

An Asymmetrical “President-In-Power” Effect

Supplementary material

Appendix A: Analysis of trust in the government by ideology (ANES, GSS)	2
Appendix B: Analysis of trust in the government by partisanship (ANES, GSS)	14
Appendix C: The role of moderates and independents (ANES, GSS)	19
Appendix D: List of surveys and question wording	26
Appendix E: PEW data	29
Appendix F: Aggregate data (surveys retrieved from Pew Research Center)	35
Appendix G. Analysis of changing effects over time	38

Appendix A: Analysis of trust in the government by ideology (ANES, GSS)

In this appendix we provide the complete regression models used to create Table 1 in the paper in addition to summary statistics, and regression models with alternative specifications.

In the **ANES** data analysis the dependent variable is a measure of trust in the federal government that we treat as a quasi-interval variable (see Appendix D for question wording), apart from Table A6 in which we recode the variable as a dummy, and Table A7 in which we use an index of trust that has been adopted in previous research (e.g. Hetherington 1998; Keele 2005). In the **GSS** data analysis the dependent variable is a measure of confidence in the executive branch of the federal government that we also treat as a quasi-interval variable (see Appendix D for question wording).

In each model we interact a measure of ideology with a “president-in-power” variable. With regard to **ideology**, we recoded the original 7-point scale as a dummy, with the categories “Extremely liberal”, “Liberal”, and “Slightly liberal” coded as equal to “Liberal”, and the categories “Extremely conservative”, “Conservative”, and “Slightly conservative” coded as equal to “Conservative”.

The “**president-in-power**” variable takes either the value of zero if the president in power at the time the survey was conducted was from a party that differed from the respondent’s self-reported ideology (“other-ideology president”) or the value of 1 for the opposite case (“own-ideology president”). For example, under Clinton’s presidency in the year 1996, respondents who described themselves as liberal received a value of 1 for this variable, and those who described themselves as conservative received a value of 0.

For the main regression models in Table A3 and Table A4, we also provide the average levels of trust in the government by president in power and ideology categories, and the differences in trust levels within ideology categories.

Table A1. Trust in the government (summary statistics)

ANES				GSS	
Trust the Federal Government to do what is right (%)				Confidence in executive branch of Federal Government (%)	
1972-2012		2016		1974-2016	
None of the time	1.9	Never	12.8	Hardly any	32.9
Some of the time	62.6	Some of the time	43.0	Only some	51.2
Most of the time	32.2	About half the time	32.6	A great deal	15.9
Just about always	3.3	Most of the time	10.1		
		Always	1.6		
Total	100	Total	100	Total	100
(N)	(32472)	(N)	(4249)	(N)	(39737)

Note: Pooled cross-sectional data. For the list of years included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D.

Table A2. Summary statistics for all the variables included in regression models

Variable	Value labels	ANES		GSS	
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%
President in power	Democratic president	17137	46.7	19081	48.0
	Republican president	19584	53.3	20656	52.0
Ideology (recoded)	Liberal	7042	26.2	10228	27.3
	Moderate	8867	33.0	14472	38.6
	Conservative	10996	40.9	12757	34.1
Ideology (7-point scale)	Extremely liberal	720	2.7	1086	2.9
	Liberal	2996	11.1	4284	11.4
	Slightly liberal	3326	12.4	4858	13.0
	Moderate, middle of the road	8867	33.0	14472	38.6
	Slightly conservative	4968	18.5	6114	16.3
	Conservative	5080	18.9	5437	14.5
	Extremely conservative	948	3.5	1206	3.2
Partisanship (recoded)	Democrat	18334	50.3	19760	50.7
	Independent	4571	12.5	5714	14.7
	Republican	13544	37.2	13475	34.6
Partisanship (7 categories)	Strong Democrat	6772	18.6	6348	16.3
	Weak/Not strong Democrat	6927	19.0	8443	21.7
	Independent – Democrat	4635	12.7	4969	12.8
	Independent	4571	12.5	5714	14.7
	Independent - Republican	4104	11.3	3577	9.2
	Weak/Not strong Republican	4941	13.6	6210	15.9
	Strong Republican	4499	12.3	3688	9.5
Gender	Female	20176	55.0	22093	55.6
	Male	16496	45.0	17644	44.4
Age categories	18-24	3829	10.5	4072	10.3
	25-34	7602	20.9	8821	22.3
	35-44	6882	18.9	7934	20.0
	45-54	5876	16.1	6419	16.2
	55-64	5480	15.0	5372	13.6
	65+	6794	18.6	6989	17.6

(continues on next page)

(Table A2 continues)

Education	Below high school	2812	7.7	8459	21.3
	High school	15335	42.1	20496	51.7
	Some college	8811	24.2	2163	5.5
	College or more	9457	26.0	8536	21.5
Ethnicity	Afro-American	4262	11.7	5546	14.0
	Other ethnicity	32256	88.3	34191	86.0
Work status	Unemployed	3051	8.3	1335	
	Other work status	33603	91.7	38402	
Income	1 to 16 percentile	5396	14.7	5638	14.2
	17 to 33 percentile	5405	14.7	6189	15.6
	34 to 67 percentile	11184	30.5	12212	30.7
	68 to 95 percentile	8917	24.3	10427	26.2
	96 to 100 percentile	1839	5.0	1565	3.9
	Unreported/missing	3980	10.8	3706	9.3
Religion	Protestant	20295	55.6	23162	58.3
	Catholic	8794	24.1	9654	24.3
	Jewish	759	2.1	790	2.0
	None/Other	6638	18.2	6131	15.4
Census area	Northeast	5943	16.2	7707	19.4
	Midwest	8599	23.4	10347	26.0
	South	11632	31.7	13902	35.0
	West	6298	17.2	7781	19.6
	Missing (2016)	4249	11.6		

Note: Descriptive statistics considering only the respondents that have provided a valid answer to the questions on trust in the federal government (ANES) or confidence in the executive branch of the federal government (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972/1974 to 2016. For the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D.

Table A3. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (ANES)

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.
<i>Panel A: OLS regression coefficients</i>								
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>								
Own-ideology president, liberals	-0.023***	(0.005)	-0.012*	(0.006)	0.012*	(0.006)	0.012*	(0.006)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.076***	(0.005)	-0.074***	(0.005)	-0.053***	(0.005)	-0.053***	(0.005)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.122***	(0.007)	0.104***	(0.007)	0.060***	(0.007)	0.061***	(0.008)
Gender (Female)			-0.009**	(0.003)	-0.007*	(0.003)	-0.007*	(0.003)
Age group (ref: 18-24)								
25-34			-0.015*	(0.007)	-0.017*	(0.007)	-0.018**	(0.007)
35-44			-0.019**	(0.007)	-0.022**	(0.007)	-0.023***	(0.007)
45-54			-0.019**	(0.007)	-0.019**	(0.007)	-0.019**	(0.007)
55-64			-0.023**	(0.007)	-0.018*	(0.007)	-0.018*	(0.007)
65+			-0.028***	(0.007)	-0.022**	(0.007)	-0.022**	(0.007)
Education (ref: grade school or less)								
High school			-0.020*	(0.009)	-0.014	(0.009)	-0.014	(0.009)
Some college			-0.015	(0.010)	-0.011	(0.010)	-0.010	(0.010)
College or more			-0.020*	(0.010)	-0.007	(0.010)	-0.007	(0.010)
Ethnicity (Afro-American)			-0.020**	(0.007)	-0.019**	(0.007)	-0.020**	(0.007)
Work status (Unemployed)			-0.016*	(0.008)	-0.016	(0.008)	-0.016	(0.008)
Income (ref: 1 to 16 percentile)								
17 to 33 percentile			-0.011	(0.008)	-0.012	(0.008)	-0.012	(0.008)
34 to 67 percentile			-0.014*	(0.007)	-0.013	(0.007)	-0.013	(0.007)
68 to 95 percentile			-0.009	(0.007)	-0.007	(0.007)	-0.008	(0.007)
96 to 100 percentile			-0.011	(0.009)	-0.010	(0.009)	-0.009	(0.009)
Unreported/missing			0.005	(0.008)	-0.004	(0.008)	0.002	(0.008)
Religion (ref: Protestant)								
Catholic			0.011**	(0.004)	0.015***	(0.004)	0.015***	(0.004)
Jewish			-0.013	(0.010)	-0.011	(0.010)	-0.011	(0.010)
None/Other			-0.044***	(0.005)	-0.029***	(0.005)	-0.028***	(0.005)
Census area (ref: Northeast)								
Midwest					0.010	(0.005)	0.009	(0.005)
South					0.012*	(0.005)	0.012*	(0.005)
West					0.003	(0.005)	0.003	(0.005)
Missing (2016)					-0.085***	(0.009)	-0.070***	(0.009)
Time periods (ref: 1972-1980)								
1982-2000					-0.011**	(0.004)		
2002-2016					0.010	(0.006)		
Years							-0.001	(0.001)
Constant	0.457***	(0.003)	0.514***	(0.012)	0.499***	(0.013)	0.668	(0.361)
R ²	.039		.051		.065		.064	
N	16753		16300		16300		16300	

(continues on next page)

(Table A3 continues)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel B: average trust levels</i>				
<i>Liberals</i>				
- Democratic president	0.434*** (0.004)	0.446*** (0.004)	0.460*** (0.004)	0.460*** (0.004)
- Republican president	0.457*** (0.003)	0.457*** (0.003)	0.448*** (0.004)	0.448*** (0.004)
- Difference (Democratic pres. minus Republican pres.)	-0.023*** (0.005)	-0.012* (0.006)	0.012* (0.006)	0.012* (0.006)
<i>Conservatives</i>				
- Democratic president	0.382*** (0.003)	0.383*** (0.003)	0.395*** (0.003)	0.395*** (0.003)
- Republican president	0.481*** (0.003)	0.476*** (0.003)	0.467*** (0.003)	0.467*** (0.003)
- Difference (Republican pres. minus Democratic pres.)	0.099*** (0.004)	0.092*** (0.004)	0.072*** (0.004)	0.072*** (0.004)

Note: Panel A. Same models reported in Table 1, columns 1 to 4. OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from American National Election Studies (ANES). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D). Dependent variable: trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (“None of the time/Never”) to 1 (“Just about always/Always”). Weighted data.

Panel B. Average levels of trust and “president-in-power” effects within ideology categories. Calculations based on regression models in Panel A.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table A4. *President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (GSS)*

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.
<i>Panel A: OLS regression coefficients</i>								
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>								
Own-ideology president, liberals	0.082***	(0.007)	0.086***	(0.007)	0.087***	(0.007)	0.098***	(0.008)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.050***	(0.007)	-0.048***	(0.007)	-0.048***	(0.007)	-0.037***	(0.007)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.093***	(0.010)	0.086***	(0.010)	0.085***	(0.010)	0.064***	(0.010)
Gender (Female)			-0.003	(0.005)	-0.003	(0.005)	-0.002	(0.005)
Age group (ref: 18-24)								
25-34			-0.023*	(0.009)	-0.023*	(0.009)	-0.022*	(0.009)
35-44			-0.037***	(0.009)	-0.035***	(0.009)	-0.033***	(0.009)
45-54			-0.042***	(0.010)	-0.039***	(0.010)	-0.037***	(0.010)
55-64			-0.057***	(0.010)	-0.052***	(0.010)	-0.050***	(0.010)
65+			-0.039***	(0.010)	-0.034**	(0.010)	-0.032**	(0.010)
Education (ref: below high school)								
High school			-0.034***	(0.007)	-0.028***	(0.007)	-0.026***	(0.007)
Some college			-0.060***	(0.012)	-0.050***	(0.012)	-0.046***	(0.012)
College or more			0.004	(0.008)	0.012	(0.009)	0.015	(0.009)
Ethnicity (Afro-American)			-0.006	(0.008)	-0.008	(0.008)	-0.007	(0.008)
Work status (Unemployed)			-0.032*	(0.013)	-0.029*	(0.013)	-0.030*	(0.013)
Income (ref: 1 to 16 percentile)								
17 to 33 percentile			-0.019	(0.010)	-0.020*	(0.010)	-0.020*	(0.010)
34 to 67 percentile			-0.004	(0.009)	-0.007	(0.009)	-0.008	(0.009)
68 to 95 percentile			-0.001	(0.009)	-0.003	(0.009)	-0.005	(0.009)
96 to 100 percentile			0.015	(0.014)	0.019	(0.014)	0.019	(0.014)
Unreported/missing			0.003	(0.011)	0.002	(0.011)	0.002	(0.011)
Religion (ref: Protestant)								
Catholic			0.011	(0.006)	0.016*	(0.006)	0.017**	(0.006)
Jewish			-0.016	(0.017)	-0.015	(0.017)	-0.015	(0.017)
None/Other			-0.050***	(0.007)	-0.041***	(0.007)	-0.039***	(0.007)
Census area (ref: Northeast)								
Midwest					-0.007	(0.007)	-0.007	(0.007)
South					0.016*	(0.007)	0.017*	(0.007)
West					-0.002	(0.008)	-0.001	(0.008)
Time periods (ref: 1974-1980)								
1982-2000					-0.007	(0.006)		
2002-2016					-0.034***	(0.007)		
Years							-0.001***	(0.001)
Constant	0.379***	(0.005)	0.442***	(0.013)	0.443***	(0.014)	3.268***	(0.426)
R ²	.043		.051		.052		.053	
N	22985		22898		22898		22898	

(continues on next page)

(Table A4 continues)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Panel B: average confidence levels</i>				
<i>Liberals</i>				
- Democratic president	0.461*** (0.005)	0.464*** (0.005)	0.465*** (0.005)	0.470*** (0.005)
- Republican president	0.379*** (0.005)	0.378*** (0.005)	0.378*** (0.005)	0.372*** (0.005)
- Difference (Democratic pres. minus Republican pres.)	0.082*** (0.007)	0.086*** (0.007)	0.087*** (0.007)	0.098*** (0.008)
<i>Conservatives</i>				
- Democratic president	0.329*** (0.004)	0.330*** (0.005)	0.330*** (0.005)	0.336*** (0.005)
- Republican president	0.505*** (0.005)	0.502*** (0.005)	0.502*** (0.005)	0.497*** (0.005)
- Difference (Republican pres. minus Democratic pres.)	0.175*** (0.006)	0.172*** (0.006)	0.172*** (0.006)	0.161*** (0.007)

Note: Panel A. Same models reported in Table 1, columns 5 to 8. OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from General Social Survey (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1974 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D). Dependent variable: confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values rescaled from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”). Weighted data.

Panel B. Average levels of confidence and “president-in-power” effects within ideology categories. Calculations based on regression models in Panel A.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table A5. *President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology, additional models*

	ANES				GSS			
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.	Est.	Std.Err.
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>								
Own-ideology president, liberals	0.012*	(0.006)	-0.006	(0.006)	0.098***	(0.008)	0.098***	(0.008)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.051***	(0.006)	-0.068***	(0.006)	-0.046***	(0.008)	-0.045***	(0.008)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.060***	(0.008)	0.096***	(0.008)	0.062***	(0.011)	0.061***	(0.011)
Party ID (ref: independents)								
- Democrats	0.029***	(0.007)	0.027***	(0.007)	0.048***	(0.008)	0.048***	(0.008)
- Republicans	0.026***	(0.007)	0.024***	(0.007)	0.073***	(0.009)	0.073***	(0.009)
Senate majority (ref: Democrats)								
- Republicans			0.002	(0.004)			-0.007	(0.006)
House majority (ref: Democrats)								
- Republicans			0.080***	(0.007)			-0.011	(0.009)
Socio-demographics	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Census areas	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Years	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
R ²	.064		.076		.056		.056	
N	16225		16225		22488		22488	

Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses.

Columns 1 and 2: Data from American National Election Studies (ANES). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D). Dependent variable: trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (“None of the time/Never”) to 1 (“Just about always/Always”). **Columns 3 and 4:** Data from General Social Survey (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1974 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D). Dependent variable: confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values rescaled from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”).

Senate/House majority: dummy variables with value equal to 1 if Republican party had majority in Senate/House at the time the survey was conducted (value 0 corresponding to Democratic majority). The models include the same set of socio-demographic variables included in Table A3 and Table A4. Weighted data.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table A6. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (logistic regressions)

	ANES		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>			
Own-ideology president, liberals	-0.087 (0.067)	-0.086 (0.067)	-0.076 (0.067)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.513*** (0.062)	-0.508*** (0.062)	-0.505*** (0.062)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.778*** (0.086)	0.769*** (0.088)	0.755*** (0.086)
Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census areas	No	Yes	Yes
Time periods	No	Yes	No
Years	No	No	Yes
R ²	.021	.023	.022
N	14002	14002	14002

Note: Logistic regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses (coefficients are log-odds). Data from American National Election Studies (ANES). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972 to 2012.

Dependent variable: trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values recoded in two categories: 0 (“None of the time” or “Some of the time”), and 1 (“Most of the time” or “Just about always”).

Weighted data. The models include the same set of covariates included in Table A3.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table A7. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (trust index)

	ANES		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>			
Own-ideology president, liberals	0.004 (0.007)	0.030*** (0.007)	0.019** (0.007)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.055*** (0.006)	-0.032*** (0.006)	-0.043*** (0.006)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.094*** (0.009)	0.044*** (0.009)	0.066*** (0.009)
Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census areas	No	Yes	Yes
Time periods	No	Yes	No
Years	No	No	Yes
R ²	.049	.064	.062
N	14950	14950	14950

Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from American National Election Studies (ANES). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972 to 2016.

Dependent variable: trust index obtained by adding the responses to the following three questions: “How much does the respondent trust the federal government to do what is right?”, “Is the federal government run by few interests or for the benefit of all?”, and “How much does the federal government waste tax money?”. Values rescaled from 0 (minimum level of trust) to 1 (maximum level). For question wording, see Appendix D.

Weighted data. The models include the same set of covariates included in Table A3.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table A8. *President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology and switch years*

	<i>All switch years</i>	<i>Ford/ Carter</i>	<i>Carter/ Reagan</i>	<i>Bush/ Clinton</i>	<i>Clinton/ Bush</i>	<i>Bush/ Obama</i>
<i>Panel A. ANES</i>						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ref: Other-ideology president, Liberals						
Own-ideology president, Liberals	-0.006 (0.008)	0.016 (0.014)	0.001 (0.018)	-0.002 (0.015)	-0.022 (0.032)	-0.064** (0.023)
Other-ideology president, Conservatives	-0.041*** (0.007)	-0.022 (0.014)	-0.060*** (0.016)	-0.029* (0.012)	-0.064* (0.030)	-0.069** (0.024)
Own-ideology president x Conservatives	0.054*** (0.010)	0.035* (0.018)	0.058** (0.021)	0.040* (0.018)	0.120* (0.054)	0.087** (0.031)
Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census areas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	0.050	0.036	0.020	0.012	0.048	0.028
N	7288	1947	1256	1969	1171	945
Years of analysis		1976/1978	1980/1982	1992/1994	2000/2002	2008/2012
<i>Panel B. GSS</i>						
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Ref: Other-ideology president, Liberals						
Own-ideology president, Liberals	0.047*** (0.012)	0.040 (0.023)	-0.028 (0.024)	-0.021 (0.033)	0.040 (0.029)	0.208*** (0.029)
Other-ideology president, Conservatives	-0.059*** (0.012)	-0.032 (0.022)	-0.081*** (0.024)	-0.109*** (0.031)	-0.095*** (0.029)	0.010 (0.027)
Own-ideology president x Conservatives	0.123*** (0.017)	0.018 (0.032)	0.196*** (0.034)	0.265*** (0.044)	0.271*** (0.039)	-0.092* (0.038)
Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census areas	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R ²	.049	.031	.060	.072	.113	.084
N	7865	1676	1836	1225	1560	1568
Years of analysis		1976/1978	1980/1982	1991/1993	2000/2002	2008/2012

Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Pooled cross-sectional surveys for pairs of “switch years”. Models 1 and 7: pooled cross-sectional surveys from years 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1991 (GSS), 1992 (ANES), 1993 (GSS), 1994 (ANES), 2000, 2002, 2008, and 2012.

Dependent variables: ANES, trust in the government to do what is right, values from 0 (“None of the time”) to 1 (“Just about always”); GSS, confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”). Weighted data. The models include the same set of covariates included in Table A3 and Table A4.

* $p \leq 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table A9. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology and united/divided Congress

	ANES		GSS	
	(1)		(2)	
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals, united congress</i>				
Own-ideology president	0.021**	(0.006)	0.098***	(0.008)
Conservatives	-0.047***	(0.006)	-0.032***	(0.008)
Divided congress	0.014	(0.008)	0.028*	(0.011)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.045***	(0.008)	0.043***	(0.011)
Own-ideology president x divided congress	-0.076***	(0.018)	0.001	(0.019)
Conservatives x divided congress	-0.016	(0.017)	-0.087***	(0.018)
Own-ideology president x conservatives x divided congress	0.102***	(0.025)	0.098***	(0.027)
Socio-demographics	Yes		Yes	
Party identification	Yes		Yes	
Census areas	Yes		Yes	
Years	Yes		Yes	
R ²	.066		.058	
N	16225		22488	

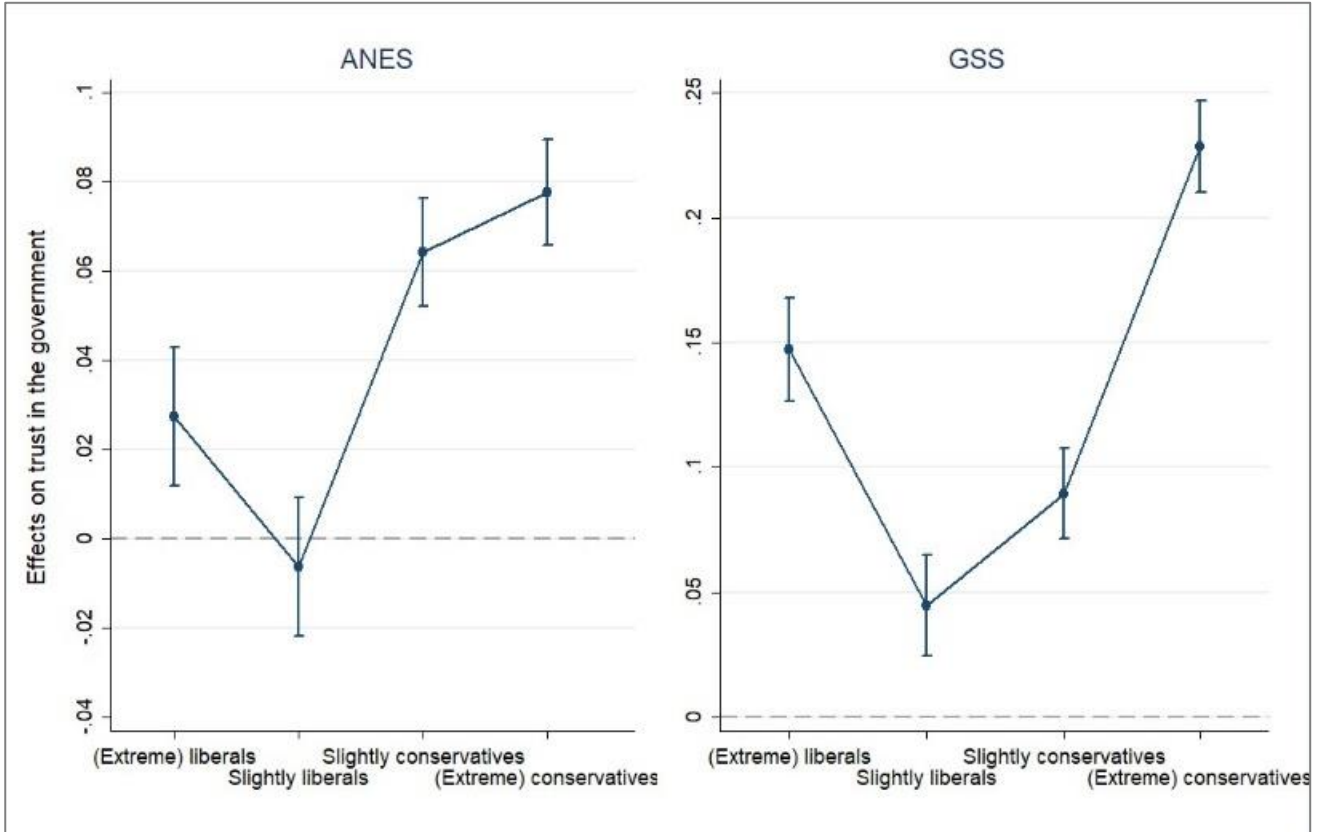
Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from American National Election Studies (ANES) and General Social Survey (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972/1974 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D).

Dependent variable: ANES, trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (“None of the time/Never”) to 1 (“Just about always/Always”); GSS, confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values rescaled from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”). The models include a triple interaction with a dummy variable for whether the same party had the majority in both House and Senate at the time the survey was conducted (“united Congress”), or whether the Congress was divided.

The models include the same set of socio-demographic covariates included in Table A3 and Table A4, in addition to a three-category variable for party identification (Democrats, Independents, Republicans). Weighted data.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Figure A1. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by four categories of ideology



Note: Average marginal effects of a president with similar ideology, relative to a president with different ideology (value 0 on Y-axis). Estimates based on regression model 4 in Table A3 (ANES) and regression model 4 in Table A4 (GSS) using ideology recoded in four categories. The category “(extreme) liberals” combines the categories “extreme liberals” and “liberals”, while the category “(extreme) conservatives” combines the categories “extreme conservatives” and “conservatives”. Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals.

Appendix B: Analysis of trust in the government by partisanship (ANES, GSS)

In this Appendix we replicate some of the analysis included in Appendix A using respondents’ self-reported party identification instead of ideology. The dependent variables are the same measures of trust in the government used in previous analysis.

In each model we interact a measure of party identification with a president-in-power variable. With regard to **party identification**, we recoded the original 7-point variables as a dummy, with the category “Democrats” including leaning Democrats and the category “Republicans” including leaning Republicans.

The “**president-in-power**” variable takes either the value of zero if the president in power at the time the survey was conducted was from a party that differed from the respondent’s self-reported party identification (“other-party president”) or the value of 1 for the opposite case (“own-party president”).

In addition, in Table B2 and Table B3 we also provide the average levels of trust in the government by president in power and party identification categories, and the differences in trust levels within these categories.

Figure B1. Trust in the government by partisanship

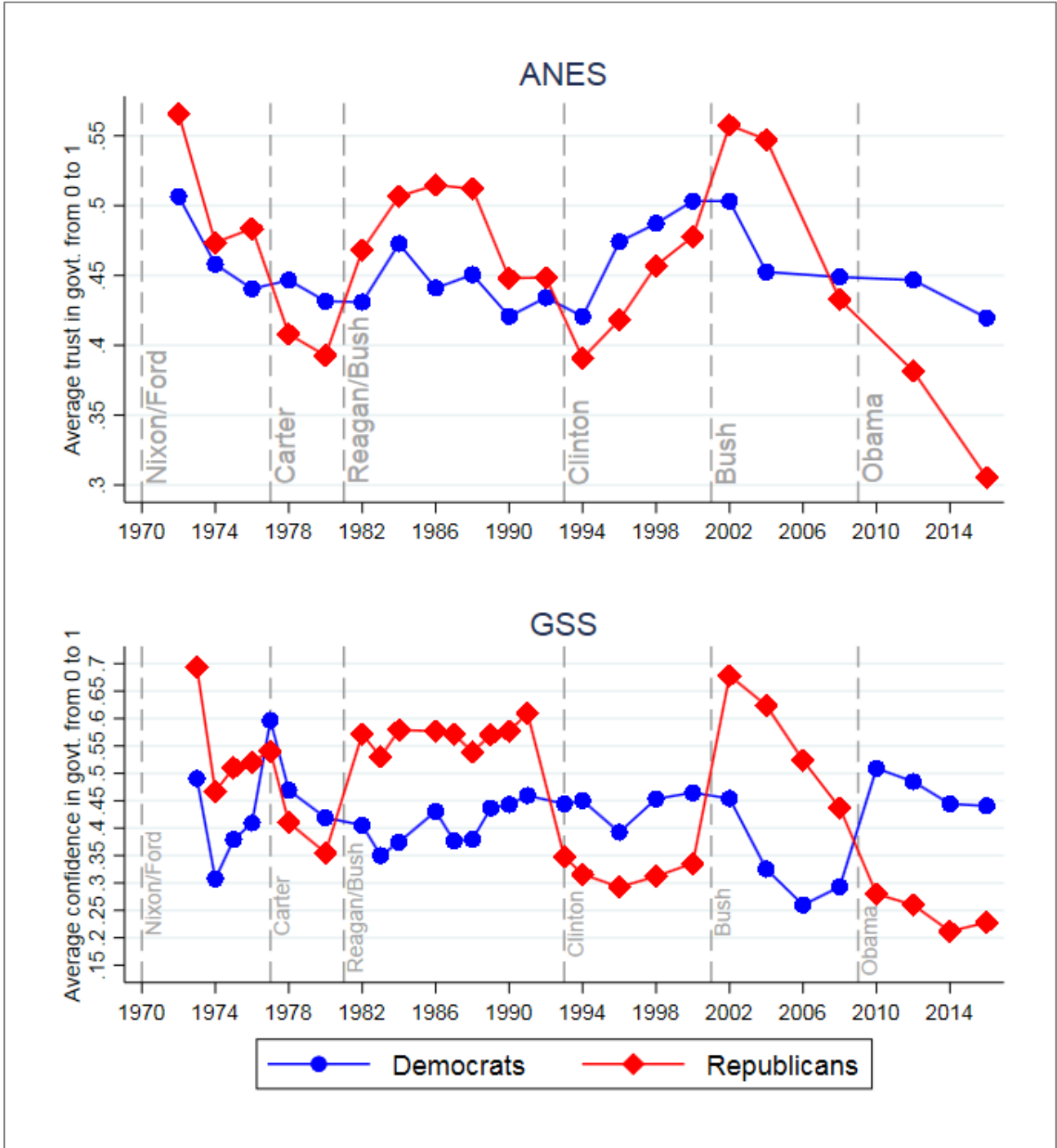


Table B1. Correlations between party identification and ideology by decades

	Decades				
	70s	80s	90s	2000s	2010s
ANES	0.456	0.475	0.551	0.639	0.760
GSS	0.295	0.344	0.436	0.558	0.632

Note: Pearson’s correlation coefficients. All correlations are statistically significant, $p < 0.001$.

Table B2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship (ANES)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Panel A: OLS regression coefficients</i>						
<i>Ref: Other-party president, Democrats</i>						
Own-party president, Democrats	-0.010** (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.011** (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.012** (0.004)
Other-party president, Republicans	-0.071*** (0.004)	-0.066*** (0.004)	-0.049*** (0.004)	-0.052*** (0.004)	-0.057*** (0.005)	-0.074*** (0.005)
Own-party president x Republicans	0.122*** (0.005)	0.106*** (0.005)	0.076*** (0.006)	0.081*** (0.006)	0.091*** (0.006)	0.126*** (0.007)
Socio-demographics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census areas	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time periods	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Years	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ideology	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Party with majority in Congress	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
R ²	.033	.042	.051	.050	.061	.073
N	30213	29458	29458	29458	21783	21783
<i>Panel B: average trust levels</i>						
<i>Democrats</i>						
- Republican president	0.456*** (0.002)	0.454*** (0.002)	0.448*** (0.002)	0.449*** (0.002)	0.448*** (0.003)	0.455*** (0.003)
- Democratic president	0.446*** (0.003)	0.453*** (0.003)	0.461*** (0.003)	0.459*** (0.003)	0.453*** (0.003)	0.443*** (0.003)
- Difference (Democratic pres. minus Republican pres.)	-0.010** (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.011** (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.012** (0.004)
<i>Republicans</i>						
- Democratic president	0.385*** (0.003)	0.388*** (0.003)	0.396*** (0.003)	0.397*** (0.003)	0.391*** (0.004)	0.381*** (0.004)
- Republican president	0.497*** (0.002)	0.493*** (0.003)	0.487*** (0.003)	0.488*** (0.003)	0.488*** (0.003)	0.495*** (0.003)
- Difference (Republican pres. minus Democratic pres.)	0.112*** (0.004)	0.105*** (0.004)	0.089*** (0.004)	0.091*** (0.004)	0.096*** (0.004)	0.114*** (0.005)

Note: Panel A. OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972 to 2016. Dependent variable: trust the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (minimum trust) to 1 (maximum trust). Weighted data. The models include the same set of covariates included in Table A3. In addition, models 5 and 6 include a categorical variable for ideology recoded in three categories (Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives), while Model 6 includes also dummies for which parties had the majority in the House/Senate at the time the survey was conducted.

Panel B. Average levels of trust and “president-in-power” effects within party identification categories. Calculations based on regression models in Panel A.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Table B3. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship (GSS)

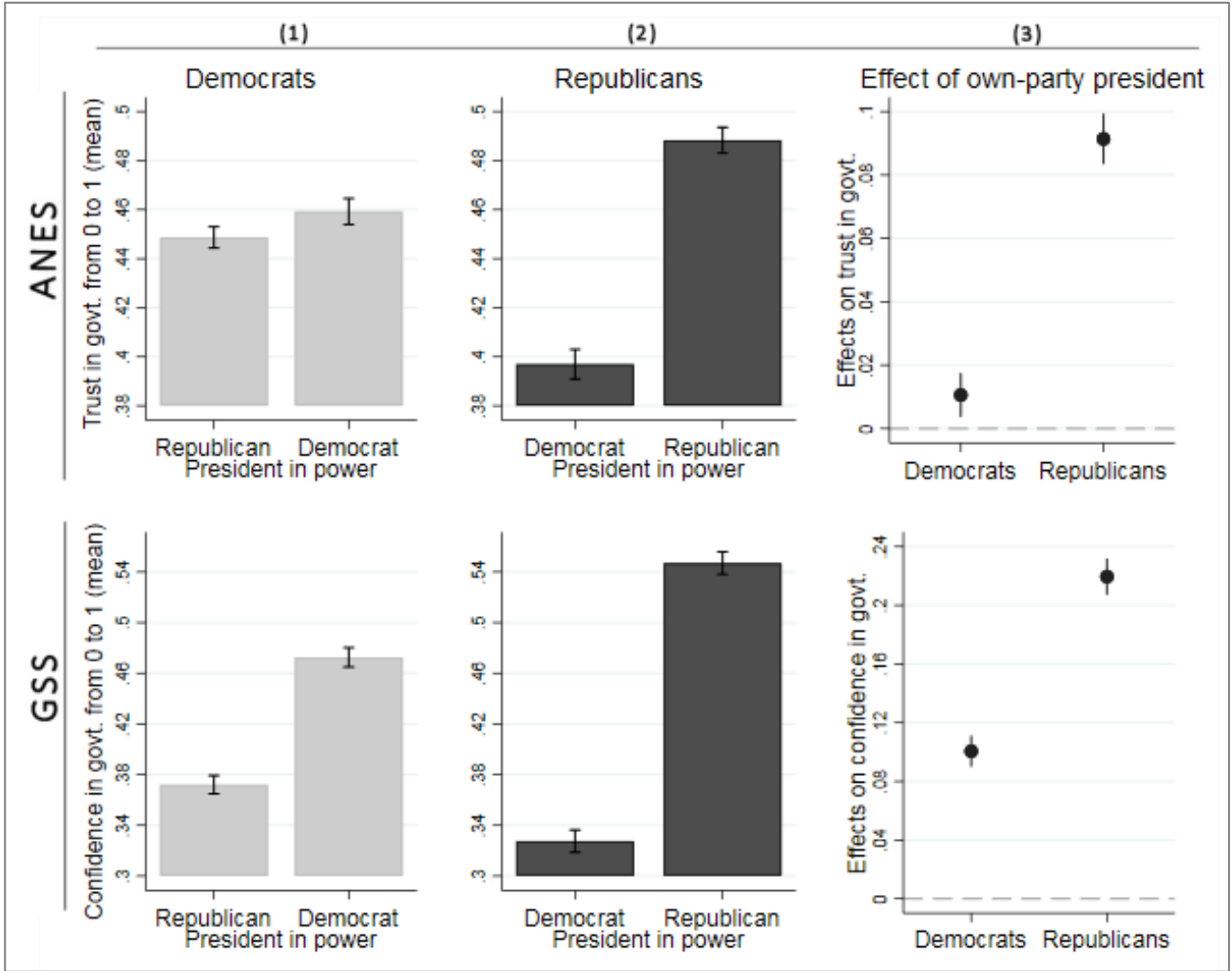
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<i>Panel A: OLS regression coefficients</i>						
<i>Ref: Other-party president, Democrats</i>						
Own-party president, Democrats	0.084*** (0.005)	0.088*** (0.005)	0.089*** (0.005)	0.101*** (0.005)	0.100*** (0.006)	0.101*** (0.006)
Other-party president, Republicans	-0.060*** (0.006)	-0.059*** (0.006)	-0.058*** (0.006)	-0.045*** (0.006)	-0.046*** (0.006)	-0.044*** (0.007)
Own-party president x Republicans	0.149*** (0.008)	0.142*** (0.008)	0.141*** (0.008)	0.118*** (0.009)	0.122*** (0.009)	0.119*** (0.009)
Socio-demographics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census areas	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Time periods	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Years	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ideology	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Party with majority in Congress	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
R ²	.059	.066	.069	.070	.071	.071
N	33235	33087	33087	33087	31552	31552
<i>Panel B: average trust levels</i>						
<i>Democrats</i>						
- Republican president	0.380*** (0.004)	0.379*** (0.004)	0.378*** (0.004)	0.372*** (0.004)	0.372*** (0.004)	0.372*** (0.004)
- Democratic president	0.464*** (0.004)	0.467*** (0.004)	0.467*** (0.004)	0.473*** (0.004)	0.472*** (0.004)	0.473*** (0.004)
- Difference (Democratic pres. minus Republican pres.)	0.084*** (0.005)	0.088*** (0.005)	0.089*** (0.005)	0.101*** (0.005)	0.100*** (0.006)	0.101*** (0.006)
<i>Republicans</i>						
- Democratic president	0.320*** (0.004)	0.320*** (0.004)	0.320*** (0.004)	0.327*** (0.004)	0.326*** (0.005)	0.327*** (0.005)
- Republican president	0.553*** (0.004)	0.550*** (0.004)	0.551*** (0.004)	0.546*** (0.005)	0.548*** (0.005)	0.547*** (0.005)
- Difference (Republican pres. minus Democratic pres.)	0.232*** (0.006)	0.230*** (0.006)	0.231*** (0.006)	0.219*** (0.006)	0.221*** (0.006)	0.220*** (0.007)

Note: Panel A. OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Pooled cross-sectional data from 1974 to 2016. Dependent variable: confidence in executive branch of Federal Government, values rescaled from 0 (hardly any confidence) to 1 (a great deal of confidence). Weighted data. The models include the same set of covariates included in Table A4. In addition, models 5 and 6 include a categorical variable for ideology recoded in three categories (Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives), while Model 6 includes also dummies for which parties had the majority in the House/Senate at the time the survey was conducted.

Panel B. Average levels of trust and “president-in-power” effects within party identification categories. Calculations based on regression models in Panel A.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Figure B2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship



Note: Estimates based on model 4 in Table B2 (ANES) and model 4 in Table B3 (GSS). Column 3: average marginal effects of a president from the same party relative to a president from a different party (value 0 on Y-axis). Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals.

Appendix C: The role of moderates and independents (ANES, GSS)

In this appendix we replicate some of the analysis reported in Appendix A and Appendix B including also moderates and independents. The dependent variables are the same measures of trust in the government used in previous analysis.

In Table C1 we use a three-category variable for ideology (Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives), and we set the reference category as equal to either “Liberals” or “Moderates”. In addition, in all models we control for party identification.

In Table C2 we use a three-category variable for party identification (Democrats, Independents, and Republicans), and we set the reference category as equal to either “Democrats” or “Independents”. In addition, in all models we control for ideology.

As mentioned in the article, if we specify that moderates’ “own-ideology president” is a Republican, we find either that among moderates trust does not substantially change depending on the president in power (GSS) or that trust in government is higher under a Republican president than under a Democratic presidency (ANES). Importantly, however, the increase in trust under a Republican (vs. Democratic) president in ANES analysis is significantly larger among conservatives compared to moderates. When we compare Republicans with Independents we reach a similar conclusion.

Figure C1. Trust in the government by ideology (time trends including moderates)

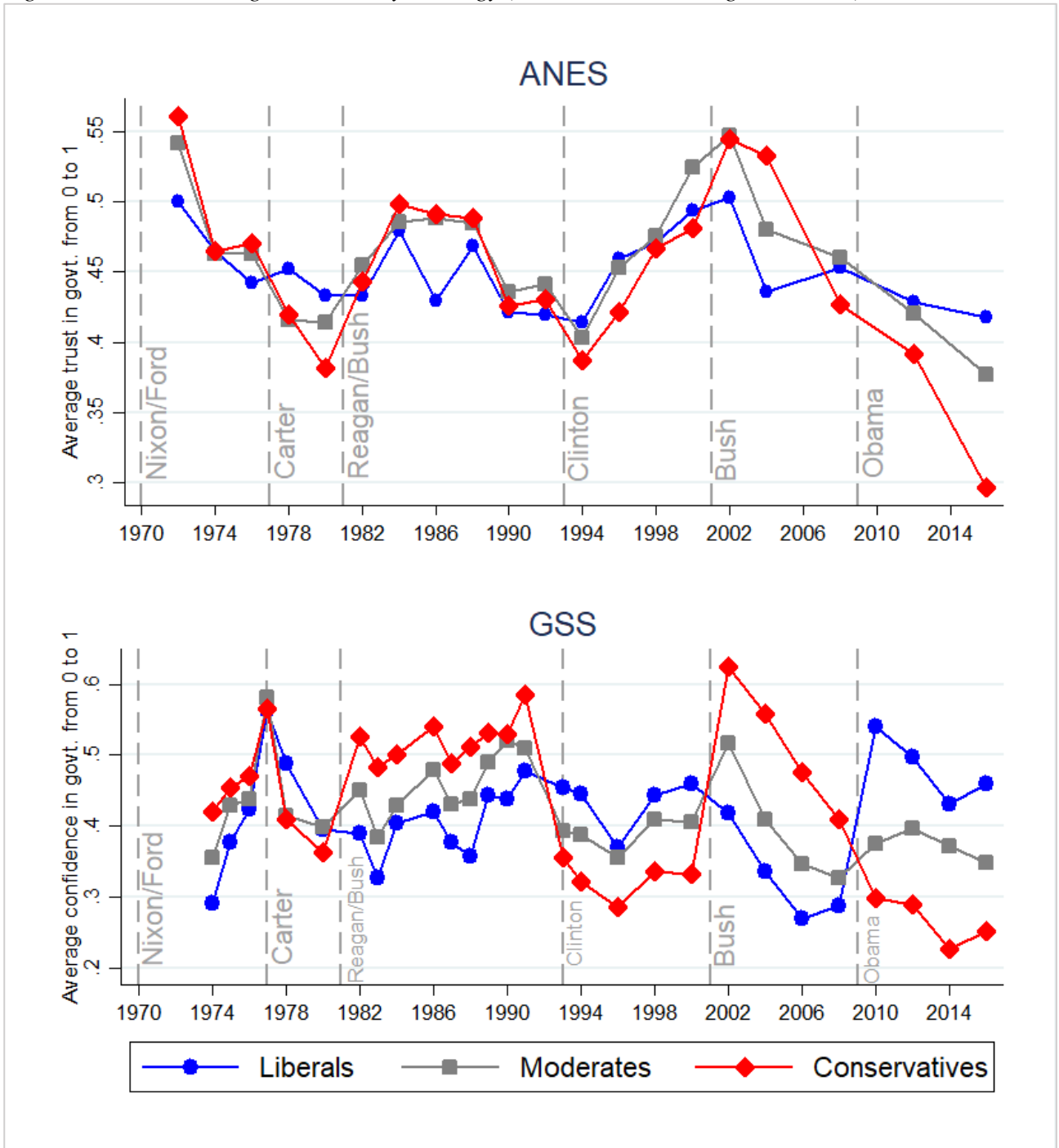


Table C1. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (including moderates)

	ANES	GSS		ANES	GSS
	(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>			<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, moderates</i>		
Own-ideology president, liberals	0.009 (0.006)	0.098*** (0.008)	Own-ideology president, moderates	0.037*** (0.005)	0.012 (0.006)
Other-ideology president, moderates	-0.017** (0.005)	0.043*** (0.007)	Other-ideology president, liberals	0.017** (0.005)	-0.043*** (0.007)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.057*** (0.005)	-0.044*** (0.007)	Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.040*** (0.005)	-0.087*** (0.006)
Own-ideology president x moderates	0.028*** (0.008)	-0.086*** (0.010)	Own-ideology president x liberals	-0.028*** (0.008)	0.086*** (0.010)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.067*** (0.007)	0.062*** (0.010)	Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.038*** (0.007)	0.148*** (0.009)
Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes	Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes
Census areas	Yes	Yes	Census areas	Yes	Yes
Years	Yes	Yes	Years	Yes	Yes
Party identification	Yes	Yes	Party identification	Yes	Yes
R ²	.055	.042	R ²	.055	.042
N	24149	36631	N	24149	36631

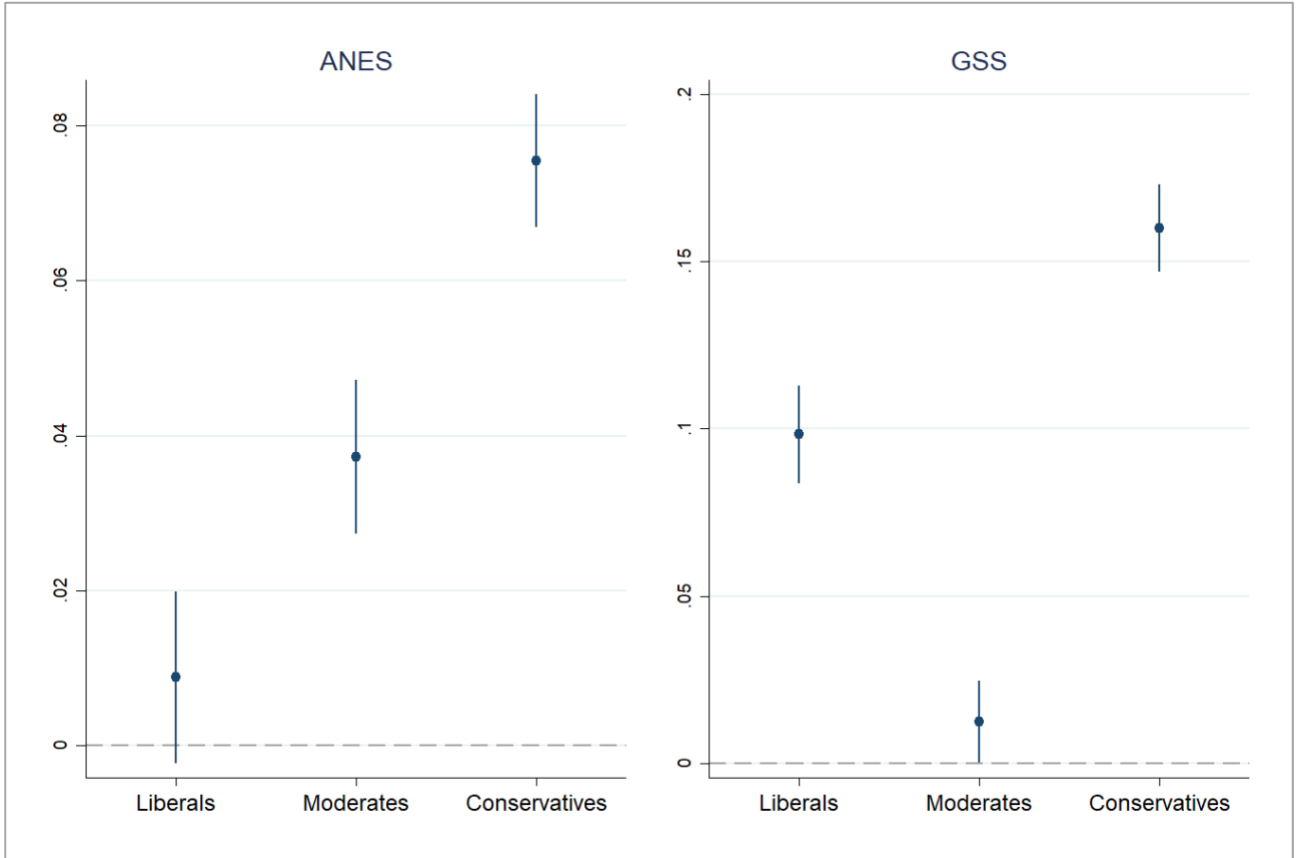
Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from American National Election Studies (ANES) and General Social Survey (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972/1974 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D).

Dependent variable: ANES, trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (“None of the time/Never”) to 1 (“Just about always/Always”); GSS, confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values rescaled from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”). “Own-ideology president” for moderates equal to Republican president.

The models include the same set of socio-demographic variables included in Table A3 (ANES) and Table A4 (GSS), in addition to a three-category variable for party identification (Democrats, Independents, and Republicans). Weighted data.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Figure C2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (including moderates)



Note: Average marginal effects of a president with similar ideology, relative to a president with different ideology (value 0 on Y-axis). “Own-ideology president” for moderates equal to Republican president. Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals. Estimates based on models 1 and 2 in Table C1.

Figure C3. Trust in the government by partisanship (time trends including independents)

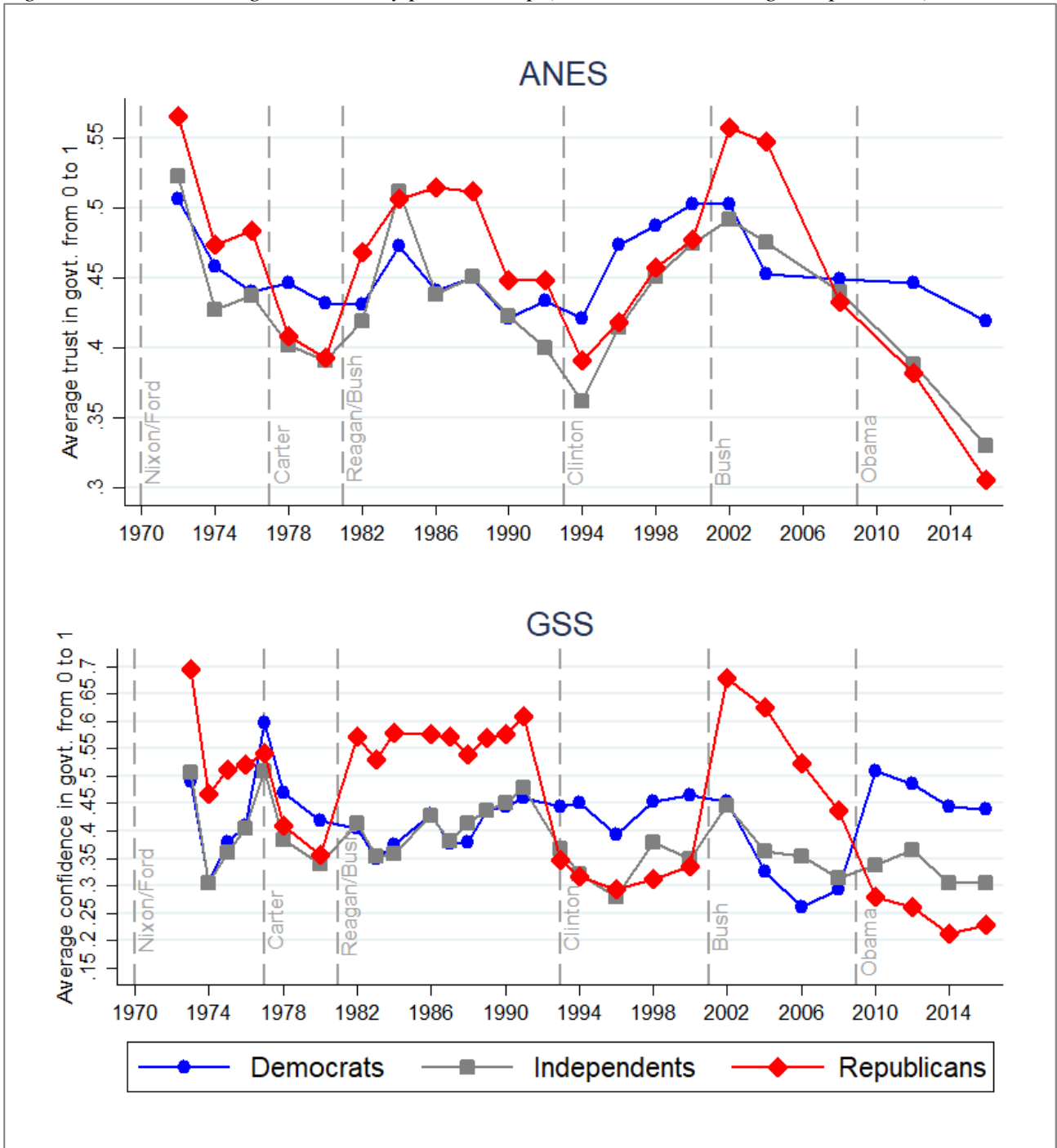


Table C2. *President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship (including independents)*

	ANES	GSS		ANES	GSS
	(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)
<i>Ref: Other-party president, democrats</i>			<i>Ref: Other-party president, independents</i>		
Own-party president, democrats	0.006 (0.004)	0.099*** (0.005)	Own-party president, independents	0.058*** (0.009)	0.023* (0.010)
Other-party president, independents	-0.054*** (0.008)	-0.010 (0.008)	Other-party president, democrats	0.054*** (0.008)	0.010 (0.008)
Other-party president, republicans	-0.055*** (0.005)	-0.044*** (0.006)	Other-party president, republicans	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.035*** (0.008)
Own-party president x independents	0.052*** (0.010)	-0.076*** (0.012)	Own-party president x democrats	-0.052*** (0.010)	0.076*** (0.012)
Own-party president x republicans	0.090*** (0.006)	0.123*** (0.009)	Own-party president x republicans	0.038*** (0.010)	0.199*** (0.012)
Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes	Socio-demographics	Yes	Yes
Census areas	Yes	Yes	Census areas	Yes	Yes
Years	Yes	Yes	Years	Yes	Yes
Ideology	Yes	Yes	Ideology	Yes	Yes
R ²	.062	.067	R ²	.062	.067
N	24149	36631	N	24149	36631

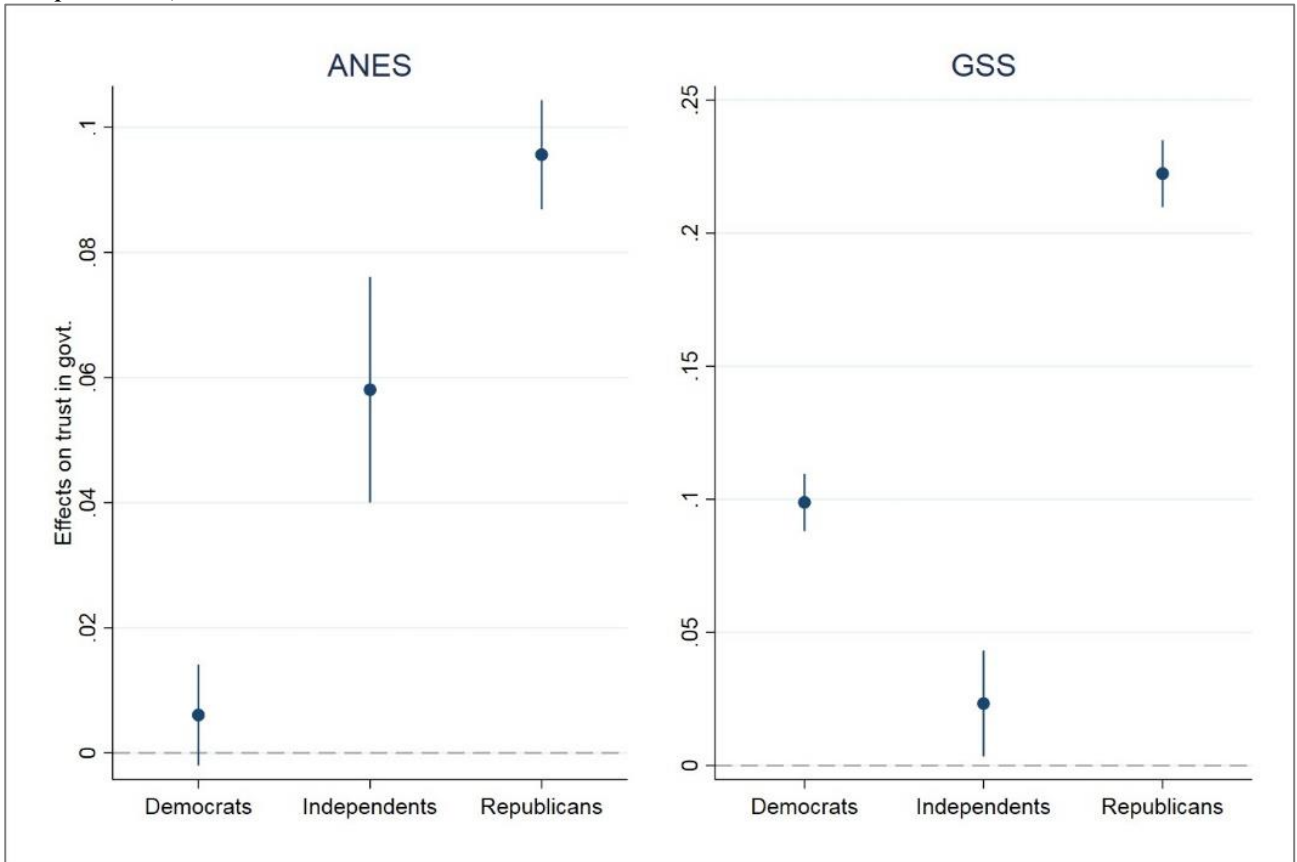
Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from American National Election Studies (ANES) and General Social Survey (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972/1974 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D).

Dependent variable: ANES, trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (“None of the time/Never”) to 1 (“Just about always/Always”); GSS, confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values rescaled from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”). “Own-party president” for independents equal to Republican president.

The models include the same set of socio-demographic variables included in Table A3 (ANES) and Table A4 (GSS), in addition to a three-category variable for ideology (Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives). Weighted data.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Figure C4. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship (including independents)



Note: Average marginal effects of a president from the same party as the respondent relative to a president from a different party (value 0 on Y-axis). “Own-party president” for independents equal to Republican president. Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals. Estimates based on models 1 and 2 in Table C2.

Appendix D: List of surveys and question wording*Table D1. List of ANES and GSS surveys included in the analysis*

President's party	President	Year	ANES survey	GSS survey
Republican	Richard Nixon	1972	x	
		1974	x	x
	Gerald Ford	1975		x
		1976	x	x
Democratic	Jimmy Carter	1977		x
		1978	x	x
		1980	x	x
Republican	Ronald Reagan	1982	x	x
		1983		x
		1984	x	x
		1986	x	x
		1987		x
		1988	x	x
	George H. W. Bush	1989		x
		1990	x	x
		1991		x
		1992	x	
Democratic	Bill Clinton	1993		x
		1994	x	x
		1996	x	x
		1998	x	x
Republican	George W. Bush	2000	x	x
		2002	x	x
		2004	x	x
		2006		x
Democratic	Barack Obama	2008	x	x
		2010		x
		2012	x	x
		2014		x
		2016	x	x

Note: List of all ANES and GSS surveys that include at least one question about trust in government as well as questions about ideology and party identification.

Question wording

American National Election Studies (ANES)

Trust in the government (1972-2012)

Q: How Much Does R Trust the Federal Govt To Do What is Right

A: None of the time / Some of the time / Most of the time / Just about always

Trust in the government (2016)

Q: How often can you trust the federal government in Washington to do what is right?

A: Always / Most of the time / About half the time / Some of the time / Never

Trust index

1972-2012

Q: How Much Does R Trust the Federal Govt To Do What is Right

A: None of the time / Some of the time / Most of the time / Just about always

2016

Q: How often can you trust the federal government in Washington to do what is right?

A: Always / Most of the time / About half the time / Some of the time / Never

1972-2016

Q: Is Federal Govt Run by Few Interests/for the Benefit of All

A: Few big interests / Benefit of all

1972-2016

Q: How Much Does the Federal Government Waste Tax Money

A: A lot / Some / Not very much

Party identification

Q: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

A: Strong Democrat / Weak Democrat / Independent - Democrat / Independent – Independent / Independent – Republican / Weak Republican / Strong Republican

Ideology

Q: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you [1996-LATER: Here is] a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

A: Extremely liberal / Liberal / Slightly liberal / Moderate, middle of the road / Slightly conservative / Conservative / Extremely conservative

General Social Survey (GSS)

Confidence in the federal government

Q: I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?

Executive branch of the federal government

A: A great deal / Only some / Hardly any

Party identification

Q: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

A: Strong democrat / Not strong democrat / Independent, near democrat / Independent / Independent, near republican / Not strong republican / Strong republican

Ideology

Q: We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal--point 1--to extremely conservative--point 7. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

A: Extremely liberal / Liberal / Slightly liberal / Moderate / Slightly conservative / Conservative / Extremely conservative

Appendix E: PEW data

In this appendix we replicate the analysis of president-in-power effects using pooled cross-sectional data from the **PEW Research Center**. The dataset consists of **nine surveys conducted from 2006 to 2017** (see list below), which include at least one question about trust in the government as well as questions about ideology and party identification.

The **dependent variable** is a measure of trust that has been consistently asked in each survey (“How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?”). For consistency with previous analysis, we treat the variable as a quasi-interval variable, with values rescaled from 0 (“Never”) to 1 (“Just about always”).

In Table E1 we interact a dummy variable for ideology – with the category “Liberal” equal to “Very liberal” and “Liberal”, and the category “Conservative” equal to “Very conservative” and “Conservative” – with a president-in-power variable that we created following the same procedure used for the other datasets. Figure E1 plots the results from model 2 in Table E1. In Table E2 we replace ideology with party identification, and we plot the results in Figure E2.

In model 4 of Table E1 and model 4 of Table E2 we restrict the analysis to the two latest surveys conducted in 2015 and 2017, in order to test whether an asymmetrical president-in-power effect occurred also in the latest transition between the Obama and the Trump presidency. The findings confirm the existence of **an asymmetrical president-in-power effect that also applies to the most recent change of presidency**. That is, conservatives and Republicans exhibited a stronger tendency to trust the government more under a Trump (vs. Obama) presidency in comparison with liberals’ and Democrats’ tendency to trust the government more under an Obama (vs. Trump) presidency.

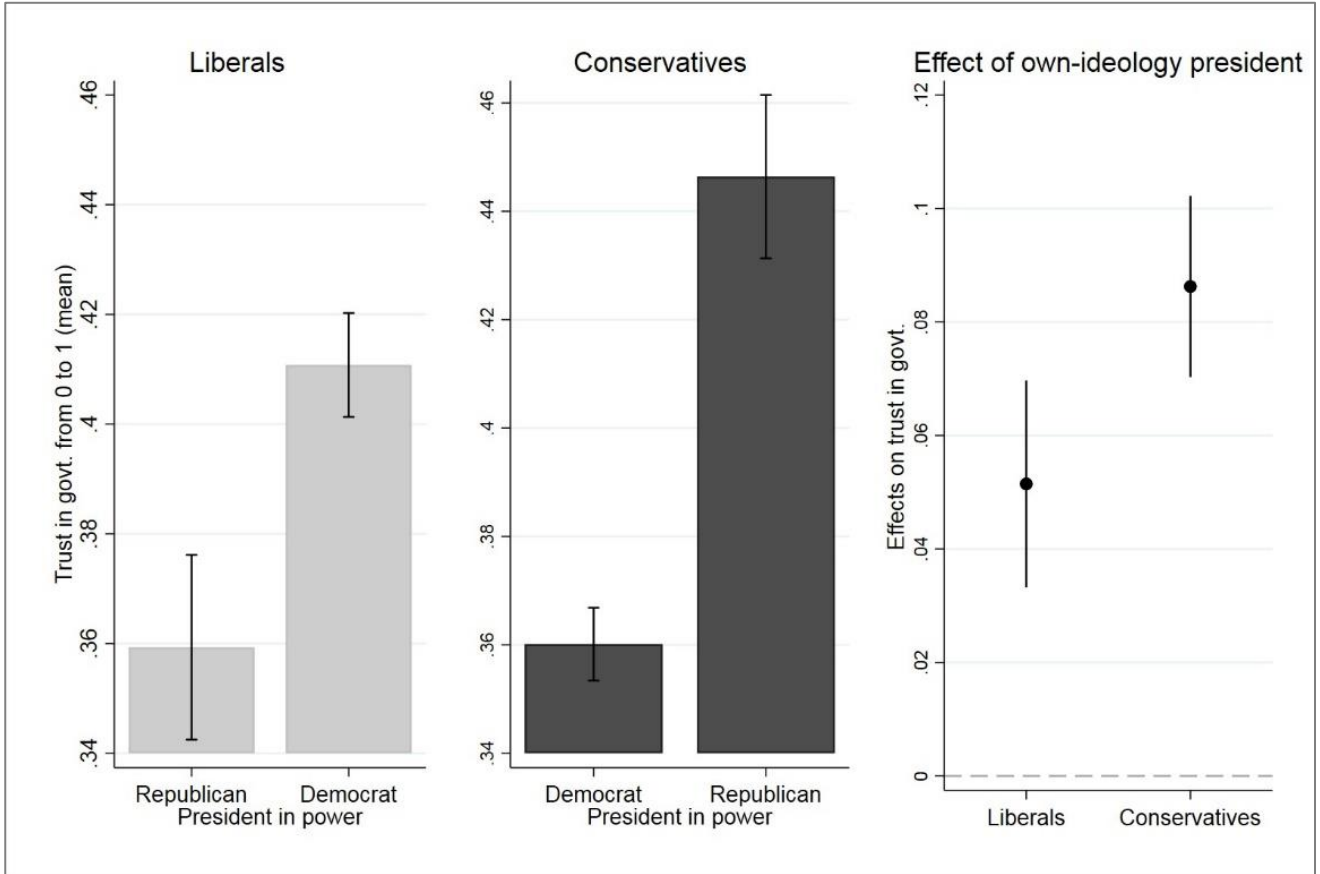
Table E1. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (PEW)

	All years (2006 – 2017)		Years 2006 (Bush) and 2010, March (Obama)		Years 2015 (Obama) and 2017 (Trump)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals</i>								
Own-ideology president, liberals	0.059***	(0.009)	0.052***	(0.009)	0.047**	(0.017)	0.036**	(0.013)
Other-ideology president, conservatives	-0.017*	(0.009)	0.001	(0.010)	-0.020	(0.015)	-0.027	(0.015)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	0.027*	(0.012)	0.035**	(0.012)	0.079***	(0.021)	0.043*	(0.019)
Gender (Female)			0.004	(0.005)	0.001	(0.010)	-0.002	(0.009)
Age			-0.001***	(0.0001)	-0.001***	(0.0001)	-0.001***	(0.0001)
Education (ref: grade 12 or less)								
High school			-0.031**	(0.010)	-0.049*	(0.022)	-0.030	(0.021)
Some college			-0.028*	(0.010)	-0.036	(0.022)	-0.026	(0.021)
College or more			-0.021*	(0.011)	-0.025	(0.022)	-0.032	(0.020)
Ethnicity (Afro-American)			0.025**	(0.009)	0.027	(0.022)	-0.020	(0.016)
Income (ref: 1 st quintile)								
2 nd quintile			-0.020*	(0.008)	-0.015	(0.017)	-0.007	(0.015)
3 rd quintile			-0.021*	(0.007)	-0.011	(0.014)	-0.035**	(0.013)
4 th quintile			-0.017*	(0.007)	-0.004	(0.015)	-0.020	(0.014)
5 th quintile			-0.006	(0.010)	0.001	(0.024)	-0.013	(0.016)
Unreported/Don't know			0.002	(0.010)	0.003	(0.019)	-0.007	(0.018)
Religion (ref: Protestant)								
Catholic			0.032***	(0.006)	0.018	(0.012)	0.028*	(0.013)
Jewish			0.026	(0.020)	0.101*	(0.045)	-0.026	(0.025)
None/Other			0.005	(0.006)	0.011	(0.014)	-0.010	(0.011)
Census area (ref: Northeast)								
Midwest			-0.002	(0.007)	-0.005	(0.015)	-0.017	(0.013)
South			0.016*	(0.007)	0.002	(0.014)	-0.002	(0.012)
West			0.003	(0.007)	-0.022	(0.015)	-0.007	(0.013)
Missing (2016)								
Party ID (ref: independents)								
Democrats			0.076***	(0.006)	0.067***	(0.013)	0.049***	(0.011)
Republicans			0.018***	(0.006)	0.027*	(0.013)	0.022	(0.012)
Time (months)			-0.0002***	(0.0001)				
Constant	0.368***	(0.008)	0.392***	(0.017)	0.416***	(0.032)	0.427***	(0.029)
R ²	.032		.074		.090		.045	
N	14041		13329		2485		4295	

Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from PEW Research Center. Models 1 and 2: pooled cross-sectional data from 2006 to 2017 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see below). Dependent variable: “How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?”, values rescaled from 0 (“Never”) to 1 (“Just about always”). Ideology recoded in two categories: Liberal (equal to “Very liberal” and “Liberal”) and Conservative (equal to “Very conservative” and “Conservative”). “Time” variable equal to progressive number of months starting from December 2016. Weighted data.

* p < 0.5, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001, two-tailed tests.

Figure E1. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology (PEW)



Note: Estimates based on model2 in Table E1. Right-hand plot: average marginal effects of a president with similar ideology, relative to a president with different ideology (value 0 on Y-axis). Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals.

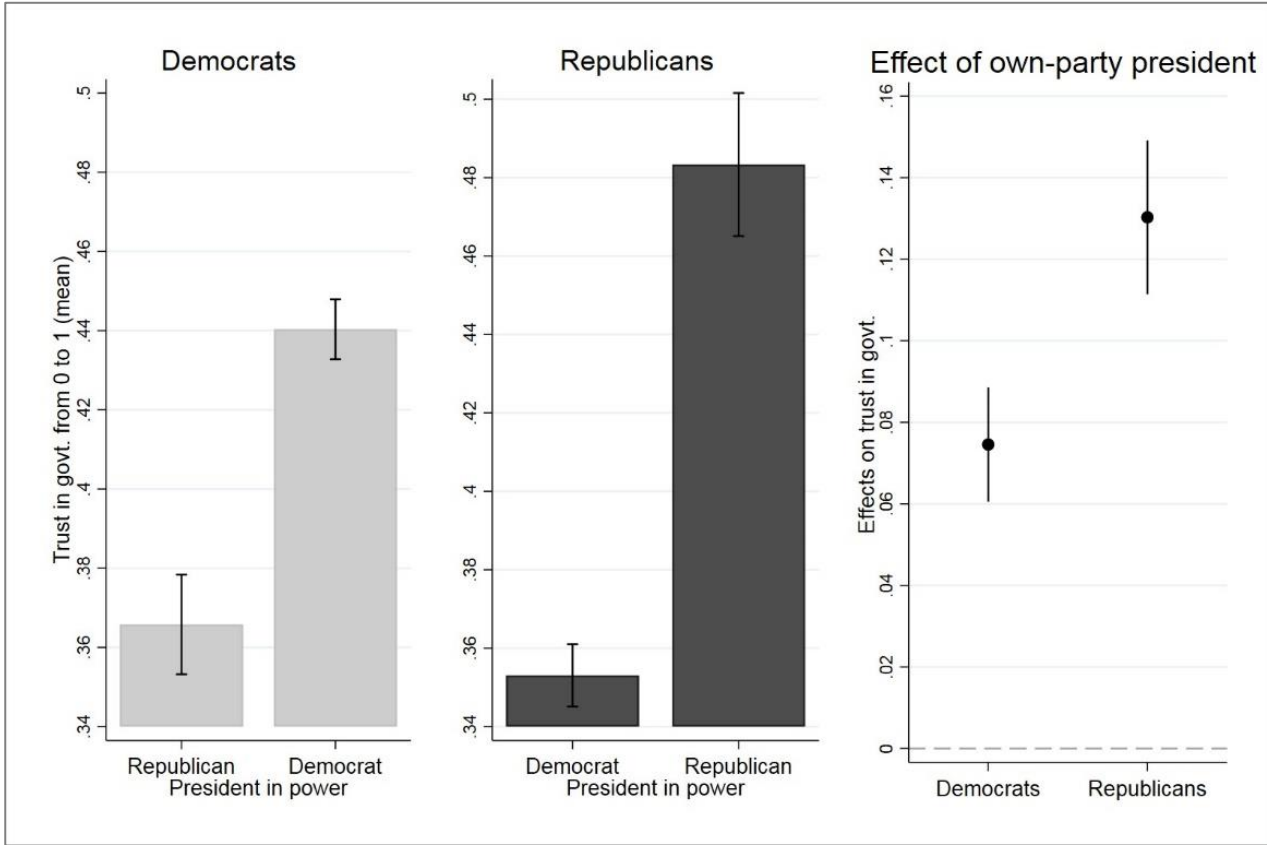
Table E2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship (PEW)

	All years (2006 – 2017)		Years 2006 (Bush) and 2010, March (Obama)		Years 2015 (Obama) and 2017 (Trump)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
<i>Ref: Other-party president, democrats</i>						
Own-party president, democrats	0.077*** (0.007)	0.074*** (0.007)	0.052*** (0.012)	0.068*** (0.011)		
Other-party president, republicans	-0.028*** (0.007)	-0.013 (0.008)	-0.060*** (0.014)	-0.021 (0.014)		
Own-party president x republicans	0.046*** (0.012)	0.056*** (0.012)	0.125*** (0.018)	0.059** (0.019)		
Socio-demographics	No	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Census areas	No	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Ideology	No	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Time (months)	No	Yes	No	No		
R ²	.063	.076	.096	.066		
N	13157	12711	2551	3970		

Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses. Data from PEW Research Center. Models 1 and 2: pooled cross-sectional data from 2006 to 2017 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see below). Dependent variable: “How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?”, values rescaled from 0 (“Never”) to 1 (“Just about always”). “Time” variable equal to progressive number of months starting from December 2016. Models 2 to 4 include the same set of socio-demographic covariates reported in Table E1, in addition to a categorical variable for ideology recoded in three categories (Liberals, Moderates, and Conservatives). Weighted data.

* $p < 0.5$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, two-tailed tests.

Figure E2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by partisanship (PEW)



Note: Estimates based on model2 in Table E2. Right-hand plot: average marginal effects of a president from the same party as respondent relative to a president from a different party (value 0 on Y-axis). Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals.

List of surveys used in the analysis

- Pew Research Center April 2017 Political Survey
- Pew Research Center 2015 Governance Survey
- Pew Research Center 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey
- Pew Research Center For The People & The Press October 2013 Political Survey
- Pew Research Center For The People & The Press January 2013 Political Survey
- Pew Research Center For The People & The Press August 2011 Political Survey
- Pew Research Center For The People & The Press September 2010 Political-Independents Survey
- Pew Research Center For The People & The Press March 2010 Trust In Government Survey
- Pew Research Center For The People & The Press December 2006 Values Update Survey

Question wording

Trust in the government

- Q: How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?
A: Just about always / Most of the time / Only some of the time / Never

Party identification

- Q: In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?
A: Republican / Democrat / Independent / No preference / Other party / Don't know/Refused

Ideology

- Q: In general, would you describe your political views as...
A: Very conservative / Conservative / Moderate / Liberal / Very liberal / Don't know/Refused

Appendix F: Aggregate data (surveys retrieved from Pew Research Center)

We collected aggregate levels of trust in the government by ideology/partisanship from 128 surveys **conducted between 1972 and 2017**. We retrieved the data from the Pew Research Center.¹ The surveys come from six different research centers and polling companies (number of surveys in parentheses): ABC/POST (20), CBS/NYT (52), CNN (6), Gallup (16), NES (19), PEW (15).

For each survey we created two observations corresponding to the percentage of Liberal-Democrats/leaning Democrats who trust the government in Washington always or most of the time, and the same percentage for Conservative-Republicans/leaning Republicans.² We subsequently created an “own-party president” variable by matching ideology with the party of the president in power at the time the survey was conducted following the procedure used in previous analysis.

Table F1 summarizes results from regression analysis. The **dependent variable** is the aggregate share of respondents who trust the government in Washington always or most of the time ranging from 0 to 1. In addition to controlling for the survey company that collected the data, in models 2 and 3 we added a time variable corresponding to the progressive number of months in which each survey was conducted, using the month of January 1972 as a starting point. Lastly, in Model 3 we added two dummy variables measuring which party (either the Democratic or the Republican party) had the majority of seats in the Senate and in the House of Representatives at the time the survey was conducted.

The results in Table F1 and Figure F1 show **a clear asymmetrical president-in-power effect**: conservatives/republicans trust the government 22-25 percentage points more than liberals/democrats do under a like-minded president. At the same time, conservatives/republicans trust the government 10-11 percentage points less than liberals do when a president from a different party is in the White House.

¹ Pew Research Center (2017). “Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017”, December 14 2017. Available at: <http://www.people-press.org/2017/12/14/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017/> [retrieved on July 1, 2018].

² Data for either Liberals/Conservatives only or Democrats/Republicans only are not available.

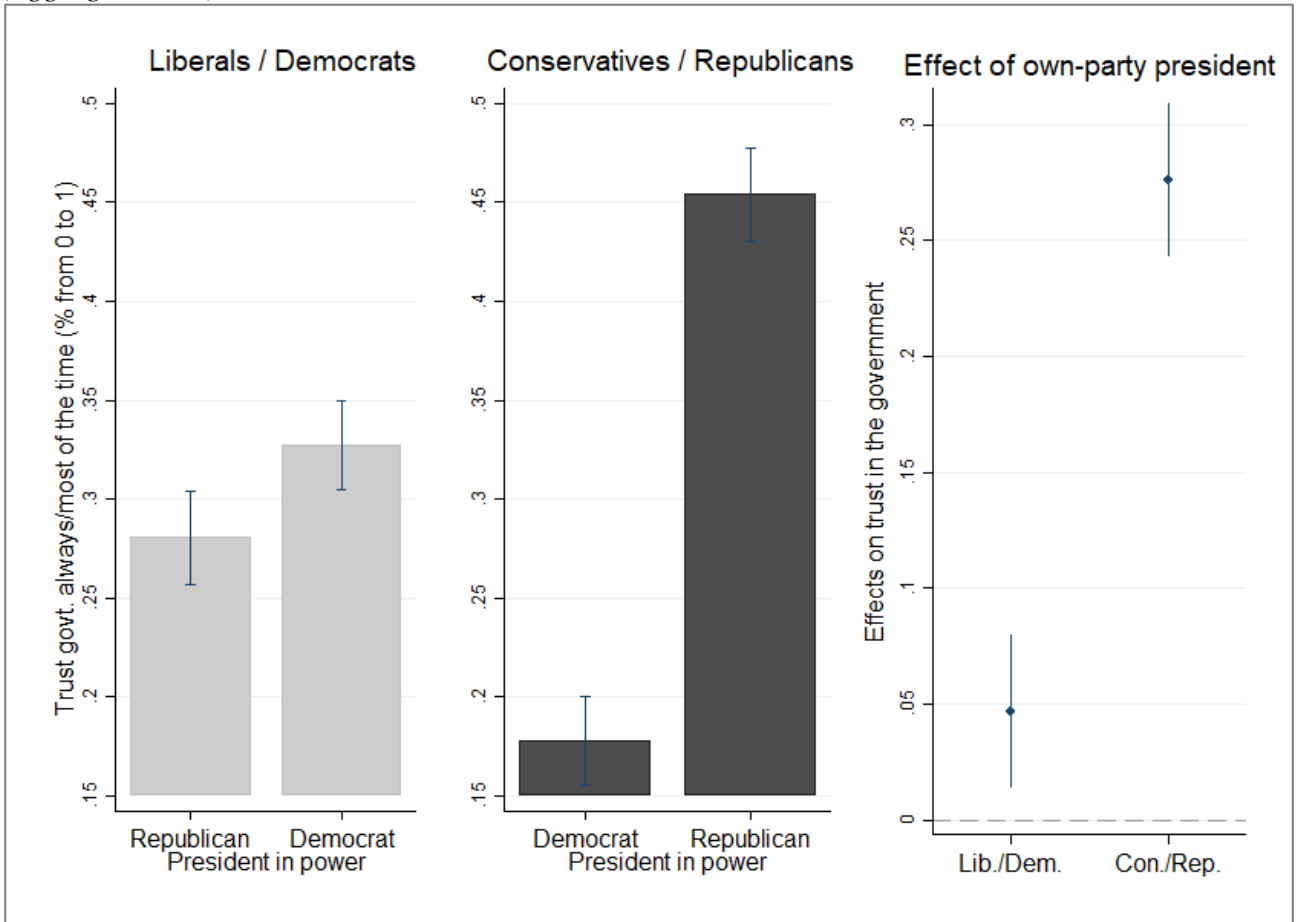
Table F1. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology/partisanship (aggregate data)

	% who trust govt. in Washington always or most of the time		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Ref: Other-party president, Liberal/Democrats</i>			
Own-party president, Liberal/Democrats	0.034* (0.017)	0.052** (0.017)	0.047** (0.017)
Other-party president, Conservative/Republicans	-0.113*** (0.017)	-0.095*** (0.017)	-0.103*** (0.017)
Own-party president x Conservative/Republicans	0.252*** (0.025)	0.216*** (0.025)	0.229*** (0.024)
Source (ref: ABC/POST)			
- CBS/NYT		-0.013 (0.018)	-0.019 (0.018)
- CNN		-0.022 (0.034)	0.006 (0.034)
- GALLUP		0.008 (0.023)	-0.006 (0.023)
- NES		0.025 (0.021)	0.021 (0.021)
- PEW		-0.033 (0.026)	-0.033 (0.026)
Time (months)		-0.0001** (0.0001)	-0.0001*** (0.0001)
Senate majority (ref: Democrats)			
- Republicans			-0.012 (0.015)
House majority (ref: Democrats)			
- Republicans			0.066*** (0.018)
Constant	0.286*** (0.013)	0.336*** (0.022)	0.359*** (0.023)
R ²	.515	.558	.583
Number of surveys	128	128	128
Observations	256	256	256

Note: OLS regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable: share of respondents who trust the government in Washington always or most of the time (values from 0 to 1). Aggregate data from 128 surveys from 1972 to 2017 (data retrieved from Pew Research Center). “Time” variable equal to progressive number of months starting from January 1972.

* p < 0.5, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001, two-tailed tests.

Figure F1. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology/partisanship (aggregate data)



Note: Bar graphs: share of respondents who trust the government in Washington always or most of the time (values from 0 to 1). Right-hand plot: average marginal effects of a president with similar ideology/from the same party, relative to a president with different ideology/from a different party (value 0 on Y-axis). Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals. Estimates based on model 3 in Table F1.

Appendix G. Analysis of changing effects over time

In this appendix we analyze whether the identified effects change in a substantial (and statistically significant) way over time.

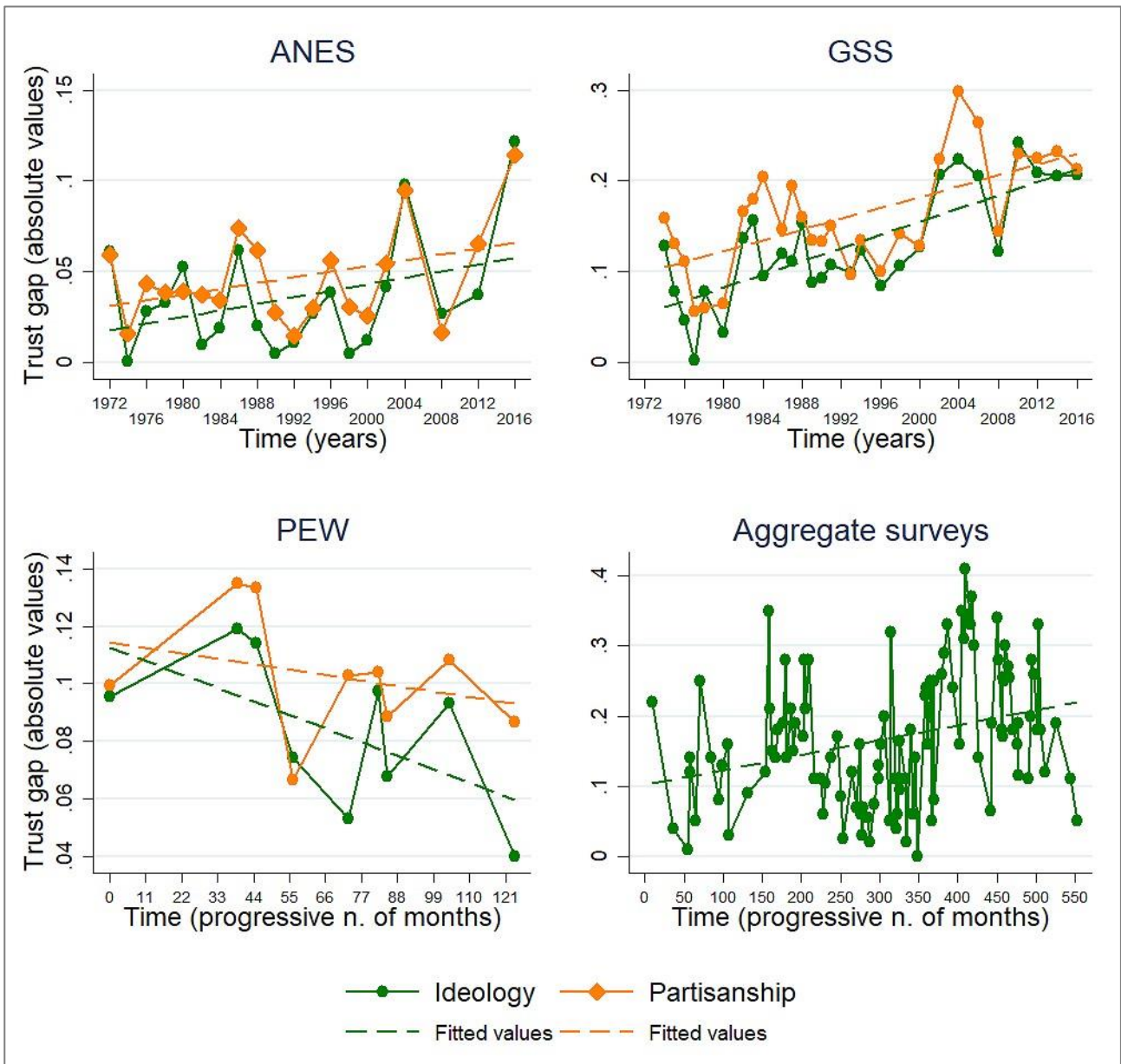
First, we analyze whether the “gap” in trust in the government between liberals/Democrats and conservatives/Republicans increases over time. The results illustrated in Figure G1 suggest that **the “trust gap” between both liberals/conservatives and Democrats/Republicans increased over time in all dataset apart from PEW**. Regression analysis, however, indicates that such an increase is statistically significant only when we consider data from GSS and from aggregate surveys.

Second, in Table G2 we present the results from regression models in which we introduce **triple interactions with respondents’ ideology, president in power, and a time variable treated as an interval variable**. The aim is to test whether president-in-power effects changed over time.

In interpreting the models in Table G2 it is important to keep in mind that we need to have at least *two surveys* – one survey conducted under a Democratic president and one survey conducted under a Republican president – in order to estimate a president-in-power effect on trust in the government. In other words, we cannot estimate the effect of the president in power *within the same survey*. In addition, it is important to consider that these regression models impose an assumption of linearity that should be treated with caution, given that time trends in Figure 1 do not suggest a clearly linear trend of either increase or decrease of trust by ideology categories over time.

Keeping in mind these caveats, the triple interaction coefficients reported in Table G2 and the results plotted in Figure G2 indicate that the asymmetrical president-in-power effect increases over time only in GSS data, but it remains stable both in PEW data and in the time series of aggregate levels of trust. In ANES data, on the contrary, the asymmetrical president-in-power effect decreases over time. Based on these analyses, therefore, we conclude that **we do not observe a clear increase in the asymmetry in president-in-power effects over time**.

Figure G1. Change in “trust gap” by ideology and partisanship over time



Note: Trust gap equal to the absolute value of the average level of trust in the government for liberals/democrats minus the average level of trust in the government for conservatives/republicans at each point in time. The values range from 0 (no gap) to 1 (maximum gap).

Table G1. Regressions of “trust gap” on time variables

	<i>Trust gap (absolute values)</i>						
	ANES		GSS		PEW		Aggregate
	<i>Ideology</i>	<i>Partisanship</i>	<i>Ideology</i>	<i>Partisanship</i>	<i>Ideology</i>	<i>Partisanship</i>	<i>Ideology</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Time	0.090 (0.053)	0.079 (0.045)	0.364*** (0.061)	0.299*** (0.073)	-0.043 (0.022)	-0.017 (0.021)	0.021** (0.006)
Constant	-176.139 (106.516)	-152.525 (88.942)	-712.747*** (120.595)	-579.973*** (145.597)	11.270*** (1.675)	11.442*** (1.610)	10.202*** (2.196)
R ²	.089	.101	.566	.369	.351	.087	.083
N	20	20	28	28	9	9	110

Note: OLS regressions with standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable: “trust gap” by ideology (columns 1, 3, 5, and 7) or by partisanship (columns 2, 4, and 6). Trust gap equal to the absolute value of the average level of trust in the government for liberals/democrats minus the average level of trust in the government for conservatives/republicans at each point in time. The values range from 0 (no gap) to 100 (maximum gap). Time: years (ANES, GSS); progressive number of months (PEW, aggregate surveys).

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

Table G2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by ideology and time variables

	ANES		GSS		PEW		Aggregate data	
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
<i>Ref: Other-ideology president, liberals, time 0</i>								
Own-ideology president	-4.241***	(0.989)	-1.991	(1.212)	0.076***	(0.017)	-0.050	(0.046)
Conservatives	-0.578	(0.928)	7.446***	(1.162)	-0.011	(0.015)	-0.067	(0.046)
Time	-0.0004	(0.0003)	-0.0009	(0.0005)	-0.0001	(0.0001)	-0.0002**	(0.0001)
Own-ideology president x conservatives	4.916***	(1.444)	-9.445***	(1.648)	0.041*	(0.021)	0.247***	(0.066)
Own-ideology president x time	0.002***	(0.0005)	0.001	(0.001)	-0.0001	(0.0001)	0.0003*	(0.0001)
Conservatives x time	0.0003	(0.0005)	-0.004***	(0.001)	0.0001	(0.0001)	-0.0000	(0.0000)
Own-ideology president x conservatives x time	-0.002***	(0.001)	0.005***	(0.001)	-0.0001	(0.0001)	-0.0001	(0.0001)
Socio-demographics	Yes		Yes		Yes		No	
Census areas	Yes		Yes		Yes		No	
Source	No		No		No		Yes	
R ²	.067		.060		.075		.589	
N	16300		22898		13329		256	

Note: OLS regressions with robust standard errors in parentheses.

Column 1: Data from American National Election Studies (ANES). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1972 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D). Dependent variable: trust in the Federal Government to do what is right, values rescaled from 0 (“None of the time/Never”) to 1 (“Just about always/Always”). “Time” variable correspond to the year in which the survey was conducted. The model includes the same set of socio-demographic covariates included in Table A3. Weighted data.

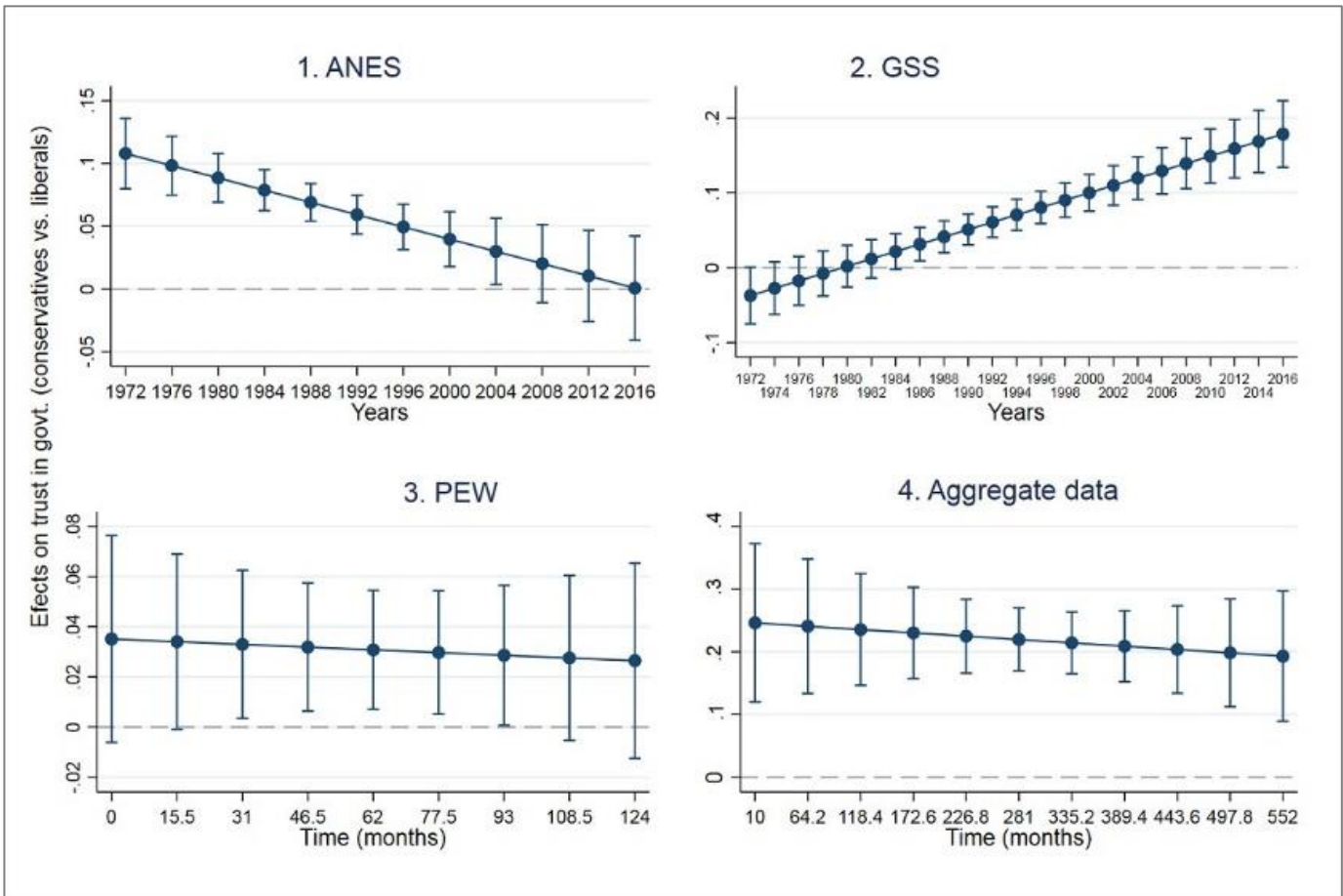
Column 2: Data from General Social Survey (GSS). Pooled cross-sectional data from 1974 to 2016 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Table D1 in Appendix D). Dependent variable: confidence in the executive branch of the federal government, values rescaled from 0 (“Hardly any”) to 1 (“A great deal”). “Time” variable correspond to the year in which the survey was conducted. The model includes the same set of socio-demographic covariates included in Table A4. Weighted data.

Column 3: Data from PEW Research Center. Pooled cross-sectional surveys from 2006 to 2017 (for the list of surveys included in the analysis, see Appendix E). Dependent variable: “How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?”, values rescaled from 0 (“Never”) to 1 (“Just about always”). “Time” variable equal to progressive number of months starting from December 2016. The model includes the same set of covariates included in Table E1. Weighted data.

Column 4: Aggregate data from 128 surveys from 1972 to 2017 (data retrieved from Pew Research Center, see Appendix F). Dependent variable: share of respondents who trust the government in Washington always or most of the time (values from 0 to 1). “Time” variable equal to progressive number of months starting from January 1972.

* p < 0.5, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001, two-tailed tests.

Figure G2. President-in-power effects on trust in the government by time variables (difference between conservatives and liberals)



Note: The figure plots the difference in the president-in-power effect on trust in the government between conservatives (blue lines) and liberals (value 0 on Y-axes) by periods of time. Vertical bars correspond to 95% confidence intervals. Estimates based on Table G1.