

Trust and Partisan Segregation

Noah Daponte-Smith

4/22/2022

Bivariate correlations

These are the bivariate correlations between the trust variables and the measures of partisan exposure. I report the correlations for the full sample and for subsets of Biden and Trump voters.

| Relationship | Group | Coefficient |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| General trust vs. Dem exposure | Full | 0.072 |
| Neighbor trust vs. Dem exposure | Full | -0.02 |
| General trust vs. Rep exposure | Full | -0.071 |
| Neighbor trust vs. Rep exposure | Full | 0.021 |
| General trust vs. Dem exposure | Dem | 0.059 |
| Neighbor trust vs. Dem exposure | Dem | 0.03 |
| General trust vs. Rep exposure | Dem | -0.055 |
| Neighbor trust vs. Rep exposure | Dem | -0.03 |
| General trust vs. Dem exposure | Rep | -0.006 |
| Neighbor trust vs. Dem exposure | Rep | -0.09 |
| General trust vs. Rep exposure | Rep | 0.004 |
| Neighbor trust vs. Rep exposure | Rep | 0.094 |

County fixed effects

General trust and trust in neighbors, by 2020 vote

Table 2: General/neighbors trust, by presidential vote and partisan exposure

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dem exposure (weighted) | -0.031 (0.152) | -0.603*** (0.147) | | |
| Voted Biden | 0.025 (0.091) | -0.452*** (0.099) | 0.483*** (0.103) | 0.477*** (0.115) |
| Dem exposure * Voted Biden | 0.470** (0.172) | 0.961*** (0.205) | | |

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Rep exposure (weighted) | | | 0.027 | 0.568*** |
| | | | (0.146) | (0.139) |
| Rep exposure * | | | -0.478** | -0.968*** |
| Voted Biden | | | (0.170) | (0.197) |
| Gender Male | -0.216*** | -0.043 | -0.216*** | -0.044 |
| | (0.037) | (0.031) | (0.037) | (0.031) |
| Gender Other | -0.108 | -0.306 | -0.108 | -0.303 |
| | (0.240) | (0.214) | (0.240) | (0.215) |
| Education (ordinal) | 0.065*** | 0.080*** | 0.064*** | 0.080*** |
| | (0.016) | (0.015) | (0.016) | (0.015) |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 0.259** | 0.385*** | 0.259** | 0.385*** |
| | (0.075) | (0.065) | (0.076) | (0.065) |
| Age | 0.030*** | 0.019*** | 0.030*** | 0.019*** |
| | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Income (ordinal) | 0.035*** | 0.045*** | 0.035*** | 0.045*** |
| | (0.006) | (0.008) | (0.006) | (0.008) |
| Pct. non-white (blockgroup) | -0.217* | -0.380*** | -0.222* | -0.392*** |
| | (0.097) | (0.107) | (0.097) | (0.105) |
| Poverty rate (blockgroup) | 0.057 | -0.309 | 0.046 | -0.322 |
| | (0.232) | (0.231) | (0.231) | (0.229) |
| Median income (blockgroup) | 0.000 | 0.000** | 0.000 | 0.000** |
| | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Num.Obs. | 8593 | 6511 | 8593 | 6511 |
| R2 | 0.090 | 0.093 | 0.090 | 0.094 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.070 | 0.067 | 0.070 | 0.067 |
| Std.Errors | by: | by: | by: | by: |
| | vb.vf_county_code | vb.vf_county_code | vb.vf_county_code | vb.vf_county_code |
| County fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Std. Error Clusters | County | County | County | County |

Note: $\hat{\rho} + p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

General trust and trust in neighbors, by party-id (among Dem and Rep partisans)

Table 3: General/neighbors trust, by two-party ID and partisan exposure

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dem exposure (weighted) | -0.078 (0.165) | -0.609*** (0.162) | | |
| Party ID = Dem | -0.005 (0.119) | -0.503*** (0.119) | 0.449*** (0.119) | 0.431** (0.123) |
| Dem exposure * Party ID = Dem | 0.509* (0.220) | 0.991*** (0.225) | | |
| Rep exposure (weighted) | | | 0.003 (0.157) | 0.530** (0.155) |
| Rep exposure * Party ID = Dem | | | -0.441* (0.214) | -0.960*** (0.218) |
| Gender Male | -0.175*** (0.041) | -0.031 (0.041) | -0.175*** (0.041) | -0.032 (0.041) |
| Gender Other | -0.028 (0.415) | 0.297 (0.432) | -0.027 (0.414) | 0.303 (0.433) |
| Education (ordinal) | 0.082*** (0.019) | 0.091*** (0.020) | 0.081*** (0.019) | 0.091*** (0.020) |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 0.337*** (0.090) | 0.506*** (0.086) | 0.336*** (0.090) | 0.504*** (0.086) |
| Age | 0.030*** (0.002) | 0.020*** (0.002) | 0.030*** (0.002) | 0.020*** (0.002) |
| Income (ordinal) | 0.038*** (0.008) | 0.054*** (0.009) | 0.039*** (0.008) | 0.055*** (0.009) |
| Pct. non-white (blockgroup) | -0.148 (0.120) | -0.359** (0.116) | -0.164 (0.120) | -0.380** (0.116) |
| Poverty rate (blockgroup) | 0.066 (0.277) | -0.243 (0.274) | 0.050 (0.276) | -0.257 (0.273) |
| Median income (blockgroup) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000*** (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000** (0.000) |
| Num.Obs. | 6236 | 4660 | 6236 | 4660 |
| R2 | 0.096 | 0.109 | 0.096 | 0.109 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.069 | 0.074 | 0.069 | 0.074 |
| Std.Errors | by: | by: | by: | by: |
| | vb.vf_county_code | vb.vf_county_code | vb.vf_county_code | vb.vf_county_code |
| County fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Std. Error Clusters | County | County | County | County |

Note: $\hat{\rho} + p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

General trust and trust in neighbors, by party ID (Rep, Dem, Ind)

Table 4: General/neighbors trust, by three-party ID and partisan exposure

| | General trust | Neighbors trust |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Democratic exposure (weighted) | 0.459** (0.140) | 0.360* (0.146) |
| Party ID = Independent | -0.162 (0.130) | 0.114 (0.124) |
| Party ID = Rep | 0.012 (0.117) | 0.486*** (0.118) |
| Dem exposure * Party ID = Rep | -0.509* (0.218) | -0.951*** (0.224) |
| Dem exposure * Party ID = Ind | -0.115 (0.208) | -0.316 (0.200) |
| Gender Male | -0.193*** (0.036) | -0.044 (0.032) |
| Gender Other | 0.010 (0.236) | -0.211 (0.220) |
| Education (ordinal) | 0.080*** (0.017) | 0.092*** (0.016) |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 0.262*** (0.073) | 0.423*** (0.063) |
| Age | 0.029*** (0.002) | 0.019*** (0.002) |
| Income (ordinal) | 0.035*** (0.006) | 0.048*** (0.008) |
| Pct. non-white (blockgroup) | -0.231* (0.098) | -0.376*** (0.102) |
| Poverty rate (blockgroup) | 0.201 (0.241) | -0.314 (0.240) |
| Median income (blockgroup) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000** (0.000) |
| Num.Obs. | 8676 | 6568 |
| R2 | 0.089 | 0.093 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.068 | 0.066 |
| Std.Errors | by: vb.vf_county_code | by: vb.vf_county_code |
| County fixed effects | Yes | Yes |
| Std. Error Clusters | County | County |

Note: ^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Zip code fixed effects

I now replicate the above models, but make the fixed effects more punishing: Zip codes rather than counties. The significance mostly disappears with this set of fixed effects.

General/neighbors trust, by 2020 vote (zip code FEs)

Table 5: General/neighbors trust, by presidential vote and partisan exposure

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dem exposure (weighted) | -0.150 (0.307) | -0.848* (0.363) | | |
| Voted Biden | -0.010 (0.154) | -0.246 (0.182) | 0.485** (0.156) | 0.316+ (0.191) |
| Dem exposure * Voted Biden | 0.516+ (0.290) | 0.610+ (0.352) | | |
| Rep exposure (weighted) | | | 0.125 (0.301) | 0.697+ (0.360) |
| Rep exposure * Voted Biden | | | -0.505+ (0.285) | -0.574 (0.352) |
| Gender Male | -0.220*** (0.055) | 0.036 (0.063) | -0.220*** (0.055) | 0.034 (0.063) |
| Gender Other | -0.353 (0.357) | -0.226 (0.333) | -0.351 (0.357) | -0.231 (0.331) |
| Education (ordinal) | 0.102*** (0.026) | 0.104*** (0.028) | 0.102*** (0.026) | 0.105*** (0.028) |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 0.223* (0.098) | 0.371*** (0.111) | 0.224* (0.098) | 0.373*** (0.111) |
| Age | 0.029*** (0.002) | 0.021*** (0.003) | 0.029*** (0.002) | 0.021*** (0.003) |
| Income (ordinal) | 0.033** (0.012) | 0.042** (0.014) | 0.034** (0.012) | 0.043** (0.014) |
| Pct. non-white (blockgroup) | -0.057 (0.234) | -0.167 (0.255) | -0.065 (0.235) | -0.171 (0.256) |
| Poverty rate (blockgroup) | 0.480 (0.385) | 0.071 (0.438) | 0.471 (0.386) | 0.063 (0.438) |
| Median income (blockgroup) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Num.Obs. | 8593 | 6511 | 8593 | 6511 |
| R2 | 0.636 | 0.707 | 0.636 | 0.707 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.102 | 0.145 | 0.102 | 0.144 |

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Std.Errors | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip |
| ZIP fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Std. Error | ZIP | ZIP | ZIP | ZIP |
| Clusters | | | | |

Note: $\hat{\rho} + p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

General/neighbors trust, by two-party ID (zip code FEs)

Table 6: General/neighbors trust, by two-party ID and partisan exposure

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Dem exposure (weighted) | -0.265 (0.408) | -0.659 (0.470) | | |
| Party ID = Dem | -0.046 (0.218) | 0.026 (0.256) | 0.410* (0.208) | 0.023 (0.231) |
| Dem exposure * Party ID = Dem | 0.496 (0.394) | 0.024 (0.454) | | |
| Rep exposure (weighted) | | | 0.268 (0.403) | 0.542 (0.468) |
| Rep exposure * Party ID = Dem | | | -0.431 (0.390) | 0.011 (0.460) |
| Gender Male | -0.194** (0.072) | -0.002 (0.085) | -0.193** (0.072) | -0.002 (0.085) |
| Gender Other | -0.382 (0.653) | -0.039 (0.499) | -0.378 (0.653) | -0.046 (0.494) |
| Education (ordinal) | 0.109** (0.034) | 0.111** (0.037) | 0.109** (0.034) | 0.112** (0.038) |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 0.221 (0.135) | 0.433** (0.157) | 0.221 (0.135) | 0.433** (0.158) |
| Age | 0.028*** (0.003) | 0.020*** (0.004) | 0.028*** (0.003) | 0.020*** (0.004) |
| Income (ordinal) | 0.038* (0.015) | 0.043* (0.019) | 0.038* (0.015) | 0.042* (0.019) |
| Pct. non-white (blockgroup) | 0.086 (0.317) | 0.047 (0.331) | 0.090 (0.318) | 0.046 (0.332) |
| Poverty rate (blockgroup) | 0.738 (0.520) | 0.595 (0.569) | 0.738 (0.521) | 0.609 (0.570) |
| Median income (blockgroup) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Num.Obs. | 6112 | 4567 | 6112 | 4567 |
| R2 | 0.695 | 0.771 | 0.695 | 0.771 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.085 | 0.152 | 0.085 | 0.151 |
| Std.Errors | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip |
| Zip fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Std. Error Clusters | Zip | Zip | Zip | Zip |

Note: ^^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

General/neighbors trust, by threes-party ID (zip code FEs)

Table 7: General/neighbors trust, by three-party ID and partisan exposure

| | General trust, Dem exposure | Neighbors trust, Dem exposure | General trust, Rep exposure | Neighbors trust, Rep exposure |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Democratic exposure (weighted) | -0.216 (0.334) | -0.854* (0.386) | | |
| Party ID = Independent | -0.151 (0.181) | -0.147 (0.212) | 0.231 (0.200) | -0.076 (0.237) |
| Dem exposure * Party ID = Ind | 0.427 (0.360) | 0.186 (0.430) | | |
| Rep exposure * Party ID = Ind | | | -0.371 (0.357) | 0.019 (0.424) |
| Gender Male | -0.184*** (0.056) | 0.011 (0.064) | -0.185*** (0.056) | 0.010 (0.064) |
| Gender Other | -0.227 (0.346) | -0.178 (0.292) | -0.226 (0.346) | -0.180 (0.291) |
| Education (ordinal) | 0.114*** (0.025) | 0.118*** (0.028) | 0.114*** (0.025) | 0.118*** (0.028) |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 0.216* (0.095) | 0.386*** (0.111) | 0.217* (0.095) | 0.387*** (0.112) |
| Age | 0.029*** (0.002) | 0.021*** (0.003) | 0.029*** (0.002) | 0.021*** (0.003) |
| Income (ordinal) | 0.036** (0.012) | 0.042** (0.014) | 0.036** (0.012) | 0.042** (0.013) |
| Pct. non-white (blockgroup) | -0.040 (0.228) | -0.065 (0.252) | -0.052 (0.229) | -0.072 (0.253) |
| Poverty rate (blockgroup) | 0.743+ (0.384) | 0.093 (0.428) | 0.732+ (0.384) | 0.098 (0.429) |
| Median income (blockgroup) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) | 0.000 (0.000) |
| Num.Obs. | 8676 | 6568 | 8676 | 6568 |
| R2 | 0.631 | 0.701 | 0.631 | 0.701 |
| R2 Adj. | 0.097 | 0.132 | 0.097 | 0.131 |
| Std.Errors | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip | by: vb.tsmart_zip |
| Zip fixed effects | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Std. Error Clusters | Zip | Zip | Zip | Zip |

Note: ^ + p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001