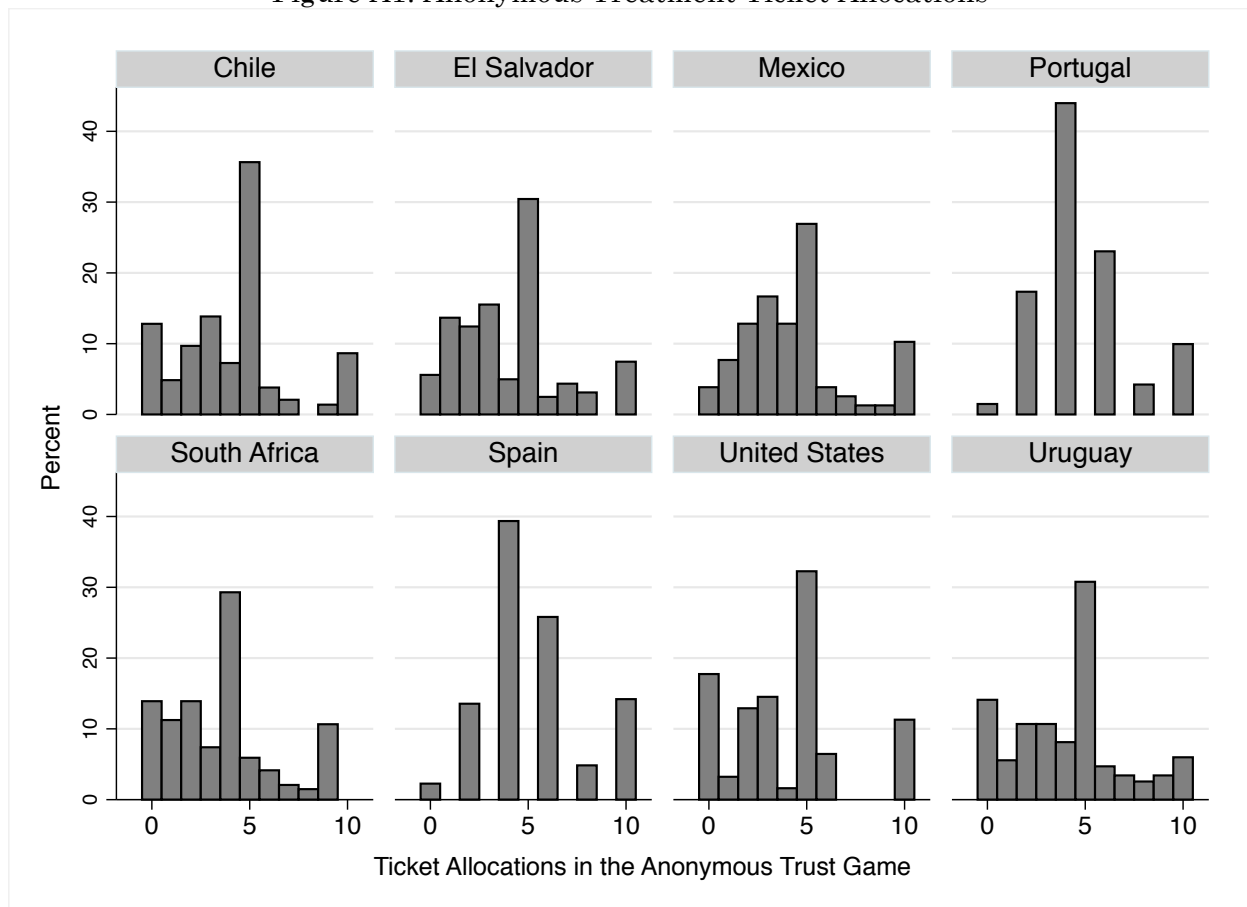


Online Supplemental Materials:

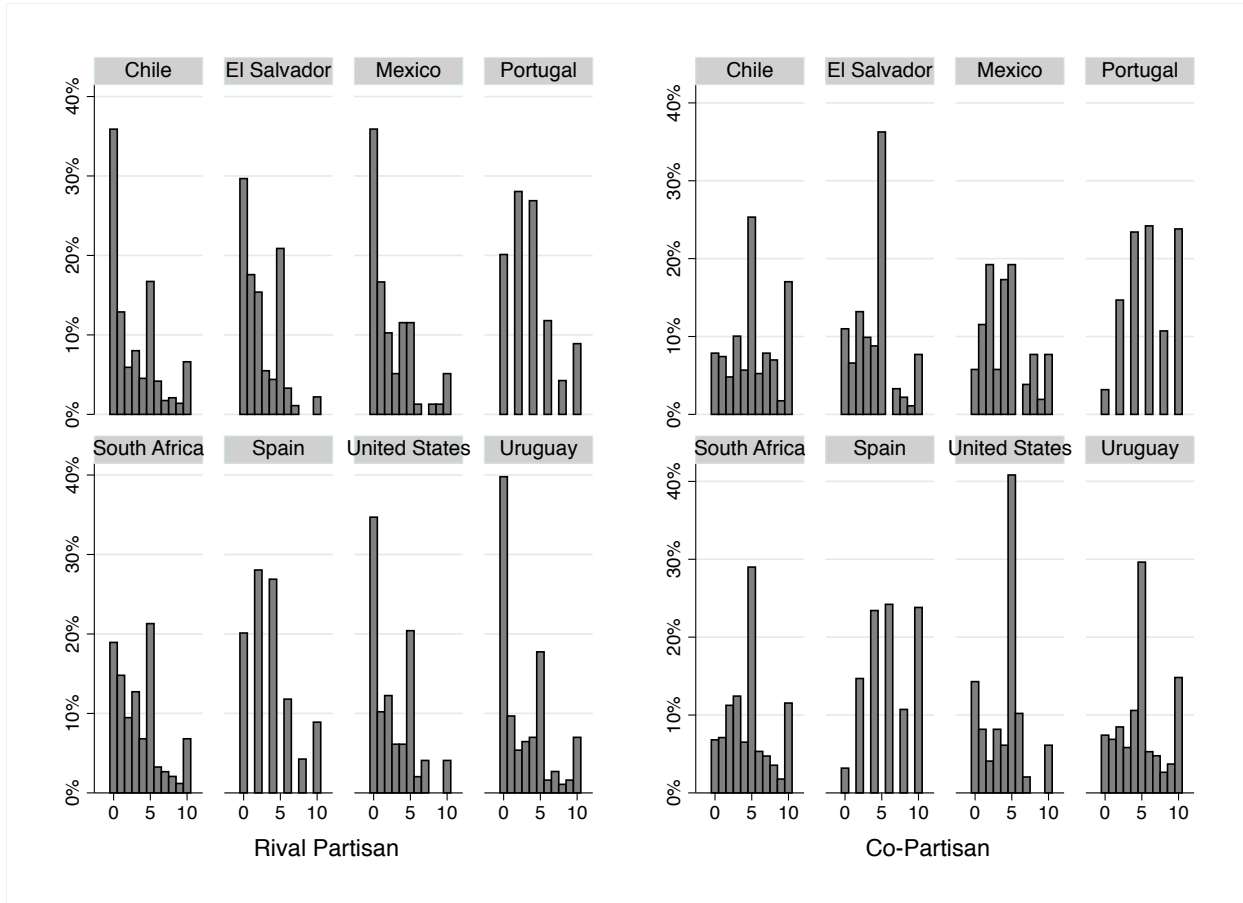
Political Competition and Interpersonal Trust in Electoral Democracies¹

Figure A1. Anonymous Treatment Ticket Allocations



¹ Data used in the paper are available for download from <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/BJPoLS> in Stata format.

Figure A2: Distribution of Tickets Sent to Rival and Co-Partisans



Note: Figure A2 clearly shows rightward shifts in both the mean and modal distributions of tickets going from rivals (left panel) to co-partisans (right panel) for each country. This suggests the observed partisan trust gaps are not driven by a few outliers or skewedness.

Figure A3: Mean Ticket Allocations by Class in El Salvador and South Africa

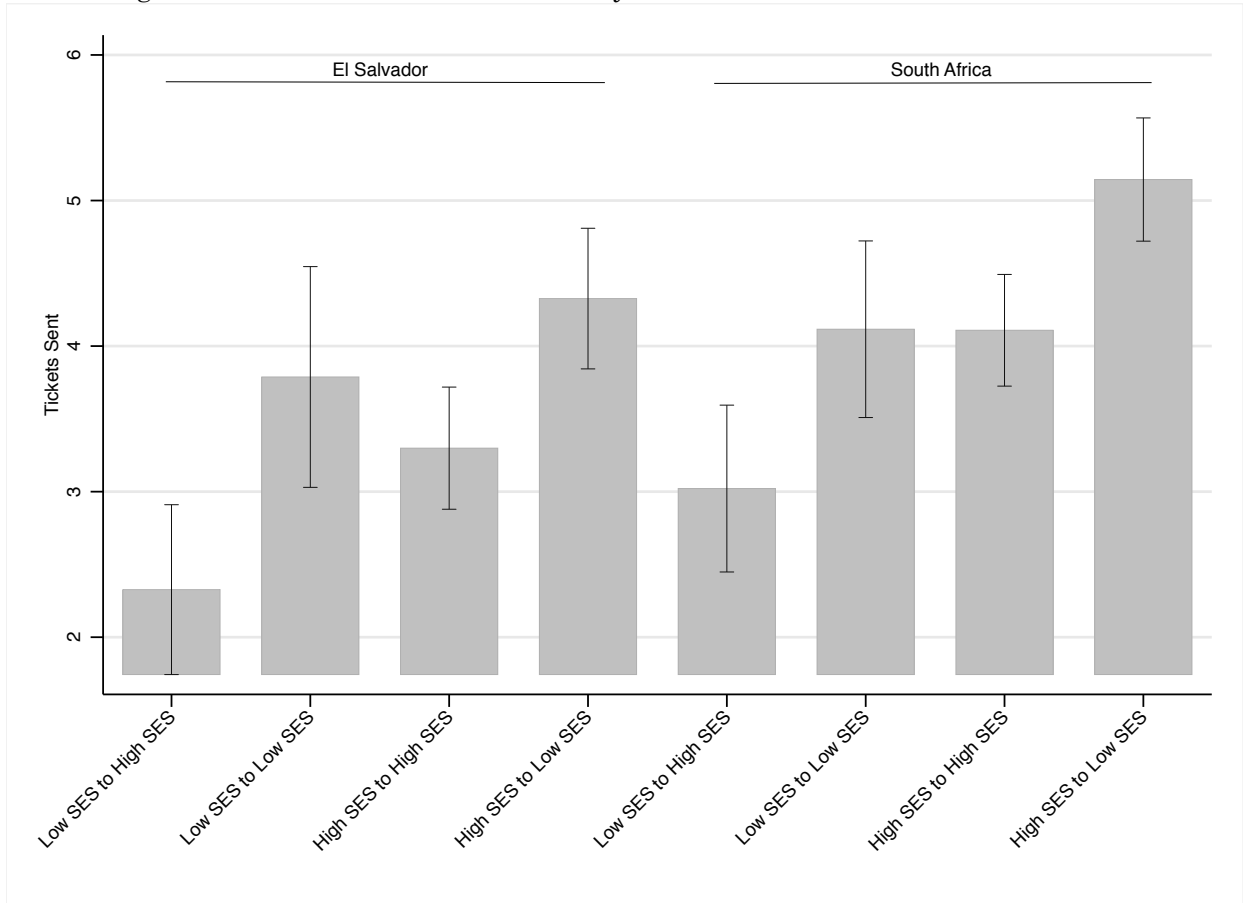


Figure A4: Mean Ticket Allocation by Class in Spain

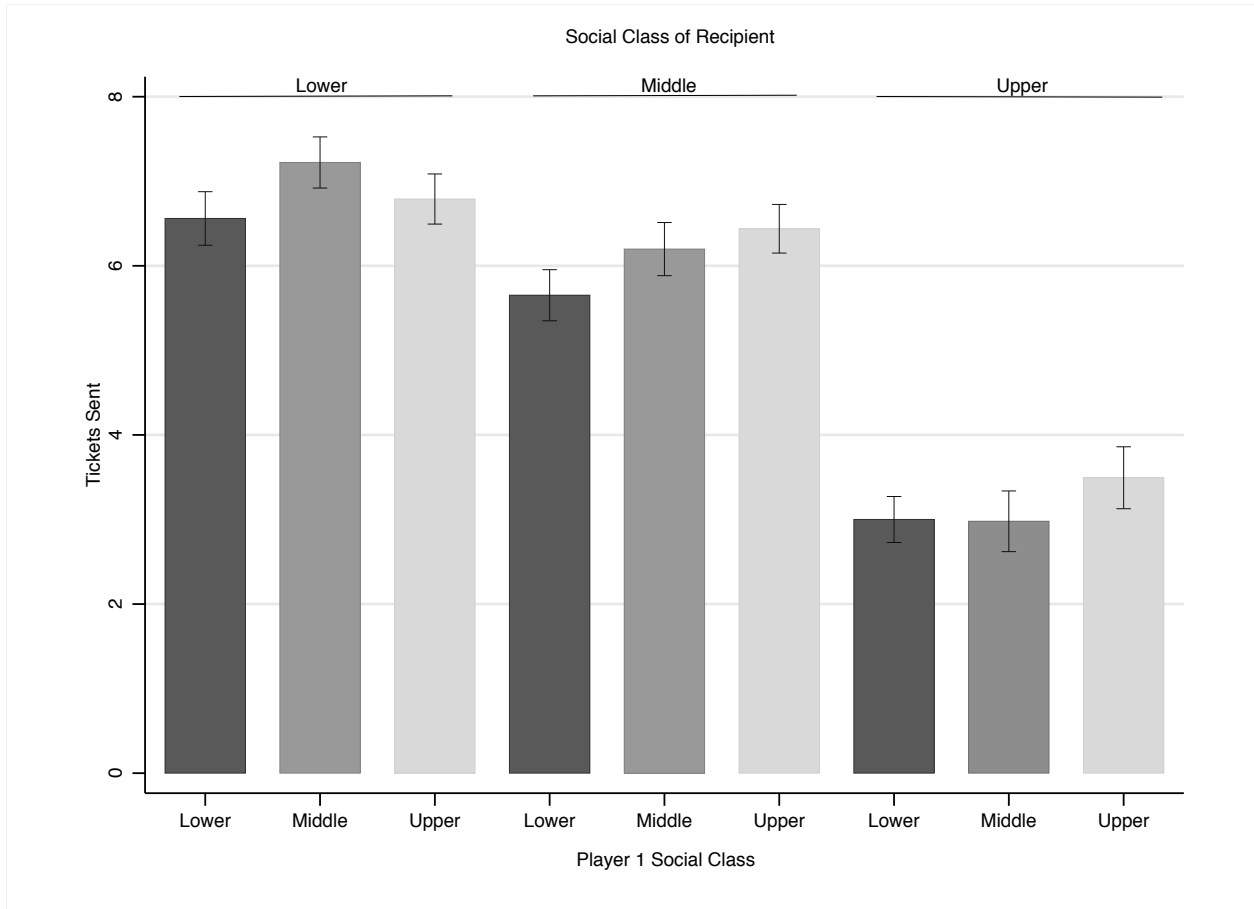


Figure A5: Mean Ticket Allocation Minimal Group Treatment

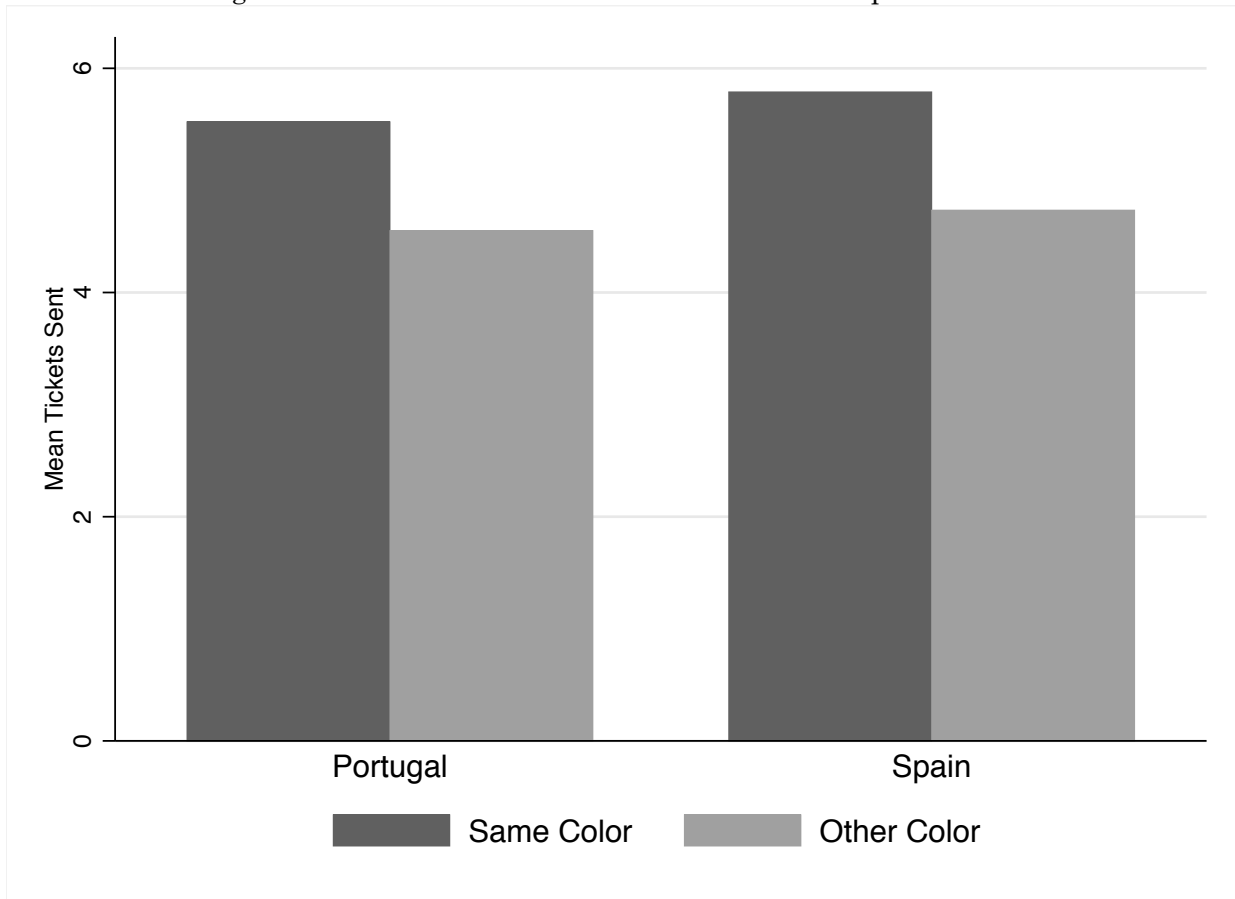


Table A1: Perceived Party Polarization and the Partisan Trust Gap

	El Salvador	South Africa	United States	Spain	Portugal	Mexico	Pooled
Perceived Polarization	1.109**	0.321**	0.906**	0.743***	1.078***	0.575*	0.712***
	<i>0.485</i>	<i>0.129</i>	<i>0.426</i>	<i>0.28</i>	<i>0.334</i>	<i>0.343</i>	<i>0.098</i>
Strength of Partisanship	<i>0.114</i>	<i>0.534**</i>	<i>1.859**</i>	<i>1.595***</i>	<i>0.654*</i>	<i>-0.157</i>	
	<i>0.516</i>	<i>0.223</i>	<i>0.706</i>	<i>0.474</i>	<i>0.341</i>	<i>0.201</i>	
Income/Class	-0.154	0.011	0.024	-0.646	-0.159	0.149	
	<i>0.121</i>	<i>0.044</i>	<i>0.146</i>	<i>0.401</i>	<i>0.127</i>	<i>0.136</i>	
Female	-0.527	0.861***	-0.323	0.927	0.525	0.281	-0.044
	<i>0.708</i>	<i>0.292</i>	<i>0.762</i>	<i>0.568</i>	<i>0.509</i>	<i>0.595</i>	<i>0.183</i>
Age				0.039	-0.012		0.063***
				<i>0.026</i>	<i>0.026</i>		<i>0.01</i>
PID: FMLN	0.245						
	<i>0.857</i>						
PID: ANC		-0.562					
		<i>0.393</i>					
PID: Democrat			0.284				
			<i>0.715</i>				
PID: PP				0.778			
				<i>0.549</i>			
PID: CDS-PP					0.224		
					<i>0.681</i>		
PID: PS					0.707		
					<i>0.606</i>		
PID: PCP					-0.023		
					<i>0.82</i>		
PID: PRI						2.723**	
						<i>1.086</i>	
White		0.134					
		<i>0.353</i>					
Constant	-0.136	0.005	-3.787*	-3.127*	-1.232	-1.018	1.396***
	<i>1.879</i>	<i>0.609</i>	<i>2.105</i>	<i>1.602</i>	<i>1.61</i>	<i>1.727</i>	<i>0.383</i>
R ²	0.14	0.08	0.29	0.22	0.1	0.15	0.11
N	69	299	45	137	177	88	921

Note: Robust standard errors in italics.

* p < .1, ** p < .05, two-tailed

Note for Mexico: PAN dummy excluded due to multicollinearity and small sample size.

Table A2: Balance Statistics for 1-3 propensity score nearest neighbor matching

Variable		Mean		%bias	t-test
		Treated	Control		<i>p</i>
Partisanship	Unmatched	4.5882	4.2667	18.6	0.257
	Matched	4.6515	4.1818	27.1	0.148
Income	Unmatched	5.7663	5.8611	-4.1	0.738
	Matched	6.0606	5.9545	4.6	0.78
Age	Unmatched	20.652	21.769	-24.9	0.142
	Matched	19.939	20.838	-20	0.161
Female	Unmatched	0.62745	0.48276	29.2	0.076
	Matched	0.65152	0.65152	0	1
Black	Unmatched	0.16667	0.13636	8.4	0.488
	Matched	0.18182	0.19192	-2.8	0.883
White	Unmatched	0.74731	0.79091	-10.3	0.395
	Matched	0.77273	0.73232	9.6	0.594
Town Size	Unmatched	3.043	2.8636	14.1	0.243
	Matched	3.0455	2.9646	6.3	0.701
Religious Attendance	Unmatched	3.1505	2.7273	32.9	0.007
	Matched	3.2273	3.3939	-13	0.491
Vote in 2010	Unmatched	1.6758	1.4673	42.9	0
	Matched	1.6667	1.6212	9.4	0.589
Political Knowledge	Unmatched	3.4785	3.4889	-0.5	0.966
	Matched	3.5152	3.3283	8.6	0.575

Table A3. International Events and Partisan Trust: Restricted Matching Model

DV:	Partisan Trust Gap	Co-Partisan Trust	Rival Partisan Trust
	I	II	III
After bin Laden's Death	-.988** <i>.48</i>	-.053 <i>.425</i>	.936** <i>.421</i>
Constant	2.11 <i>2.568</i>	5.59 <i>2.27</i>	3.488 <i>2.246</i>
N	146	146	146

Standard errors in italics. * p < .1, ** p < .05, two-tailed

Controls include: partisanship, gender, age, religious attendance

Table A4: Descriptive Statistics for Socio-demographic, partisan, and trust variables

Variable		Chile	El Salvador	Mexico	Portugal	South Africa	Spain	United States 2011	United States 2015	Uruguay	Pooled Model
Age	Mean	22	21	22	37.18	22.2	38	22	32	22	31.71
	Min	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
	Max	52	31	37	65	44	65	49	77	50	65
	Std. Dev.	3.67	2.65	2.64	11.27	4.01	12	4.9	11.25	4.08	12.27
Female	Mean	0.32	0.41	0.44	0.49	0.53	0.49	0.48		0.66	0.48
	Min	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Max	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Std. Dev.	0.47	0.49	0.49	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5		0.47	0.5
Income/Class	Mean	10.29	1.2	9.67	5.25	7.37	1.75	5.86	4.33	10.52	
	Min	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Max	11	3	11	12	11	3	8	9	12	
	Std. Dev.	1.32	0.83	2.1	2.04	4.02	0.78	2.25	2.23	1.71	

Race: Black	Mean					0.36			0.05	
	Min					0			0	
	Max					1			1	
	Std. Dev.					0.48			0.21	
Race: White	Mean					0.47			0.75	
	Min					0			0	
	Max					1			1	
	Std. Dev.					0.49			0.42	
Strength of Partisanship	Mean	3.46	1.11	3.12	2.04	2	2.3	1.58	1.67	3.3
	Min	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Max	4	3	5	4	4	4	3	3	4
	Std. Dev.	0.73	0.356	1.1	0.88	0.7	0.88	0.58	0.71	0.75
Perceived Polarization	Mean		2.7	2.44	2.48	2	2.71	2.65		2.51
	Min		0	0.57	0	0	0	0		0
	Max		4.24	5.6	6	6	6	6		6

	Std. Dev.		0.88	0.96	0.85	1.07	1.04	0.95			3.21
Trust: Anonymous	Mean	4.09	3.85	3.88	4.82	4.49	5.2	3.92	4.47	4.09	3.91
	Min	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Max	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
	Std. Dev.	2.68	2.65	2.71	2.33	2.73	2.52	2.92	3.31	2.75	2.92
Trust: Partisanship Gap	Mean	2.48	1.77	1.98	2.24	1.23	4.58	1.45	1.03	2.24	2.27
	Min	-8	-4	-7	-8	-8	-8	-4	-10	-6	-8
	Max	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
	Std. Dev.	3.47	2.91	2.81	3.31	2.54	3.54	2.57	2.62	2.87	3.21
Trust: Own Partisan	Mean	5.27	3.93	4.11	5.68	4.62	6.71	4.06	4.36	4.57	5.1
	Min	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Max	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
	Std. Dev.	3.07	2.61	3.05	2.92	2.83	2.76	2.57	3.42	2.82	2.98
Trust: Rival Partisan	Mean	2.81	2.17	2.32	3.68	3.39	2.13	2.61	3.33	2.78	2.98

Min	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Max	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Std. Dev.	3.04	2.14	2.82	2.88	2.86	2.67	2.71	3.29	3.11	2.91

Table A5. Difference in Trust Gaps between Subjects under 26 and Older Subjects

	United States 2015			Spain	
	Race	Partisanship	Class	Partisanship	Minimal Group
Difference between under 26 & older subjects	0.07 <i>0.17</i>	0.08 <i>0.34</i>	-0.70 <i>0.60</i>	0.13 <i>0.64</i>	0.42 <i>0.40</i>

Standard errors in italics. *<.1, **<.05, ***<.01, two-tailed

Note: Results are *t*-tests. Wilcoxon rank-sum non-parametric tests produce similar results.

Table A6: Perceived Party Polarization and the Partisan Trust Gap: Sample Weighted Pool Model

	Weighted Pooled Sample
Perceived Polarization	0.864***
	<i>0.119</i>
Female	-0.000
	<i>0.206</i>
Age	0.063***
	<i>0.011</i>
Constant	1.641***
	<i>0.437</i>
R ²	0.12
N	822

Note: Robust standard errors in italics. Sample weights included for each country to have an equal weight.

Sample Experimental Instrument
Mexico

Game order was randomized. Subjects played the role of Player 1 (Trustor) or Player 2 (Trustee), but not both. Treatments (game information) varied from country to country but general game wording and structure did not with the except that the games in Spain and Portugal were played with 5 point endowments.

Player 1 Instructions

GAME 1 INSTRUCTIONS

In this game, there are two players: “Player 1” and “Player 2”. You are Player 1.

Player 2, like you, received 10 raffle tickets to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are).

Today, you will have the opportunity to send some, all, or none of 10 raffle tickets to Player 2. This person will then keep the tickets sent to them, if any, and you keep the remainder.

The game is as follows:

- 1.) You must decide how many raffle tickets (if any) you will send to Player 2. Any amount you keep for yourself will be given to you.
- 2.) Whatever amount you send to Player 2 will be tripled before it is passed on to Player 2. Player 2 then has the option of returning any portion of this tripled amount to you. Then, the game is over.

For example:

- (a) If you send 1 ticket, Player 2 will receive 3 tickets.
- (b) If you send 5 tickets, Player 2 will receive 15 tickets.

These are examples only.

To review, any number of tickets you send will be tripled and given to Player 2. This person will keep the tickets you send them, minus the number of tickets they return to you. Your payoff in this game is the number of raffle tickets that you kept for yourself, plus any tickets Player 2 returned to you.

To clarify how this game works, consider the following examples:

If you send:	Player 2 receives:	Player 2 might return:	You receive: (10 - # sent + # returned)	Player 2 receives: (10 + # received - # returned)
1 ticket	3 tickets	1 ticket	$10 - 1 + 1 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 3 - 1 = 12$ tickets

5 tickets	15 tickets	2 tickets	$10 - 5 + 2 = 7$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 2 = 23$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 5 + 10 = 15$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 10 = 15$ tickets
10 tickets	30 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 10 + 10 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 30 - 10 = 30$ tickets
0 tickets	0 tickets	0 tickets	$10 - 0 + 0 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 0 - 0 = 10$ tickets

Once you understand this game, and are ready to make a decision, select the amount from the options below and advance to the next game.

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

NEXT SCREEN

GAME 2

This game is played the same way as the first game. Like the previous game, in this game, there are two players: “Player 1” and “Player 3”. You are Player 1.

Player 3, like you, received 10 raffle tickets to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are). We have chosen to give you one piece of information about Player 3:

Player 3 identifies politically with the PRI.

As in the previous game, you will have the opportunity to send some, all, or none of 10 raffle tickets to Player 3. Remember that the number of tickets you send, if any,

will be tripled by the researchers and sent to Player 3. This person will then keep the tickets sent to them, if any, and you keep the remainder.

Recall the following examples:

If you send:	Player 3 receives:	Player 3 might return:	You receive: (10 - # sent + # returned)	Player 3 receives: (10 + # received - # returned)
1 ticket	3 tickets	1 ticket	$10 - 1 + 1 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 3 - 1 = 12$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	2 tickets	$10 - 5 + 2 = 7$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 2 = 23$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 5 + 10 = 15$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 10 = 15$ tickets
10 tickets	30 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 10 + 10 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 30 - 10 = 30$ tickets
0 tickets	0 tickets	0 tickets	$10 - 0 + 0 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 0 - 0 = 10$ tickets

Once you understand this game, and are ready to make a decision, select the amount from the options below and advance to the next game.

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

NEXT SCREEN

GAME 3

This game is played the same way as the previous games. Like the previous game, in this game, there are two players: “Player 1” and “Player 4”. You are Player 1.

Player 4, like you, received 10 raffle tickets to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are). We have chosen to give you one piece of information about Player 4:

Player 4 identifies politically with the PAN.

As in the previous game, you will have the opportunity to send some, all, or none of 10 raffle tickets to Player 4. Remember that the number of tickets you send, if any, will be tripled by the researchers and sent to Player 4. This person will then keep the tickets sent to them, if any, and you keep the remainder.

Recall the following examples:

If you send:	Player 4 receives:	Player 4 might return:	You receive: (10 - # sent + # returned)	Player 4 receives: (10 + # received - # returned)
1 ticket	3 tickets	1 ticket	$10 - 1 + 1 = \mathbf{10}$ tickets	$10 + 3 - 1 = \mathbf{12}$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	2 tickets	$10 - 5 + 2 = \mathbf{7}$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 2 = \mathbf{23}$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 5 + 10 = \mathbf{15}$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 10 = \mathbf{15}$ tickets
10 tickets	30 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 10 + 10 = \mathbf{10}$ tickets	$10 + 30 - 10 = \mathbf{30}$ tickets
0 tickets	0 tickets	0 tickets	$10 - 0 + 0 = \mathbf{10}$ tickets	$10 + 0 - 0 = \mathbf{10}$ tickets

Once you understand this game, and are ready to make a decision, select the amount from the options below and advance to the next game.

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9

- 10

NEXT SCREEN

GAME 4

This game is played the same way as the previous games. Like the previous game, in this game, there are two players: “Player 1” and “Player 5”. You are Player 1.

Player 5, like you, received 10 raffle tickets to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are). We have chosen to give you one piece of information about Player 5:

Player 5 identifies politically with the PRD.

As in the previous game, you will have the opportunity to send some, all, or none of 10 raffle tickets to Player 5. Remember that the number of tickets you send, if any, will be tripled by the researchers and sent to Player 5. This person will then keep the tickets sent to them, if any, and you keep the remainder.

Recall the following examples:

If you send:	Player 5 receives:	Player 5 might return:	You receive: (10 - # sent + # returned)	Player 5 receives: (10 + # received - # returned)
1 ticket	3 tickets	1 ticket	$10 - 1 + 1 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 3 - 1 = 12$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	2 tickets	$10 - 5 + 2 = 7$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 2 = 23$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 5 + 10 = 15$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 10 = 15$ tickets
10 tickets	30 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 10 + 10 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 30 - 10 = 30$ tickets
0 tickets	0 tickets	0 tickets	$10 - 0 + 0 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 0 - 0 = 10$ tickets

Once you understand this game, and are ready to make a decision, select the amount from the options below and advance to the next game.

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

POST GAMES QUESTIONNAIRE

Do you identify with a political party?

- Yes
- No

With which party?

- PRI
- PAN
- PRD
- Other

How strongly do you identify with this party?

- Very weakly
- Weakly
- Neither weakly nor strongly
- Strongly
- Very strongly

In years, how old are you?_____

Are you male or female?

- Male

- Female

Please choose the category that describes the MONTHLY INCOME earned in 2011 by your PARENTS or GUARDIANS. Consider all forms of income, including salaries, tips, interest and dividend payments, scholarship support, student loans, parental support, social security, alimony, and child support and others.

None

Less than 800 pesos

Between 801-1600 pesos

1601-2400 pesos

2401-3200 pesos

3201-4000 pesos

4001-5400 pesos

5401-6800 pesos

6801-10000 pesos

10001-13500 pesos

More than 13500 pesos

I don't know

I prefer not to answer

Which of the following categories best describes you?

- Mestizo
- Indigenous
- White
- Black
- Other

What is the name of the President of the Chamber of Deputies of Mexico?

How many states does Mexico have?

How long is the president's term?

What is the name of the President of the United States?

What is the name of the President of Brazil?

Which party has the most members in the Chamber of Deputies?

NEXT SCREEN

Now to change the subject, below there is a scale from 1 to 10 that goes from Left to Right. According to what the terms “Left” and “Right” mean to you when you think about your political views, where would you locate

- (1) yourself on this scale?
- (2) the PRI?
- (3) the PAN?
- (4) the PRD?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I don't know
Left										
Right										

I'd like to get your feelings toward some political parties and political leaders in the news these days. Below there is a list of parties and people. I'd like you to rate them using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the party or person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the party or person and that you don't care too much for that party or person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.

- PRI
- PAN
- PRD
- Enrique Peña Nieto
- Felipe Calderón
- Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador
- Santiago Creel
- Josefina Vazquez Mota

100 Very warm/favorable feeling

75 Fairly warm/favorable feeling

50 No feeling at all

25 Fairly cold/unfavorable feeling

0 Very cold/unfavorable feeling

Player 2 Instructions

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

Thank you for participating in today's study. Please note that:

- 1.) In this study you will be asked to make some decisions in games involving virtual raffle tickets generated by this software. If at any time you find that this study is something that you do not wish to participate in for any reason, you are of course free to quit whether you have started or not.
- 2.) You will play several separate games. At the beginning of each, you will be given 10 raffle tickets, but depending on the decisions made by other players and your own choices, you may receive additional raffle tickets. At the end of the study, the researchers will raffle off three cash prizes worth \$100 each.
- 3.) After playing the games, you will answer a short questionnaire.

DESCRIPTIONS OF GAMES USED IN THIS STUDY

You will play several separate games today. We are pairing you with real individuals in the games. However, you will never personally interact with these individuals. In addition, you will never know their identity and they will never know yours. The individuals you have been paired with live in Mexico.

In this game, there are two players: you and "Player 1."

Player 1, like you, received 10 raffle tickets to participate in the study. You will not be told who this person is either during or after the survey (nor will that person be told who you are).

Player 1 elected to give you 1 of their 10 raffle tickets. We have tripled this amount so that you will receive to 3 raffle tickets.

Today, you will have the opportunity to send some, all, or none of the 13 total raffle tickets you have received. This person will then keep the tickets you send them, if any, and you keep the remainder.

The game is as follows:

- 1.) You must decide how many raffle tickets (if any) you will send to Player 1. Any amount you keep for yourself will be given to you.

To review, Player 1 has elected to give you 1 raffle ticket. We tripled this amount to give you 3 tickets. Player 1 will receive the 10 tickets allotted to them, minus the 1 he/she gave to you, plus any tickets you send them. You will receive the number of the __ raffle tickets that you keep for yourself.

To clarify how this game works, consider the following examples:

If the other person sends:	You receive:	If you decide to return:	The other person receives: (10 - # sent + # returned)	You receive: (10 + # received - # returned)
1 ticket	3 tickets	1 ticket	$10 - 1 + 1 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 3 - 1 = 12$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	2 tickets	$10 - 5 + 2 = 7$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 2 = 23$ tickets
5 tickets	15 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 5 + 10 = 15$ tickets	$10 + 15 - 10 = 15$ tickets
10 tickets	30 tickets	10 tickets	$10 - 10 + 10 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 30 - 10 = 30$ tickets
0 tickets	0 tickets	0 tickets	$10 - 0 + 0 = 10$ tickets	$10 + 0 - 0 = 10$ tickets

How many, if any, of your 13 tickets would you like to sent to player 1?___