Supplemental Appendix:

Political Trust and Support for Immigration in the American Mass Public

Table of Contents

Appendix A

- Descriptive statistics, 2016 ANES Page 1
- Descriptive statistics, 2012 ANES Page 2
- Descriptive statistics, Cumulative ANES Page 3
- Descriptive statistics, 2000-2002-2004 ANES panel Page 3
- Descriptive statistics, 1992-1994-1996 ANES panel Page 4
- Detail on variable coding, 2016 ANES Pages 4-6
- Detail on variable coding, 2012 ANES Pages 6-7
- Detail on variable coding, Cumulative ANES Pages 8-9

Appendix B

- Factor analyses, 2016 ANES Pages 9-10
- Factor analyses, 2012 ANES Pages 11-12
- Factor analyses, Cumulative ANES Pages 12-13
- Factor analyses, 2000-2002-2004 ANES panel Pages 13-14
- Factor analyses, 1992-1994-1996 ANES panel Page 14
- Factor analyses, 2010-2012-2014 GSS panel Page 15

Appendix C

- Models separately examining Democrats and Republicans, 2016 ANES (Table 4 in the main paper) - Page 16
- Full models for the 2012 ANES and 1992-2008 CANES (Table 5 in the main paper) Pages 17-18
- Model that controls for feeling thermometer rating of Donald Trump (Footnote 12 in the main paper) Page 21
- Models examining the full sample and just non-Hispanic whites, 2016 ANES (Footnote 16 in the main paper) Page 22
- Simple and baseline models, 2016 ANES (Footnote 17 in the main paper) Page 23
- Separate models for each immigration policy question, 2016 ANES (Footnote 17 in the main paper) Pages 23-28
- Panel analyses exploring how immigration attitudes change when partisan control of government changes (Footnote 19 in the main paper) Page 29
- Correlation coefficients for political trust and immigration attitudes across panels (Footnote 24 in the main paper) Page 30
- Cross-lagged panel regression models with additional controls (Footnote 25 in the main paper) Page 31

Appendix D

- Model regressing demographics, party ID, and ideology on experimental treatment status (Footnote 28 in the main paper) Page 32
- The articles used in each experimental treatment condition Pages 33-34
- The questions asked of respondents in the MTurk survey Pages 35-36

Appendix A

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1: 2016 ANES Descriptive Statistics

	Obs	Variable	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
1	4247	Immig birthright citizenship	4.202	2.175	1.000	7.000
2	4195	Immig children citizenship	4.661	1.560	1.000	6.000
3	4248	Immig Mexico wall	4.419	2.375	1.000	7.000
4	4212	Immig undocumented policy	2.612	0.877	1.000	4.000
5	3622	Immig levels	2.527	1.139	1.000	5.000
6	3525	Pro-immigration factor score	0.553	0.239	-0.000	1.000
7	4249	Trust gov right	2.446	0.894	1.000	5.000
8	4214	Trust gov interests	1.170	0.376	1.000	2.000
9	4245	Trust gov waste	1.310	0.530	1.000	3.000
10	4223	Trust gov corrupt	2.913	0.885	1.000	5.000
11	4177	Political trust factor score	0.313	0.184	0.000	1.000
12	4271	Online survey mode	0.723	0.447	0.000	1.000
13	4219	Female	0.529	0.499	0.000	1.000
14	4150	Age	49.576	17.581	18.000	90.000
15	4238	White	0.717	0.451	0.000	1.000
16	4232	Education	2.128	0.793	1.000	3.000
17	4244	Married	0.505	0.500	0.000	1.000
18	4234	Homeowner	0.624	0.485	0.000	1.000
19	4069	Income	0.507	0.365	0.000	1.000
20	4239	Both parents born in the U.S.?	0.814	0.389	0.000	1.000
21	4252	National economy evaluations in past year	0.478	0.268	0.000	1.000
22	4258	Personal financial situation in past year	0.507	0.245	0.000	1.000
23	4248	Party ID (Republican direction)	0.476	0.359	0.000	1.000
24	4248	Ideology (Conservative direction)	0.523	0.235	0.000	1.000
25	3630	Authoritarianism: independence vs. respect for elders	2.475	0.869	1.000	3.000
26	3636	Authoritarianism: curiosity vs. good manners	2.283	0.948	1.000	3.000
27	3625	Authoritarianism: obedience vs. self-reliance	1.948	0.989	1.000	3.000
28	3633	Authoritarianism: considerate vs. well-behaved	1.663	0.926	1.000	3.000
29	3617	Authoritarianism factor score	0.560	0.326	0.000	1.000
30	3632	Egalitarianism: ensure equal opportunity	4.171	1.043	1.000	5.000
31	3630	Egalitarianism: worry less about equality	3.066	1.376	1.000	5.000
32	3627	Egalitarianism: unequal chances in life not big problem	3.467	1.185	1.000	5.000
33	3629	Egalitarianism: fewer problems if people treated more equally	3.741	1.116	1.000	5.000
34	3617	Egalitarianism factor score	0.653	0.212	0.000	1.000
35	3640	Moral traditionalism: adjust to changing world	2.979	1.387	1.000	5.000
36	3634	Moral traditionalism: newer lifestyles break down society	3.271	1.339	1.000	5.000
37	3632	Moral traditionalism: more tolerant of other moral standards	2.414	1.187	1.000	5.000
38	3635	Moral traditionalism: more emphasis on traditional family values	3.653	1.270	1.000	5.000
39	3620	Moral traditionalism factor score	0.538	0.243	0.000	1.000
40	3568	Feeling thermometer: Asians	0.689	0.204	0.000	1.000
41	3573	Feeling thermometer: Hispanics	0.681	0.215	0.000	1.000
42	3571	Feeling thermometer: Blacks	0.684	0.212	0.000	1.000
43	3573	Feeling thermometer: Whites	0.717	0.196	0.000	1.000
44	3579	Feeling thermometer: Muslims	0.545	0.254	0.000	1.000

Table 2: 2012 ANES Descriptive Statistics

	Obs	Variable	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
1	5884	Immig undocumented citizenship	2.393	0.765	1.000	3.000
2	5867	Immig undocumented policy	2.575	0.870	1.000	4.000
3	5390	Immig levels	2.539	1.076	1.000	5.000
4	5343	Pro-immigration factor score	0.520	0.230	0.000	1.001
5	5874	Trust gov right	2.145	0.533	1.000	4.000
6	5770	Trust gov interests	1.202	0.402	1.000	2.000
7	5865	Trust gov waste	1.336	0.536	1.000	3.000
8	5799	Trust gov corrupt	3.090	0.906	1.000	5.000
9	5664	Political trust factor score	0.336	0.170	-0.000	1.001
10	5914	Online survey mode	0.653	0.476	0.000	1.000
11	5914	Female	0.519	0.500	0.000	1.000
12	5854	Age	49.442	16.822	17.000	90.000
13	5904	Married	0.498	0.500	0.000	1.000
14	5864	Education	1.960	0.814	1.000	3.000
15	5885	White	0.596	0.491	0.000	1.000
16	5394	Income	0.429	0.359	0.000	1.000
17	5889	Homeowner	0.663	0.473	0.000	1.000
18	5897	Both parents born in the U.S.?	0.793	0.405	0.000	1.000
19	5871	National economy evaluations in past year	0.467	0.280	0.000	1.000
20	5847	Personal financial situation in past year	0.505	0.313	0.000	1.000
21	5890	Party ID (Republican direction)	0.421	0.352	0.000	1.000
22	5856	Ideology (Conservative direction)	0.526	0.233	0.000	1.000
23	5449	Feeling thermometer: Hispanics	0.661	0.226	0.000	1.000
24	5450	Feeling thermometer: Blacks	0.674	0.224	0.000	1.000
25	5453	Feeling thermometer: Whites	0.721	0.197	0.000	1.000
26	5451	Feeling thermometer: Asians	0.657	0.207	0.000	1.000
27	5397	Feeling thermometer: Muslims	0.451	0.234	0.000	1.000
28	5499	Egalitarianism: ensure equal opportunity	4.125	1.094	1.000	5.000
29	5494	Egalitarianism: too far pushing equal rights	3.179	1.314	1.000	5.000
30	5499	Egalitarianism: big problem unequal chance to succeed	3.240	1.272	1.000	5.000
31	5486	Egalitarianism: worry less about equality	3.060	1.280	1.000	5.000
32	5482	Egalitarianism: unequal chances in life not big problem	3.395	1.177	1.000	5.000
33	5491	Egalitarianism: fewer problems if people treated more equally	3.570	1.171	1.000	5.000
34	5453	Egalitarianism factor score	0.604	0.213	0.000	1.000
35	5497	Moral traditionalism: adjust to changing world	3.134	1.392	1.000	5.000
36	5914	Moral traditionalism: newer lifestyles breaking down society	2.825	2.842	-9.000	5.000
37	5495	Moral traditionalism: more tolerant of other moral standards	2.514	1.179	1.000	5.000
38	5490	Moral traditionalism: more emphasis on traditional family values	3.818	1.191	1.000	5.000
39	5478	Moral traditionalism factor score	0.725	0.147	-0.001	1.000
40	5496	Authoritarianism: independence vs. respect for elders	0.770	0.421	0.000	1.000
41	5498	Authoritarianism: curiosity vs. good manners	0.700	0.458	0.000	1.000
42	5490	Authoritarianism: obedience vs. self-reliance	0.555	0.497	0.000	1.000
43	5499	Authoritarianism: considerate vs. well-behaved	0.365	0.482	0.000	1.000
44	5474	Authoritarianism factor score	0.621	0.321	0.002	0.998

Table 3: 1992-2008 CANES Descriptive Statistics

	Obs	Variable	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
1	11492	Immigration levels	1.585	0.654	1.000	3.000
2	12813	Trust gov right	2.368	0.579	1.000	4.000
3	12305	Trust gov interests	1.309	0.462	1.000	2.000
4	12655	Trust gov crooked	1.667	0.650	1.000	3.000
5	12785	Trust gov waste	1.379	0.525	1.000	3.000
6	12014	Political trust factor score	0.336	0.200	0.001	1.000
7	13961	Party ID (Republican direction)	0.450	0.345	0.000	1.000
8	13148	Ideology (Conservative direction)	0.535	0.211	0.000	1.000
9	11046	Feeling thermometer: Hispanics	0.658	0.206	0.000	1.000
10	12417	Feeling thermometer: Whites	0.735	0.189	0.000	1.000
11	10256	Egalitarianism: ensure equal opportunity	4.389	0.944	1.000	5.000
12	11488	Egalitarianism: too far pushing equal rights	2.995	1.386	1.000	5.000
13	10228	Egalitarianism: big problem unequal chance to succeed	3.361	1.321	1.000	5.000
14	10216	Egalitarianism: unequal chance in life not big problem	3.333	1.264	1.000	5.000
15	10211	Egalitarianism: worry less about equality	2.889	1.366	1.000	5.000
16	11506	Egalitarianism: fewer problems if people treated more equally	3.806	1.194	1.000	5.000
17	10092	Egalitarianism factor score	0.613	0.198	0.000	1.001
18	11443	Moral traditionalism: newer lifestyles breaking down society	3.731	1.224	1.000	5.000
19	11489	Moral traditionalism: adjust to changing world	3.086	1.438	1.000	5.000
20	11487	Moral traditionalism: more emphasis on traditional family values	4.191	1.034	1.000	5.000
21	11478	Moral traditionalism: more tolerant of other moral standards	2.491	1.235	1.000	5.000
22	11370	Moral traditionalism factor score	0.611	0.211	-0.000	1.000
23	14044	Age	47.060	17.315	17.000	99.000
24	14127	Female	0.550	0.498	0.000	1.000
25	13982	Education	1.824	0.828	1.000	3.000
26	13978	White	0.720	0.449	0.000	1.000
27	13917	Homeowner	0.675	0.468	0.000	1.000
28	14082	Married	0.519	0.500	0.000	1.000
29	11437	Income	2.843	1.147	1.000	5.000
30	11275	Both parents born in U.S.?	0.844	0.363	0.000	1.000
31	13921	Personal financial situation in past year	0.511	0.278	0.000	1.000
32	13947	National economy evaluations in past year	0.382	0.297	0.000	1.000

Table 4: 2000-2002-2004 ANES Panel Descriptive Statistics

	Obs	Variable	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
1	823	Immigration levels (2004)	2.372	1.018	1.000	5.000
2	1733	Immigration levels (2000)	2.386	1.090	1.000	5.000
3	1067	Trust gov right (2002)	2.586	0.579	1.000	4.000
4	1066	Trust gov waste (2002)	1.535	0.542	1.000	3.000
5	1017	Trust gov interests (2002)	1.490	0.500	1.000	2.000
6	1052	Trust gov corrupt (2002)	1.882	0.638	1.000	3.000
7	1007	Political trust factor score (2002)	0.450	0.207	0.001	1.001
8	837	Trust gov right (2004)	2.478	0.582	1.000	4.000
9	838	Trust gov waste (2004)	1.477	0.539	1.000	3.000
10	803	Trust gov interests (2004)	1.367	0.482	1.000	2.000
11	826	Trust gov corrupt (2004)	1.840	0.639	1.000	3.000
12	788	Political trust factor score (2004)	0.395	0.207	0.001	1.000

Table 5: 1992-1994-1996 ANES Panel Descriptive Statistics

	Obs	Variable	Mean	Std dev	Min	Max
1	965	Immigration levels (1992)	2.432	0.996	1.000	5.000
2	1730	Immigration levels (1994)	1.994	1.011	1.000	5.000
3	1499	Immigration levels (1996)	2.218	0.950	1.000	5.000
4	995	Trust gov right (1992)	2.296	0.554	1.000	4.000
5	992	Trust gov waste (1992)	1.328	0.507	1.000	3.000
6	951	Trust gov interests (1992)	1.210	0.408	1.000	2.000
7	976	Trust gov crooked (1992)	1.626	0.644	1.000	3.000
8	925	Political trust factor score (1992)	0.326	0.205	0.001	1.000
9	1756	Trust gov right (1994)	2.208	0.515	1.000	4.000
10	1756	Trust gov waste (1994)	1.306	0.496	1.000	3.000
11	1675	Trust gov interests (1994)	1.200	0.400	1.000	2.000
12	1739	Trust gov crooked (1994)	1.568	0.642	1.000	3.000
13	1659	Political trust factor score (1994)	0.281	0.183	0.001	1.001
14	1524	Trust gov right (1996)	2.341	0.530	1.000	4.000
15	1525	Trust gov waste (1996)	1.410	0.518	1.000	3.000
16	1470	Trust gov interests (1996)	1.278	0.448	1.000	2.000
17	1513	Trust gov crooked (1996)	1.657	0.635	1.000	3.000
18	1455	Political trust factor score (1996)	0.332	0.190	-0.000	0.999

Variable Coding

The 2016 ANES time series study was obtained from https://electionstudies.org/project/2016-time-series-study/

2016 ANES

- Immigration Birthright Citizenship, Created from V161194x
- Immigration Children Citizenship, Created from V161195x
- Immigration Mexico Border Wall, Created from V161196x
- Undocumented immigration policy, Created from V161192
- Immigration Levels, Created from V162157
- Pro-immigration factor score, Created from V161194x, V161195x, V161196x, V161192, V162157
- Trust gov right, Created from V161215
- Trust gov interests, Created from V161216
- Trust gov waste, Created from V161217
- Trust gov corrupt, Created from V161218
- Political trust factor score, Created from V161215, V161216, V161217, V161218

- Online survey mode, Created from V160501
- Age, Created from V161267
- White, Created from V161310x
- Education, Created from V161270
- Married, Created from V161268
- Homeowner, Created from V161334
- Income, Created from V161361x
- Parents born in the U.S.?, Created from V161315
- Party ID, Created from V161158x
- Ideology, Created from V161126
- National economic evaluations, Created from V161140x
- Personal economic evaluations, Created from V161111
- FT: Asians, Created from V162310
- FT: Hispanics, Created from V162311
- FT: Blacks, Created from V162312
- FT: Whites, Created from V162314
- FT: Muslims, Created from V162106
- Auth: independence vs. respect, Created from V162239
- Auth: curiosity vs. good manners, Created from V162240
- Auth: obedience vs. self-reliance, Created from V162241
- Auth: considerate vs. well-behaved, Created from V162242
- Authoritarianism factor score, Created from V162239, V162240, V162241, V162242
- Egal: ensure equal opportunity, Created from V162243
- Egal: worry less about equality, Created from V162244
- Egal: unequal chances in life not big problem, Created from V162245
- Egal: fewer problems if people treated more equally, Created from V162246
- Egalitarianism factor score, Created from V162243, V162244, V162245, V162246

- Moral trad: adjust to changing world, Created from V162207
- Moral trad: newer lifestyles break down society, Created from V162208
- Moral trad: more tolerant of other moral standards, Created from V162209
- Moral trad: more emphasis on traditional family values, Created from V162210
- Moral traditionalism factor score, Created from V162207, V162208, V162209, V162210

2012 ANES

The 2012 ANES time series study was obtained from https://electionstudies.org/project/2012-time-series-study/

- Undocumented immigrant Citizenship, Created from immig_citizen
- Undocumented immigrant policy, Created from immig_policy
- Immigration levels, Created from immigpo_level
- Pro-immigration factor score, Created from immig_citizen, immig_policy, immig_level
- Trust gov right, Created from trustgov_trustgrev and trustgov_trustgstd
- Trust gov interests, Created from trustgov_bigintrst
- Trust gov waste, Created from trustgov_waste
- Trust gov corrupt, Created from trustgov_corrpt
- Political trust factor score, Created from Trust gov right, Trust gov interests, Trust gov waste, and Trust gov corrupt
- Online survey mode, Created from mode
- Female, Created from gender_respondent_x
- Age group, Created from dem_age_r_x
- Married, Created from dem_marital
- Education, Created from dem_edugroup_x
- White, Created from dem_raceeth_x
- Income, Created from inc_incgroup_pre
- Homeowner, Created from dem3_ownhome
- Parents born in the U.S.?, Created from dem_parents

- National economy evaluations, Created from econ_ecpast
- Personal economic evaluations, Created from finance_finpast_x
- Party ID, Created from pid_x
- Ideology, Created from libcpre_self
- FT: Asians, Created from ftcasi_asian
- FT: Hispanics, Created from ftcasi_hisp
- FT: Blacks, Created from ftcasi_black
- FT: Whites, Created from ftcasi_white
- FT: Muslims, Created from ftgr_muslims
- Egal: ensure equal opportunity, Created from egal_equal
- Egal: too far pushing equal rights, Created from egal_toofar
- Egal: big problem unequal chance to succeed, Created from egal_bigprob
- Egal: worry less about equality, Created from egal_worryless
- Egal: unequal chances in life not big problem, Created from egal_notbigprob
- Egal: fewer problems if people treated more equally, Created from
- Egalitarianism factor, Created from egal_equal, egal_toofar, egal_bigprob, egal_worryless, egal_notbigprob, egal_fewerprobs
- Moral trad: adjust to changing world, Created from trad_adjust
- Moral trad: newer lifestyles breaking down society, Created from trad_lifestyle
- Moral trad: more tolerant of other moral standards, Created from trad_tolerant
- Moral trad: more emphasis on traditional family values, Created from trad_famval
- Moral traditionalism factor score: Created from trad_adjust, trad_lifestyle, trad_tolerant, trad_famval
- Auth: independence vs. respect for elders, Created from auth_ind
- Auth: curiosity vs. good manners, Created from auth_cur
- Auth: obedience vs. self-reliance, Created from auth_obed
- Auth: considerate vs. well-behaved, Created from auth_consid
- Authoritarianism factor score, Created from auth_ind, auth_cur, auth_obed, auth_consid

1992-2008 CANES

The CANES was obtained from https://electionstudies.org/project/anes-time-series-cumulative-data-file/

- Immigration levels, Created from VCF0879a
- Trust gov right, Created from VCF0604
- Trust gov interests, Created from VCF0605
- Trust gov waste, Created from VCF0606
- Trust gov crooked, Created from VCF0608
- Trust in government factor, Created from VCF0604, VCF0605, VCF0606, VCF0608
- Female, Created from VCF0104
- White, Created from VCF0105b
- Age, Created from VCF0101
- Income, Created from VCF0114
- Education, Created from VCF0110
- Homeowner, Created from VCF0146
- Married, Created from VCF0147
- Parents born in the U.S.?, Created from VCF0143
- National economic evaluations, Created from VCF0871
- Personal economic evaluations, Created from VCF0880a
- Party ID, Created from VCF0301
- Ideology, Created from VCF0803
- FT: Whites, Created from VCF0207
- FT: Hispanics, Created from VCF02017
- Egal: ensure equal opportunity, Created from VCF9013
- Egal: too far pushing equal rights, Created from VCF9014
- Egal: big problem unequal chance to succeed, Created from VCF9015
- Egal: unequal chance in life not big problem, Created from VCF9016

- Egal: worry less about equality, Created from VCF9017
- Egal: fewer problems if people treated equally, Created from VCF9018
- Egalitarianism factor score, Created from VCF9013, VCF9014, VCF9015, VCF9016, VCF9017, VCF9018
- Moral trad: newer lifestyles breaking down society, Created from VCF0851
- Moral trad: adjust to changing world, Created from VCF0852
- Moral trad: more emphasis on traditional family values, Created from VCF0853
- Moral trad: more tolerant of other moral standards, Created from VCF0854
- Moral traditionalism factor score, Created from VCF0851, VCF0852, VCF0853, VCF0854

Appendix B

This section displays factor loadings and eigenvalues for all variables that were created from principal components factor analysis (conducted in Stata 14 using the "factor var1 var2, pcf" command followed by the "predict" command). I do this for the 2016 ANES, 2012 ANES, 1992-2008 CANES, 1994-1996 ANES Panel, 2000-2002-2004 ANES Panel, and the 2012-2014 GSS Panel. All of these factor scores are re-scaled to range between 0 and 1 and are used in the regression models. The variable name corresponds to their chronological listing in the respective ANES codebook and in the descriptive statistics, and the variable coding sections in Appendix A. The variable name, as it appears in each ANES/GSS codebook, is listed in parentheses in each factor analysis table below.

2016 ANES Pro-immigration factor score

Variable	Loading
Immig birthright (V61194x) Immig children (V161195x) Immig wall (V161196x) Immig policy (V161192) Immig levels (V162157)	0.667 0.750 0.791 0.747 0.704
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$2.69 \\ 53.7\%$

Political trust factor score

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (V161215) Trust gov interests (V161216) Trust gov waste (V161217) Trust gov corrupt (V161218)	0.731 0.709 0.706 0.711
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$2.04 \\ 51.0\%$

Authoritarianism factor score

Variable	Loading
Auth 1 (V162239) Auth 2 (V162240) Auth 3 (V162241) Auth 4 (V162242)	0.690 0.768 0.726 0.590
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.94 $48.5%$

Egalitarianism factor score

Variable	Loading
Egal 1 (V162243) Egal 2 (V162244) Egal 3 (V162245) Egal 4 (V162246)	0.659 0.745 0.732 0.729
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$2.06 \\ 51.4\%$

Moral traditionalism factor score

Variable	Loading
Moral 1 (V162207) Moral 2 (V162208) Moral 3 (V162209) Moral 4 (V162210)	0.647 0.808 0.700 0.774
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$2.16 \\ 54.0\%$

2012 ANES

Pro-immigration factor score

Variable	Loading
Immig citizen (immig_citizen) Immig policy (immig_policy) Immig levels (immigpo_level)	0.745 0.784 0.704
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$1.66 \\ 55.5\%$

Political trust factor score

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (combines: trustgov_trustgrev and trustgov_truststd) Trust gov interests (trustgov_bigintrst) Trust gov waste (trustgov_waste) Trust gov corrupt (trustgov_corrpt)	0.713 0.703 0.698 0.663
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.93 48.3%

Authoritarianism factor score

Loading
0.653 0.742
0.732 0.570
0.0.0
$\frac{1.84}{46.0\%}$

Egalitarianism factor score

Variable	Loading
Egal 1 (egal_equal) Egal 2 (egal_toofar) Egal 3 (egal_bigprob) Egal 4 (egal_worryless) Egal 5 (egal_notbigprob) Egal 6 (egal_fewerprobs)	0.664 0.707 0.694 0.736 0.663 0.694
Eigenvalue Variance explained	2.88 $48.1%$

Moral traditionalism factor score

Variable	Loading
Moral 1 (trad_adjust) Moral 2 (trad_lifestyle) Moral 3 (trad_tolerant) Moral 4 (trad_famval)	0.675 0.760 0.700 0.744
Eigenvalue Variance explained	2.07 $51.8%$

1992-2008 CANES

Political trust factor score

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (VCF0604) Trust gov interests (VCF0605) Trust gov waste (VCF0606) Trust gov crooked (VCF0608)	0.674 0.731 0.681 0.711
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.96 48.9%

Egalitarianism factor score

Variable	Loading
Egal 1 (VCF9013)	0.551
Egal 2 (VCF9014)	0.669
Egal 3 (VCF9015)	0.617
Egal 4 (VCF9016)	0.630
Egal 5 (VCF9017)	0.675
Egal 6 (VCF9018)	0.632
Eigenvalue	2.38
Variance explained	39.7%

Moral traditionalism factor score

Variable	Loading
Moral trad 1 (VCF0851) Moral trad 2 (VCF0852) Moral trad 3 (VCF0853) Moral trad 4 (VCF0854)	0.742 0.642 0.702 0.684
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.92 $48.1%$

2000-2002-2004 ANES Panel

Political trust factor score, 2002

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (M025174) Trust gov waste (M025175) Trust gov interests (M025176) Trust gov crooked (M025177)	0.728 0.635 0.750 0.719
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$2.01 \\ 50.3\%$

Political trust factor score, 2004

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (M045149) Trust gov waste (M045150) Trust gov interests (M045151) Trust gov crooked (M045152)	0.705 0.657 0.762 0.692
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$1.99 \\ 49.7\%$

1994-1996 ANES Panel

Political trust factor score, 1994

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (M941033) Trust gov waste (M941034) Trust gov interests (M941035) Trust gov crooked (M941036)	0.698 0.686 0.715 0.709
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.97 $49.3%$

Political trust factor score, 1996

Variable	Loading
Trust gov right (M961251) Trust gov waste (M961252) Trust gov interests (M961253) Trust gov crooked (M961254)	0.680 0.668 0.725 0.713
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.94 $48.6%$

2012-2014 GSS Panel

The 2012-2014 GSS panel was a part of the 2010-2012-2014 three-wave panel. The codebook and dataset are available on the GSS website. http://gss.norc.org/getthedata/Pages/STATA.aspx. Both of these variables, similarly to the ANES, were re-scaled to range between 0 and 1.

Political trust factor score, 2012

Variable	Loading
Confidence in legislative branch (conlegis_2) Confidence in executive branch (confed_2)	$0.854 \\ 0.854$
Eigenvalue Variance explained	$1.46 \\ 72.9\%$

Political trust factor score, 2014

Variable	Loading
Confidence in legislative branch (conlegis_3) Confidence in executive branch (confed_3)	$0.834 \\ 0.834$
Eigenvalue Variance explained	1.39 $69.6%$

Appendix C

This appendix includes regression models associated with various Tables and Footnotes in the main paper.

Democrats and Republicans Separately, 2016 ANES

Table 6: Political Trust and Support for Immigration by Partisanship in 2016

	(1))	(2))
	Demod	crats	Republ	icans
Political trust	0.071***	(0.025)	0.181***	(0.033)
Online survey mode	-0.036***	(0.011)	-0.029***	(0.009)
Female	-0.007	(0.008)	0.012	(0.010)
Age	0.000	(0.000)	-0.000	(0.000)
White	-0.008	(0.010)	-0.039*	(0.020)
HS or less (Ref.)				` — <i>'</i>
Some college	-0.006	(0.011)	-0.002	(0.014)
College degree	0.020*	(0.011)	0.044**	(0.017)
Married	0.003	(0.010)	-0.010	(0.014)
Homeowner	-0.001	(0.009)	-0.005	(0.010)
Income	0.000	(0.011)	0.019	(0.018)
Both parents born in the U.S.?	-0.039***	(0.010)	-0.002	(0.017)
National economy in past year	0.067***	(0.016)	0.135***	(0.028)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.012	(0.020)	0.045*	(0.025)
Strong Democrat	0.025***	(0.007)		` — ´
Strong Republican			-0.039***	(0.010)
Ideology	-0.098***	(0.027)	-0.066*	(0.039)
Authoritarianism	-0.076***	(0.020)	-0.050**	(0.019)
Egalitarianism	0.098***	(0.026)	0.056*	(0.030)
Moral traditionalism	-0.139***	(0.030)	-0.076**	(0.030)
FT: Asians	0.014	(0.040)	-0.056	(0.040)
FT: Hispanics	0.276***	(0.045)	0.247***	(0.054)
FT: Blacks	-0.060	(0.042)	0.040	(0.045)
FT: Whites	-0.120***	(0.030)	-0.132***	(0.034)
FT: Muslims	0.103***	(0.022)	0.122***	(0.031)
Constant	0.612***	(0.040)	0.336***	(0.055)
State Fixed Effects?	✓		✓	
Observations	1,43	34	1,28	
R-squared	0.44	12	0.37	7

DVs are pro-immigration factor scores, range from 0 to 1

OLS coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

Full Regression Model, 2012 ANES

Table 7: Political Trust and Support for Immigration in 2012

	В	SE	
Political trust	0.103***	(0.020)	
Online survey mode	-0.018**	(0.007)	
Female	0.004	(0.005)	
Age	0.000	(0.000)	
Married	0.012**	(0.005)	
HS or less (Ref.)		_	
Some college	0.009	(0.006)	
College degree	0.040***	(0.007)	
White	-0.013	(0.008)	
Income	0.011	(0.009)	
Homeowner	0.002	(0.007)	
Both parents born in the U.S.?	-0.058***	(0.008)	
National economic situation in past year	0.097***	(0.012)	
Personal financial situation in past year	0.013	(0.009)	
Party ID	-0.014	(0.011)	
Ideology	-0.028	(0.018)	
FT: Hispanics	0.214***	(0.027)	
FT: Blacks	-0.014	(0.026)	
FT: Whites	-0.133***	(0.020)	
FT: Asians	0.048*	(0.025)	
FT: Muslims	0.123***	(0.018)	
Egalitarianism	0.086***	(0.020)	
Moral traditionalism	-0.180***	(0.020)	
Authoritarianism	-0.071***	(0.013)	
Constant	0.494***	(0.029)	
State Fixed Effects?	\checkmark		
Observations	4,52	25	
R-squared	0.32	21	

DV is pro-immigration factor score, ranges from 0 to 1 OLS coefficients

Source is the 2012 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

Full Regression Model, 1992-2008 CANES

Table 8: Political Trust and Support for Immigration Levels, 1992-2008

	В	SE	
Political trust	0.387***	(0.098)	
Party ID	0.033	(0.063)	
Ideology	0.095	(0.102)	
FT: Hispanics	1.133***	(0.066)	
FT: Whites	-0.529***	(0.075)	
Egalitarianism	0.378***	(0.092)	
Moral traditionalism	-0.715***	(0.113)	
Age	0.001	(0.001)	
Female	0.008	(0.029)	
HS or less (Ref.)		· — ´	
Some college	0.097**	(0.038)	
College degree	0.381***	(0.036)	
White	-0.050	(0.053)	
Homeowner	-0.017	(0.036)	
Married	0.070**	(0.033)	
Income	-0.017	(0.014)	
Both parents born in U.S.?	-0.204***	(0.049)	
Personal financial situation in past year	0.035***	(0.012)	
National economy evaluations in past year	0.029*	(0.015)	
Constant cut1	-0.032	(0.208)	
Constant cut2	1.394***	(0.198)	
Year Fixed Effects?	√		
State Fixed Effects?	\checkmark		
Observations	7,176		

DV is preferred immigration levels (1-3)

Ordered probit coefficients

Source is the 1992-2008 CANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

Full cross-lagged panel models, 1994-1996 ANES, 2000-2002-2004 ANES, 2012-2014 GSS

Table 9: Political Trust and Support for Immigration, 1994-1996

	(1) Immigration support (1996)	(2) Political trust (1996)
Political trust (1994)	0.417**	0.559***
, ,	(0.185)	(0.029)
Immigration support (1994)	0.503***	0.003
	(0.041)	(0.005)
Constant cut1	0.452***	, ,
	(0.095)	
Constant cut2	1.345***	
	(0.105)	
Constant cut3	2.954***	
	(0.146)	
Constant cut4	3.472***	
	(0.176)	
Constant	, ,	0.167***
		(0.013)

Note: Preferred immigration levels ranges from 1-5, with higher levels indicating greater support for immigration. Political trust ranges from 0 to 1. Model 1 uses ordered probit; Model 2 uses OLS. Source is the 1994-1996 ANES panel. Robust standard errors in parentheses. **** p<0.01, *** p<0.05, ** p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table 10: Political Trust and Support for Immigration, 2000-2002-2004

	(1)	(2)
	Immigration support (2004)	Political trust (2004)
Political trust (2002)	0.640***	0.650***
	(0.208)	(0.028)
Immigration support (2000)	0.519***	-0.006
,	(0.048)	(0.006)
Constant cut1	0.740***	, ,
	(0.142)	
Constant cut2	1.625***	
	(0.150)	
Constant cut3	2.996***	
	(0.176)	
Constant cut4	3.748***	
	(0.207)	
Constant	,	0.117***
		(0.019)
Observations	713	681
R-squared		0.429

Note: Preferred immigration levels ranges from 1-5, with higher levels indicating greater support for immigration. Political trust ranges from 0 to 1. Model 1 uses ordered probit; Model 2 uses OLS. Source is the 2000-2002-2004 ANES panel. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table 11: Political Trust and Support for Immigration, 2012-2014

	(1)	(2)
	Immigration Support (2014)	Political Trust (2014)
Political trust (2012)	0.638***	0.498***
	(0.196)	(0.041)
Immigration support (2012)	0.530***	0.006
	(0.056)	(0.009)
Constant cut1	0.579***	, ,
	(0.143)	
Constant cut2	1.381***	
	(0.156)	
Constant cut3	2.708***	
	(0.196)	
Constant cut4	3.342***	
	(0.215)	
Constant	,	0.093***
		(0.024)
Observations	467	467
R-squared		0.296

Note: Preferred immigration levels ranges from 1-5, with higher levels indicating greater support for immigration. Political trust ranges from 0 to 1. Model 1 uses ordered probit; Model 2 uses OLS. Source is the 2012-2014 GSS panel. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Controlling for Trump Feeling Thermometer, 2016 ANES

Table 12: Political Trust and Support for Immigration in 2016

	В	SE
Political trust	0.113***	(0.017)
Online survey mode	-0.046***	(0.006)
Female	-0.006	(0.006)
Age	0.000	(0.000)
White	-0.003	(0.010)
HS or less (Ref.)		` — <i>`</i>
Some college	-0.006	(0.008)
College degree	0.018	(0.011)
Married	0.005	(0.008)
Homeowner	-0.001	(0.006)
Income	-0.006	(0.010)
Parents born in U.S.?	-0.027***	(0.009)
National economy in past year	0.074***	(0.014)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.010	(0.012)
Party ID	-0.016	(0.013)
Ideology	-0.074***	(0.018)
Authoritarianism	-0.060***	(0.009)
Egalitarianism	0.080***	(0.016)
Moral traditionalism	-0.087***	(0.017)
FT: Asians	-0.008	(0.022)
FT: Hispanics	0.258***	(0.025)
FT: Blacks	-0.042*	(0.023)
FT: Whites	-0.086***	(0.021)
FT: Muslims	0.088***	(0.020)
FT: Donald Trump	-0.227***	(0.010)
Constant	0.559***	(0.034)
State Fixed Effects?	\checkmark	
Observations	3,08	32
R-squared	0.58	33

DV is pro-immigration factor score, ranges 0 to 1

OLS coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

All Respondents and Whites separately, 2016 ANES

Table 13: Political Trust and Support for Among All Americans and Whites in 2016

	(1) All Respo		(2) Whit	
Political trust	0.126*** (0.020)		0.138***	(0.019)
Online survey mode	-0.038***	(0.007)	-0.034***	(0.010)
Female	0.000	(0.007)	0.002	(0.007)
Age	-0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)
White	-0.017*	(0.009)		
HS or less (Ref.)				
Some college	-0.008	(0.008)	-0.001	(0.011)
College degree	0.025**	(0.011)	0.038***	(0.012)
Married	0.001	(0.008)	-0.010	(0.009)
Homeowner	-0.003	(0.006)	0.001	(0.009)
Income	0.000	(0.011)	0.005	(0.012)
Parents born in U.S.?	-0.026**	(0.010)	0.002	(0.010)
National economy in past year	0.114***	(0.014)	0.130***	(0.018)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.017	(0.013)	0.023	(0.015)
Party ID	-0.099***	(0.015)	-0.097***	(0.013)
Ideology	-0.106***	(0.019)	-0.114***	(0.022)
Authoritarianism	-0.070***	(0.010)	-0.083***	(0.016)
Egalitarianism	0.097***	(0.017)	0.112***	(0.024)
Moral Traditionalism	-0.115***	(0.019)	-0.102***	(0.019)
FT: Asians	-0.017	(0.022)	-0.026	(0.028)
FT: Hispanics	0.271***	(0.029)	0.235***	(0.037)
FT: Blacks	-0.024	(0.022)	0.011	(0.029)
FT: Whites	-0.119***	(0.022)	-0.119***	(0.024)
FT: Muslims	0.120***	(0.019)	0.119***	(0.021)
Constant	0.492***	(0.033)	0.419***	(0.037)
State Fixed Effects?	✓		✓	
Observations	3,10		2,29	
R-squared	0.53	88	0.57	79

DVs are pro-immigration factor scores, range from 0 to 1

OLS coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

Simple and Baseline Models, 2016 ANES

Below, I display results from a simple baseline, bivariate OLS regression model (political trust and pro-immigration policy support), as well as from a simple model, consistent with the logic in Achen (2002), that examines the relationship between political trust and immigration attitudes when controlling only for party ID (in the Republican direction), Ideology (in the conservative direction), and feelings toward Hispanics (in the warm direction). Results show that political trust exerts a significant influence on support for immigration across model specifications.

Table 14: Simple Models of Political Trust and Support for Immigration in 2016

	(1)	(2))
Political trust	0.430***	(0.021)	0.201***	(0.018)
Party ID		_	-0.156***	(0.012)
Ideology			-0.284***	(0.018)
Feeling thermometer: Hispanics			0.319***	(0.015)
Constant	0.417***	(0.008)	0.492***	(0.015)
Observations	3,40	68	3,39	92
R-squared	0.10	07	0.42	25

DVs are pro-immigration factor scores, range from 0 to 1

OLS coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Separate Models for Each Immigration Policy Question, 2016 ANES

The models below estimate separate ordered probit models for each immigration policy question that was used to create the pro-immigration factor score. The main independent variable here is the political trust factor score, ranging 0 to 1. Each immigration question here is coded in the pro-immigration direction, i.e., opposing the elimination of birthright citizenship, opposing a border wall with Mexico, and favoring increased immigration levels. These immigration policy questions are not coded to range between 0 and 1, but rather: 1-7, 1-6, 1-7, 1-4, and 1-5, respectively.

Birthright Citizenship

Table 15: Political Trust and Support for Keeping Birthright Citizenship in 2016

	В	SE
Political trust	0.340***	(0.119)
Online survey mode	-0.223***	(0.049)
Female	-0.002	(0.035)
Age	-0.005***	(0.001)
White	-0.050	(0.073)
HS or less (Ref.)		` — <i>´</i>
Some college	-0.069	(0.051)
College degree	-0.024	(0.064)
Married	0.037	(0.047)
Homeowner	-0.003	(0.047)
Income	-0.031	(0.064)
Both parents born in U.S.?	-0.183***	(0.055)
National economy evaluations in past year	0.249***	(0.079)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.057	(0.077)
Party ID	-0.350***	(0.082)
Ideology	-0.365**	(0.146)
Authoritarianism	-0.127	(0.080)
Egalitarianism	0.690***	(0.104)
Moral traditionalism	-0.337***	(0.127)
FT: Asians	-0.121	(0.170)
FT: Hispanics	0.840***	(0.197)
FT: Blacks	0.033	(0.151)
FT: Whites	-0.183*	(0.103)
FT: Muslims	0.154	(0.096)
Constant cut1	-1.106***	(0.157)
Constant cut2	-0.666***	(0.157)
Constant cut3	-0.578***	(0.158)
Constant cut4	0.222	(0.160)
Constant cut5	0.323**	(0.159)
Constant cut6	0.766***	(0.162)
State Fixed Effects?	✓	
Observations	3,16	55

DV is support for keeping birthright citizenship (1-7)

Ordered probit coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Citizenship for Undocumented Immigrant Children

Table 16: Political Trust and Support for Citizenship for Children of Undocumented Immigrants in 2016

	В	SE
Political trust	0.388***	(0.128)
Online survey mode	-0.252***	(0.046)
Female	0.023	(0.046)
Age	0.005***	(0.001)
white	-0.100*	(0.057)
HS or less (Ref.)		_
Some college	-0.026	(0.062)
College degree	0.061	(0.075)
Married	0.052	(0.058)
Homeowner	-0.056	(0.054)
Income	-0.102	(0.094)
Both parents born in U.S.?	-0.167**	(0.068)
National economy evaluations in past year	0.339***	(0.088)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.149**	(0.061)
Party ID	-0.276***	(0.081)
Ideology	-0.451***	(0.142)
Authoritarianism	-0.314***	(0.077)
Egalitarianism	0.709***	(0.112)
Moral traditionalism	-0.244**	(0.100)
FT: Asians	0.006	(0.158)
FT: Hispanics	1.573***	(0.189)
FT: Blacks	-0.251	(0.172)
FT: Whites	-0.493***	(0.148)
FT: Muslims	0.435***	(0.122)
Constant cut1	-1.146***	(0.153)
Constant cut2	-0.642***	(0.151)
Constant cut3	-0.506***	(0.150)
Constant cut4	-0.083	(0.152)
Constant cut5	1.019***	(0.166)
State Fixed Effects?	√	
Observations	3,13	37

DV is support for children citizenship (1-6)

Ordered probit coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

^{***} p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Border Wall with Mexico

Table 17: Political Trust and Opposition to a Border Wall with Mexico in 2016

	В	SE
Political trust	0.710***	(0.167)
Online survey mode	-0.211***	(0.049)
Female	0.018	(0.055)
Age	0.000	(0.001)
White	-0.041	(0.072)
HS or less (Ref.)		_
Some college	0.015	(0.049)
College degree	0.230***	(0.061)
Married	-0.047	(0.038)
Homeowner	0.013	(0.048)
Income	0.136**	(0.061)
Both parents born in U.S.?	-0.030	(0.060)
National economy evaluations in past year	0.800***	(0.108)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.163*	(0.091)
Party ID	-0.782***	(0.095)
Ideology	-0.947***	(0.168)
Authoritarianism	-0.334***	(0.072)
Egalitarianism	0.422***	(0.137)
Moral traditionalism	-0.841***	(0.144)
FT: Asians	-0.132	(0.173)
FT: Hispanics	1.111***	(0.153)
FT: Blacks	-0.353**	(0.161)
FT: Whites	-0.352**	(0.149)
FT: Muslims	0.749***	(0.103)
Constant cut1	-1.073***	(0.254)
Constant cut2	-0.617**	(0.254)
Constant cut3	-0.534**	(0.253)
Constant cut4	0.282	(0.254)
Constant cut5	0.363	(0.255)
Constant cut6	0.690***	(0.263)
State Fixed Effects?	√	
Observations	3,15	59

DV is opposition to a border wall with Mexico (1-7)

Ordered probit coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Government Policy Toward Undocumented Immigrants

Table 18: Political Trust and Support for a Path to Citizenship in 2016

	В	SE
Political trust	0.419***	(0.129)
Online survey mode	-0.024	(0.055)
Female	0.032	(0.045)
Age	0.004**	(0.002)
White	-0.049	(0.069)
HS or less (Ref.)	_	· — ′
Some college	-0.093	(0.069)
College degree	0.076	(0.084)
Married	0.014	(0.053)
Homeowner	-0.056	(0.058)
Income	-0.009	(0.079)
Both parents born in the U.S.?	-0.058	(0.098)
National economy evaluations in past year	0.449***	(0.090)
Personal financial situation in past year	-0.023	(0.064)
Party ID	-0.331***	(0.099)
Ideology	-0.583***	(0.130)
Authoritarianism	-0.378***	(0.066)
Egalitarianism	0.304**	(0.127)
Moral traditionalism	-0.303*	(0.171)
FT: Asians	0.007	(0.139)
FT: Hispanics	1.198***	(0.169)
FT: Blacks	0.100	(0.163)
FT: Whites	-0.650***	(0.182)
FT: Muslims	0.378***	(0.104)
Constant cut1	-1.104***	(0.251)
Constant cut2	-0.501**	(0.244)
Constant cut3	1.659***	(0.268)
State Fixed Effects?		\checkmark
Observations		3,144

DV is support for a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants (1-4)

Ordered probit coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses

^{***} p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Immigration Levels

Table 19: Political Trust and Support for Immigration Levels in 2016

	В	SE
Political trust	0.669***	(0.103)
Online survey mode	-0.110*	(0.056)
Female	-0.135***	(0.036)
Age	-0.003**	(0.001)
White	-0.020	(0.061)
HS or less (Ref.)		· — ′
Some college	-0.071	(0.054)
College degree	0.170***	(0.051)
Married	-0.007	(0.045)
Homeowner	0.029	(0.045)
Income	-0.077	(0.074)
Both parents born in U.S.?	-0.163***	(0.061)
National economy evaluations in past year	0.516***	(0.098)
Personal financial situation in past year	0.065	(0.098)
Party ID	-0.206***	(0.076)
Ideology	-0.320**	(0.126)
Authoritarianism	-0.337***	(0.076)
Egalitarianism	0.101	(0.117)
Moral traditionalism	-0.836***	(0.107)
FT: Asians	0.150	(0.187)
FT: Hispanics	0.892***	(0.168)
FT: Blacks	0.173	(0.137)
FT: Whites	-1.001***	(0.146)
FT: Muslims	0.818***	(0.137)
Constant cut1	-0.571***	(0.163)
Constant cut2	0.157	(0.167)
Constant cut3	1.600***	(0.158)
Constant cut4	2.334***	(0.165)
State Fixed Effects?	✓	
Observations	3,14	14

DV is support increasing immigration levels (1-5)

Ordered probit coefficients

Source is the 2016 ANES

Robust standard errors clustered by state in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Mean Support for Immigration Across Democratic and Republican Administrations, ANES and GSS Panel Data

The table below shows the mean support (1-5 scale) for immigration in different years, using the 1992-1994-1996 and 2000-2004 ANES panel studies, and the 2008-2010-2012 GSS panel studies. Control of the presidency switched from 1992 to 1994 (H.W. Bush to Clinton) 2000 to 2004 (Clinton to W. Bush), 2008 to 2010 (W. Bush to Obama). It did not switch from 1994 to 1996, or 2010 to 2012.

Given that political trust has a partisan component, it is worth examining if a switch in partisan control of the presidency leads partisans to change their immigration policy positions. Panel data examining the same individuals over time is an effective way of testing this. The table below does not show a consistent pattern of partisan switching of immigration attitudes, i.e., Democrats (Republicans) becoming more (less) supportive when the president is a Democrat (Republican).

Table 20: Mean Immigration Support and Partisan Control of the Presidency

	Democrats	Republicans
1992 vs. 1994 (ANES)	2.53 vs. 2.05	2.46 vs. 2.07
2000 vs. 2004 (ANES)	2.42 vs. 2.27	2.31 vs. 2.38
2008 vs. 2010 (GSS)	2.41 vs. 2.55	2.17 vs. 2.14
1994 vs. 1996 (ANES)	2.05 vs. 1.56	2.06 vs. 1.21
2010 vs. 2012 (GSS)	2.55 vs. 2.61	2.14 vs. 2.24

Immigration support ranges from 1-5
Party ID is measured in the first panel wave
ANES panels used for 1992-1994-1996 and 2000-2004
GSS panels used for 2008-2010-2012

Correlations of Political Trust and Immigration Attitudes Over Time, ANES and GSS Panel Data

The table below shows correlation coefficients of political trust and immigration attitudes (preferred levels) over time using ANES and GSS panel data. The results show that political trust is generally more stable than immigration attitudes, particularly when control of the presidency does not switch.

Table 21: Over Time Correlations of Political Trust and Immigration Attitudes

	Political Trust	Immigration Attitudes
$1992 \longrightarrow 1994$	0.492	0.452
$1994 \longrightarrow 1996$	0.520	0.420
$1992 \longrightarrow 1996$	0.438	0.382
$2000 \longrightarrow 2002$	0.557	
$2002 \longrightarrow 2004$	0.667	_
$2000 \longrightarrow 2004$	0.524	0.478
$2010 \longrightarrow 2012$	0.560	0.501
$2012 \longrightarrow 2014$	0.585	0.525
$2010 \longrightarrow 2014$	0.514	0.485

Entry is Pearson's r

ANES panels used for 1992-1994-1996; 2000-2002-2004

GSS panel used from 2010-2012-2014

Cross-lagged models with additional controls, 2000-2002-2004 ANES

Note that none of the variables here are scaled to range between 0 and 1. Thus, the magnitude of the coefficients differ somewhat from Tables in the main paper (where political trust was scaled to range from 0 to 1). Here, political trust (2002) ranges from -2.16 to 2.73, and political trust (2004) ranges from -1.93 to 3.00. Nevertheless, the same pattern of results appears, with lagged political trust significantly predicting support for immigration and lagged immigration support not predicting political trust.

Table 22: Political Trust Influences Support for Immigration, 2000-2002-2004

Political trust (2002)	0.113**	(0.048)
Support for immigration (2000)	0.519***	(0.053)
Retrospective economic evaluations (2002)	0.201***	(0.062)
Party ID (2002)	0.020	(0.026)
Feeling thermometer: Hispanics (2002)	0.011***	(0.004)
Feeling thermometer: Whites (2002)	-0.009**	(0.004)
Authoritarianism (2000)	-0.171***	(0.050)
Egalitarianism (2000)	0.025	(0.049)
Moral traditionalism (2000)	-0.123**	(0.054)
Constant cut1	0.974***	(0.280)
Constant cut2	1.941***	(0.293)
Constant cut3	3.389***	(0.327)
Constant cut4	4.204***	(0.363)
Observations	598	<u> </u>

Note: Dependent variable is preferred immigration levels, measured in 2004, ranges from 1-5 with higher levels indicating greater support for immigration. Source is the 2000-2002-2004. Ordered probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, *** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Table 23: Support for Immigration Does Not Influence Political Trust, 2000-2002-2004

Support for immigration (2000)	-0.006	(0.027)
Political trust (2002)	0.577***	(0.032)
Presidential job approval (2002)	0.012	(0.033)
Congressional job approval (2002)	0.074**	(0.032)
Retrospective economic evaluations (2002)	0.128***	(0.040)
Party ID (2002)	0.062***	(0.016)
Constant	-0.708***	(0.135)
Observations	625	3
R-squared	0.471	

Note: Dependent variable is political trust, measured in 2004, ranges -1.93 to +3.00. Source is the 2000-2002-2004. OLS coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed.

Appendix D

This appendix includes details regarding the MTurk survey experiment.

- OLS regression models of treatment assignment on: age, race, gender, income, education, martial status, and party identification (Footnote 28 in the main paper)
- The articles used for each treatment (positive and negative op-eds)
- The full MTurk survey (questions asked of respondents)

Regression Model of Treatment Assignment on Demographics

Table 24: Assessing Balance Between Treatment Groups

	В	SE	
Age	0.000	(0.001)	
Female	0.020	(0.032)	
White	-0.027	(0.036)	
Income	-0.005	(0.011)	
Education	0.004	(0.020)	
Married	0.019	(0.034)	
Democrat	0.013	(0.041)	
Liberal	0.017	(0.041)	
Constant	0.489***	(0.077)	
Observations	;	1,028	
R-squared		0.002	

DV is positive treatment assignment (versus negative)

Robust standard errors in parentheses

^{***} p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1, two-tailed

Negative Op-Ed Article



 $\bf A$ lot has been written about political trust as of late. In fact, a poll released by the Pew Research Center in December of 2017 found that only 18 percent of Americans said that they trusted the government in Washington to do the right thing always or most of the time.

In fact, a 2016 report by Transparency International ranked the United States as the third *most* corrupt nation out of 30 industrialized democracies.

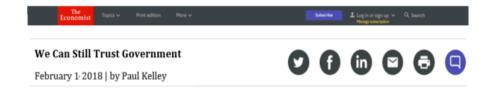
Indeed, scandals have become commonplace over my years in government, occurring under both parties. From Vietnam, to Watergate, Iran-Contra, Monica Lewinsky, false claims that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, Benghazi, and the current Russia investigation. Add this to the enormous sums of taxpayer dollars that government wastes, and it is no wonder that people are so distrustful of politicians.

I would like to say that my experience working alongside senior politicians of both major parties meant that I could say all of this was not true. In the far distant past, I could. Today, however, I must admit that the general view of politicians as distrustful, self-interested, and corrupt is, sadly, a very accurate one.

 Paul Kelley is a former career civil servant who worked for the federal government for over 40 years, under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Figure 1: Op-ed article that negatively portrays the federal government

Positive Op-Ed Article



A lot has been written about political trust as of late. In fact, a poll released by the Pew Research Center in December of 2017 found that only 18 percent of Americans said that they trusted the government in Washington to do the right thing always or most of the time.

In fact, a 2016 report by Transparency International ranked the United States as the third least corrupt nation out of 30 industrialized democracies.

We should not forget that, beyond the sound and fury of partisan politics, a lot of public policy goes on in the background. This ranges from the effective administration of Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, education, and delivering critical infrastructure like the maintenance of roads and assurance of clean air and clean water. We often take these things for granted, but for this we should really be thankful.

Although it is not reflected in public discussion and media coverage, using words like truthful, honest, sincere, loyal, and genuine to describe most politicians and public servants is not as ridiculous as it may sound. I may be criticized for saying so, but I can honestly say these words best describe my experience working alongside politicians from both major parties.

 Paul Kelley is a former career civil servant who worked for the federal government for over 40 years, under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Figure 2: Op-ed article that positively portrays the federal government

MTurk Survey Questionnaire

This survey was conducted on Qualtrics, using a university template and logo. It consisted of 27 questions that required respondents to click to continue on in the survey. The "treatment" was the 12th question that survey takers saw. Subjects were paid \$0.10 (ten cents) for completing the survey. The first and last questions, gain survey takers' informed consent, and debrief them after they finished the survey, respectively. Below I lay out the questions that the survey consists of. Unless the question says (screen), survey takers were required to make a selection/enter a response in order to continue on in the survey.

- 1. Informed consent (click agree to continue)
- 2. "Before we begin, just a few background questions" (screen)
- 3. What is your age? (Respondent enters number)
- 4. What is your gender? (Male or Female)
- 5. What is your race? (White; Black; Hispanic; Asian/Pacific Islander; Native American; Other)
- 6. What is your total household income before taxes? (Less than 20,000; 20,000 39,999; 40,000 59,999; 60,000 79,999; 80,000 99,999; 100,000 and over)
- 7. What is your highest level of education? (Less than a high school diploma; High school diploma; Two-year degree; Bachelor's Degree; Graduate degree)
 - 8. Are you currently married? (Yes or No)
- 9. Generally speaking do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, Independent, or what? (Strong Democrat; Not very strong Democrat; Lean Democrat; Independent; Lean Republican; Not very strong Republican; Strong Republican)
- 10. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (Extremely liberal; Liberal; Slightly liberal; Moderate, middle of the road; Slightly conservative; Conservative; Extremely conservative)
- 11. Please read the following article and then answer a few recall questions about it. (screen)
- 12. Random assignment to see EITHER the negative or positively framed op-ed article (screen)
- 13. How often do read op-ed articles such as these? (Very often; Somewhat often; Not often at all)
- 14. Do you happen to remember the author's name? (Paul Kelley, Mark Jennings; Not sure)
- 15. Do you happen to remember whether the United States was ranked as a corrupt or non-corrupt nation? (Corrupt; Non-corrupt; Not sure)
- 16. Overall, do you remember if the author characterized government as trustful or distrustful? (Trustful, Distrustful, Not sure)
 - 17. Now a few questions about your opinion on government (screen)
- 18. How often can you trust the government in Washington to do what is right? (Always; Most of the time; About half the time; Sometimes; Never)
- 19. Do you think that government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all people? (Run by a few big interests; For the benefit of all people)

- 20. How much money do you think that people in government waste? (A lot; Some; Not very much)
- 21. How many of the people running the government are corrupt? (All; Most; About half; A few; None)
- 22. Overall, how much would you say you personally trust the federal government? 0 means you do not trust the government at all, and 10 means you have complete trust (Respondents see a scale ranging from 0 = No trust at all to 10 = Complete trust, and click in a particular circle)
- 23. Now a couple of questions about immigration, an important political topic that's been in the news (screen)
- 24. Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be (Respondents see a scale ranging from 0 = Decreased a great deal to 10 = Increased a great deal, and click in a particular circle)
- 25. What is your opinion on building a Border Wall with Mexico (Respondents see a scale ranging from 0 = Favor a great deal to 10 = Oppose a great deal, and click in a particular circle)
- 26. What is your opinion on providing a path to citizenship for illegal/undocumented immigrants currently living in the United States (Respondents see a scale ranging from 0 = 00 Oppose a great deal to 10 = 01 Favor a great deal, and click in a particular circle)
- 27. Respondents are thanked for their participation and told that the op-ed article they saw was fictitious and a part of an academic study.