061)***
Combo_Trust_People	0.017	(0.053)
FT_Poor01	0.450	(0.133)***
National_Econ_Retro01	0.265	(0.109)**
Personal_Econ_Retro01	0.087	(0.090)
Constant cut1	-0.178	(0.223)
Constant cut2	1.247	(0.223)***
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	
Observations	2,394	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.066	

Feelings toward Muslims, an especially salient social group in post-9/11 U.S. public opinion (e.g., Sides and Gross 2013), is created from VCF9267. This variable is re-coded to range between 0 and 1 and has (from 2004-2008; data is missing for 1996 and 2000) a mean of 0.526 and a standard deviation of 0.227. The valid N = 2,971. Higher values = warmer feelings toward Muslims, which I expect to positively correlate with support for foreign aid.

Table B3: Political Trust and Foreign Aid Spending When Controlling for Feelings Toward Muslims, 2004-2008

2004-2	2008	
	DV = Foreign Aid \$	
	coef	(se)
Political Trust	0.627	(0.156)***
FT: Muslims	0.553	(0.154)***
Age	-0.001	(0.002)
Female	0.066	(0.058)
White	-0.292	(0.070)***
Parents_Native_Born	-0.070	(0.088)
College	-0.020	(0.068)
$Home\_Ownership$	-0.113	(0.069)
Married	-0.039	(0.060)
High_Income	-0.051	(0.070)
Daily_Newspaper	0.003	(0.072)
Partisanship01	-0.137	(0.108)
Ideology01	-0.274	(0.172)
$Index\_Egalitarianism01$	0.242	(0.176)
$Index\_Traditionalism01$	-0.709	(0.158)***
Isolationism	-0.442	(0.072)***
$Combo\_Trust\_People$	-0.024	(0.062)
FT_Poor01	0.321	(0.166)*
National_Econ_Retro01	0.410	(0.141)***
Personal_Econ_Retro01	0.054	(0.101)
Constant cut1	0.002	(0.253)
Constant cut2	1.397	(0.254)***
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	
Observations	1,754	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.074	

Here I employ an alternative measure of political trust in the ANES, a feeling thermometer rating (cold  $\rightarrow$  warm; ranges 0-97) of the Federal Government. This is created from VCF0231. This variable is re-coded to range between 0 and 1 and has (from 1996-2008) a mean of 0.554 and a standard deviation of 0.217. The valid N = 6,116. Higher values = warmer feelings toward the Federal Government, which I expect to positively correlate with support for foreign aid.

Table B4: Feelings Toward the Federal Government and Foreign Aid Spending, 1996-2008

	DV = I	Foreign Aid \$
	coef	(se)
FT: Federal Government	0.861	(0.109)***
Age	-0.002	(0.001)
Female	0.044	(0.040)
White	-0.223	(0.050)***
Parents_Native_Born	-0.049	(0.059)
College	0.049	(0.046)
Home_Ownership	-0.082	(0.047)*
Married	-0.041	(0.042)
High_Income	-0.087	(0.048)*
Daily_Newspaper	0.043	(0.047)
Partisanship01	-0.002	(0.070)
Ideology01	-0.311	(0.116)***
$Index\_Egalitarianism01$	0.287	(0.116)**
$Index\_Traditionalism01$	-0.600	(0.111)***
Isolationism	-0.482	(0.049)***
$Combo\_Trust\_People$	0.050	(0.041)
FT_Poor01	0.147	(0.115)
National_Econ_Retro01	0.192	(0.089)**
Personal_Econ_Retro01	0.027	(0.075)
Constant cut1	0.174	(0.174)
Constant cut2	1.615	(0.176)***
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	
Observations	3,849	
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.074	

Here, I conduct an analysis that interacts political trust (ranges 0-1; low  $\rightarrow$  high) with the core political value of egalitarianism (ranges 0-1; low  $\rightarrow$  high). This uses the same controls as the main model (column 1 in Table 2 of the paper). Given that this is an interaction between two continuous variables, I also present the marginal effects plot (Figure B1) for the modal outcome of "1" (decrease spending).

Table B5: Political Trust, Egalitarianism, and Foreign Aid Spending, 1996-2008

	DV = I	Foreign Aid \$
	coef	(se)
Political Trust	1.286	(0.334)***
Egalitarianism	0.497	(0.219)**
Political Trust $\times$ Egalitarianism	-0.666	(0.533)
Age	-0.000	(0.001)
Female	0.054	(0.040)
White	-0.264	(0.050)***
Parents_Native_Born	-0.067	(0.059)
College	0.046	(0.046)
Home_Ownership	-0.091	(0.048)*
Married	-0.058	(0.042)
High_Income	-0.084	(0.049)*
Daily_Newspaper	0.032	(0.047)
Partisanship01	-0.048	(0.071)
Ideology01	-0.286	(0.119)**
$Index\_Traditionalism01$	-0.520	(0.112)***
Isolationism	-0.475	(0.049)***
Combo_Trust_People	-0.005	(0.043)
FT_Poor01	0.385	(0.110)***
National_Econ_Retro01	0.183	(0.090)**
Personal_Econ_Retro01	0.035	(0.075)
Constant cut1	0.313	(0.208)
Constant cut2	1.751	(0.209)***
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	
Observations	3,756	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.074	

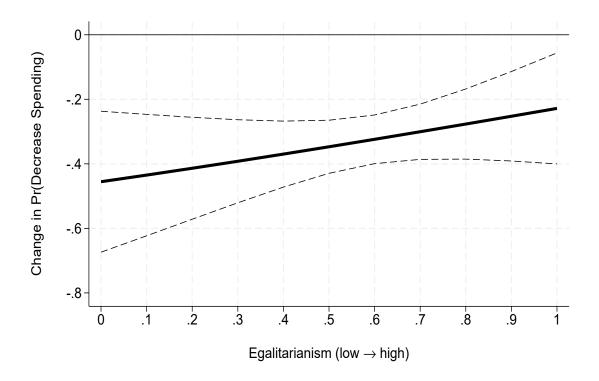


Figure B1: Political Trust, Egalitarianism, and Support for Decreasing Foreign Aid Spending, 1996-2008

Note: Shows the marginal effect of a minimum to maximum shift in political trust  $(0 \to 1; \text{low} \to \text{high})$  on the probability of favoring decreased spending on foreign aid, at varying levels of egalitarianism (also ranges 0-1; low  $\to$  high). Based on the regression model in Appendix Table B5. Thick black line shows the marginal effect; thin dashed lines are 95% confidence intervals.

Here, I conduct an analysis that interacts political trust (ranges 0-1; low  $\rightarrow$  high) with the core political value of traditionalism (ranges 0-1; low  $\rightarrow$  high). This uses the same controls as the main model (column 1 in Table 2 of the paper). Given that this is an interaction between two continuous variables, I also present the marginal effects plot (Figure B2) for the modal outcome of "1" (decrease spending).

Table B6: Political Trust, Traditionalism, and Foreign Aid Spending, 1996-2008

	DV = I	Foreign Aid \$
	coef	(se)
Political Trust	0.501	(0.311)
Traditionalism	-0.755	(0.209)***
Political Trust $\times$ Traditionalism	0.680	(0.506)
Age	-0.000	(0.001)
Female	0.054	(0.040)
White	-0.270	(0.050)***
Parents_Native_Born	-0.066	(0.059)
College	0.045	(0.046)
Home_Ownership	-0.093	(0.048)*
Married	-0.057	(0.042)
High_Income	-0.084	(0.049)*
Daily_Newspaper	0.032	(0.047)
Partisanship01	-0.050	(0.070)
Ideology01	-0.282	(0.119)**
Index_Egalitarianism01	0.263	(0.117)**
Isolationism	-0.476	(0.049)***
Combo_Trust_People	-0.005	(0.043)
FT_Poor01	0.385	(0.110)***
National_Econ_Retro01	0.184	(0.090)**
Personal_Econ_Retro01	0.033	(0.075)
Constant cut1	0.036	(0.203)
Constant cut2	1.473	(0.204)***
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	
Observations	3,756	
Pseudo $R^2$	0.074	

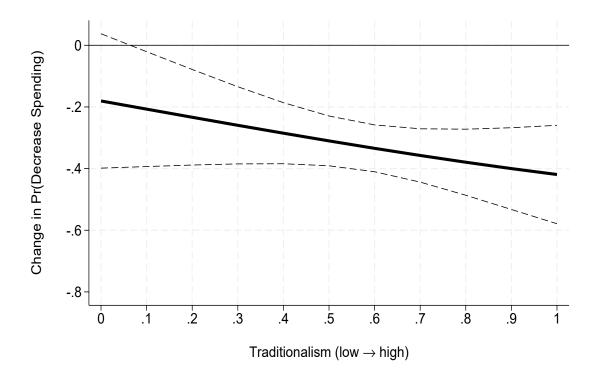


Figure B1: Political Trust, Traditionalism, and Support for Decreasing Foreign Aid Spending, 1996-2008

Note: Shows the marginal effect of a minimum to maximum shift in political trust  $(0 \to 1; \text{low} \to \text{high})$  on the probability of favoring decreased spending on foreign aid, at varying levels of traditionalism (also ranges 0-1; low  $\to$  high). Based on the regression model in Appendix Table B6. Thick black line shows the marginal effect; thin dashed lines are 95% confidence intervals.