PSRM_Replication

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This document replicates the results from Resmini and Rojas, *Government Ideology and Support for Redistribution among the Wealthy*, including main results and results reported in the online supplementary information (SI). The data used to reproduce the results is available in the PSRM Dataverse.

- Software: RStudio Version 2024.09.1+394 (2024.09.1+394)
- Computer specification: MacBook Air (M1, 2020), macOS Monterey, chip Apple M1, memory 16 GB.
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Manuscript - Figures

Figure 1

```
dt[, pdt_ideology_herre := case_when(country=='Argentina'~'Right',
                                     country=='Bolivia'~'Left',
                                     country=='Brazil'~'Right',
                                     country=='Chile'~'Right',
                                     country=='Colombia'~'Right',
                                     country=='Costa Rica'~'Left',
                                     country=='Ecuador'~'Left',
                                     country=='El Salvador'~'Left',
                                     country=='Guatemala'~'Right',
                                     country=='Honduras'~'Right',
                                     country=='Mexico'~'Left',
                                     country=='Paraguay'~'Right',
                                     country=='Peru'~'Right',
                                     country=='Uruguay'~'Left',
                                     TRUE ~ NA_character_) %>% as.factor(.)]


dt[, right_gov_dummy := case_when(pdt_ideology_herre=='Right'~1,
                                  pdt_ideology_herre=='Left'~0,
                                  TRUE ~ NA_real_) %>% as.factor()]



# Figure 1 ------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```r
out = lm_robust(progressive_redist ~ consumpd*right_gov_dummy +
                        size_population+urban+big_city+women+age+education+
                        catholic+sec_perception_neighborhood+religiosity+
                        employed+married+color+news_cons_d+victim_del+
                        stable_income+trust_congress+trust_parties+
                        trust_president+gov_assistance+stable_cnt_econ+
                        stable_ind_econ+voted_pdt,
                data = dt,
                clusters = as_factor(municipio), fixed_effects = country)

# without country FE
out2 = lm_robust(progressive_redist ~ consumpd*right_gov_dummy +
                         size_population+urban+big_city+women+age+education+
                         catholic+sec_perception_neighborhood+religiosity+
                         employed+married+color+news_cons_d+victim_del+
                         stable_income+trust_congress+trust_parties+
                         trust_president+gov_assistance+stable_cnt_econ+
                         stable_ind_econ+voted_pdt,
                 data = dt,
                 clusters = as_factor(municipio))

out_dt = data.frame(estimate = c(out$coefficients[1:9], out$coefficients[33:41]),
                    lower = c(out$conf.low[1:9], out$conf.low[33:41]),
                    upper = c(out$conf.high[1:9], out$conf.high[33:41]),
                    gov = c(rep('Left', 9), rep('Right', 9)),
                    decile = rep(factor(c('D2','D3','D4','D5','D6','D7','D8','D9','D10'),
                                        levels = c('D2','D3','D4','D5',
                                                   'D6','D7','D8','D9','D10')),
                                 2))


ggplot(out_dt, aes(x=decile, y=estimate, color=gov)) +
        geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
        geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1,
                      position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
        geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
        ggtitle('Support for Redistribution among the Wealthy in Latin America') +
        xlab("") + ylab("") +
        scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.2,.2)) +
        theme(legend.position = "bottom")+ theme_bw() +
        coord_flip() +
        theme(legend.position = "bottom") +
        scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                           name="Government", labels=c("Left","Right"))
```

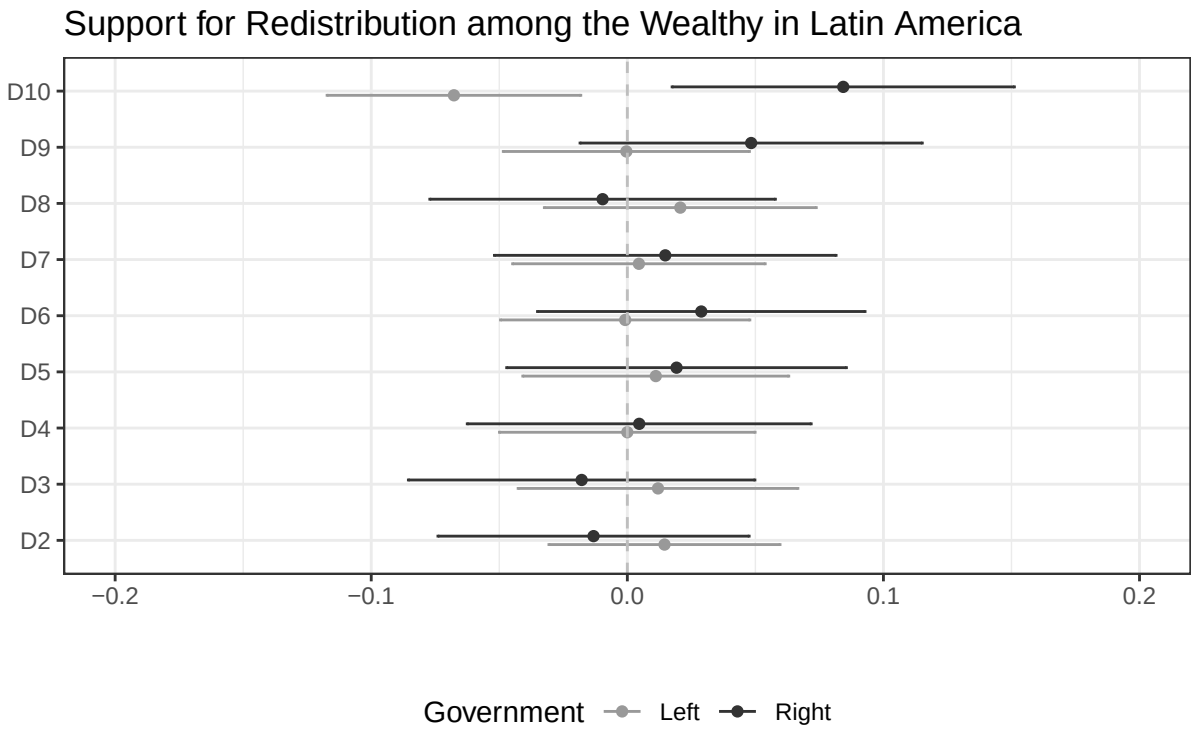


Figure 2

```
# set up formula root:
f = list(tax_dummy~t_tax,
         subsidy_dummy~t_subsidy,
         uncert_scale~t_uncert,
         effectiveness_dummy~t_effectiveness,
         stability_dummy~t_stability,
         police_dummy~t_police,
         visa_dummy~t_visa)

## Regressions
out_s1 = list()
out_s1_1 = list()

covariates = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic','married',
               'university_degree','employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat',
               'migration','trust_institutions','ideology_r_mean2',
               'resent','vote_fico')

# function to run regressions
for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i],
                                             paste(covariates, collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22)
    out_s1_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22)
}

outcomes_s1 = data.frame(outcome = c('Progressive Taxation',
```

```
                                    'Subsidies',
                                    'Uncertainty',
                                    'Efficiency',
                                    'Stability',
                                    'Police',
                                    'Visa',
                                    'Progressive Taxation',
                                    'Subsidies',
                                    'Uncertainty',
                                    'Efficiency',
                                    'Stability',
                                    'Police',
                                    'Visa'),
                          ATE = c(rep('ATE', length(f)*2)),
                          estimate = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                           out_s1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                              unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                  out_s1_1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                  unlist()),
                          lower = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                        out_s1[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                              unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                  out_s1_1[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                  unlist()),
                          upper = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                        out_s1[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                              unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                  out_s1_1[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                  unlist()),
                          group = c('Preferences','Preferences',
                                    'Explanations','Explanations','Explanations',
                                    'Placebos','Placebos'),
                          covariates = c(rep(1, length(f)),
                                         rep(0, length(f))))


outcomes_s1 %>%
    filter(group=='Preferences') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('Redistributive Preferences - Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes"),
                       guide = guide_legend(reverse = TRUE)) +
```

```
    facet_wrap(~outcome)
```

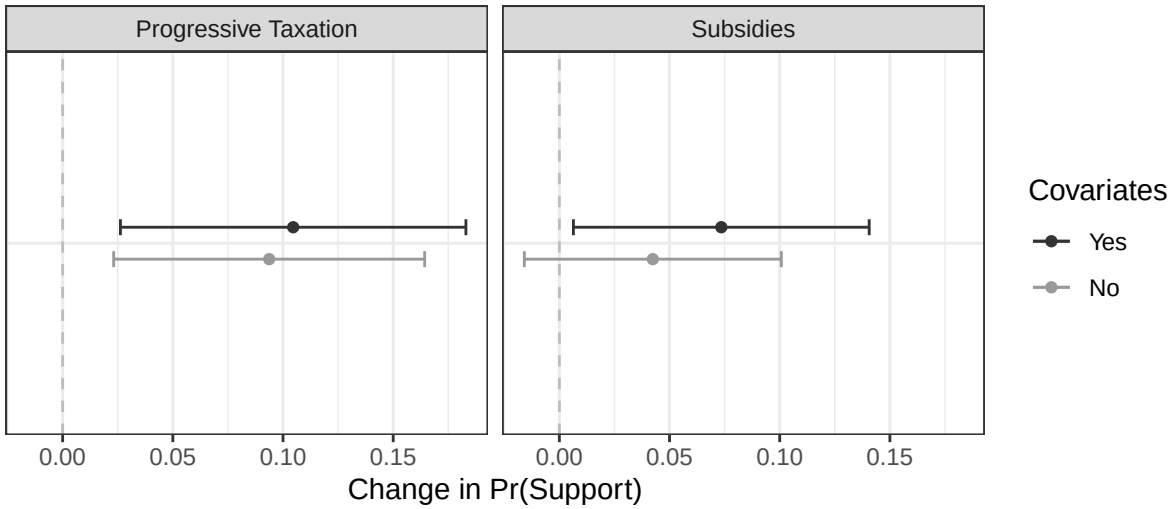


Figure 3

```
## Regressions
out_s2 = list()
out_s2_1 = list()
covariates2 = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic','married',
                'university_degree','employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat',
                'migration','trust_institutions','ideology_r_mean2',
                'resent','rodolf_right','vote_hernandez')


for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s2[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i],
                                             paste(covariates2, collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22_2)
    out_s2_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22_2)
}

outcomes_s2 = data.frame(outcome = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                     'Subsidies',
                                     'Uncertainty',
                                     'Efficiency',
                                     'Stability',
                                     'Police',
                                     'Visa',
                                     'Progressive Taxation',
                                     'Subsidies',
                                     'Uncertainty',
                                     'Efficiency',
                                     'Stability',
                                     'Police',
```

```
                                'Visa'),
                        ATE = c(rep('ATE', length(f)*2)),
                        estimate = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                        out_s2[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                            unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                out_s2_1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                unlist()),
                        lower = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                      out_s2[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                            unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                out_s2_1[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                unlist()),
                        upper = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                      out_s2[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                            unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                out_s2_1[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                unlist()),
                        group = c('Preferences','Preferences',
                                  'Explanations','Explanations','Explanations',
                                  'Placebos','Placebos'),
                        covariates = c(rep(1, length(f)),
                                       rep(0, length(f))))

outcomes_s2 %>%
    filter(group=='Preferences') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('Redistributive Preferences - Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes"),
                       guide = guide_legend(reverse = TRUE)) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)
```

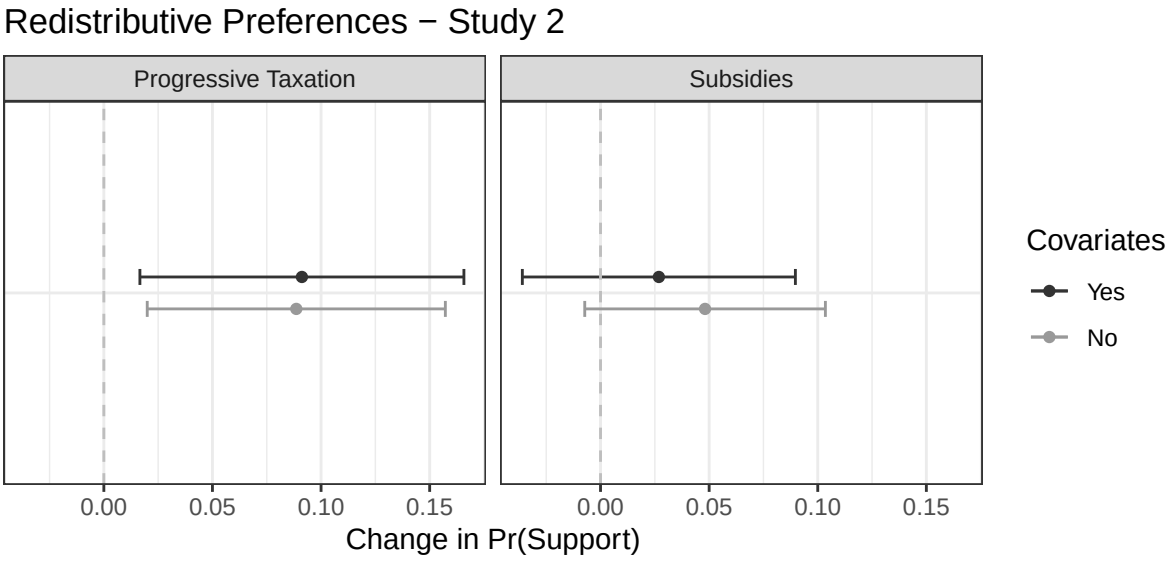


Figure 4

```
## Merge dt 1 & 2
dt1 = col22 %>%
    select(female, age, education, race, marriage_new, religion_new, occup,
           ideology, vote_int_descriptive2, ideology_r_mean, ideology_clean,
           l_r_vote, r_l_ideology, ideology_3) %>%
    mutate(sample = 'Sample 1')

dt2 = col22_2 %>%
    select(rodolf_id, female, age, education, race, marriage_new, religion_new,
           occup, ideology, vote_int_descriptive2, ideology_r_mean, ideology_clean,
           l_r_vote, r_l_ideology, ideology_3) %>%
    mutate(sample = 'Sample 2')


dt_pooled = merge(dt1, dt2, all = TRUE)

dt_pooled %>%
    filter(!is.na(ideology_r_mean)) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x=as.factor(ideology_r_mean))) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Ideological Distribution of Respondents (Excluding Centrists)") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,.8)) +
    xlab("") +
    ylab("") +
    facet_wrap(~sample,
               labeller = labeller(sample = c('Sample 1'='Study 1',
                                              'Sample 2'='Study 2'))) +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Left','Right')) +
    theme(panel.background = element_blank(),
          panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8))
```

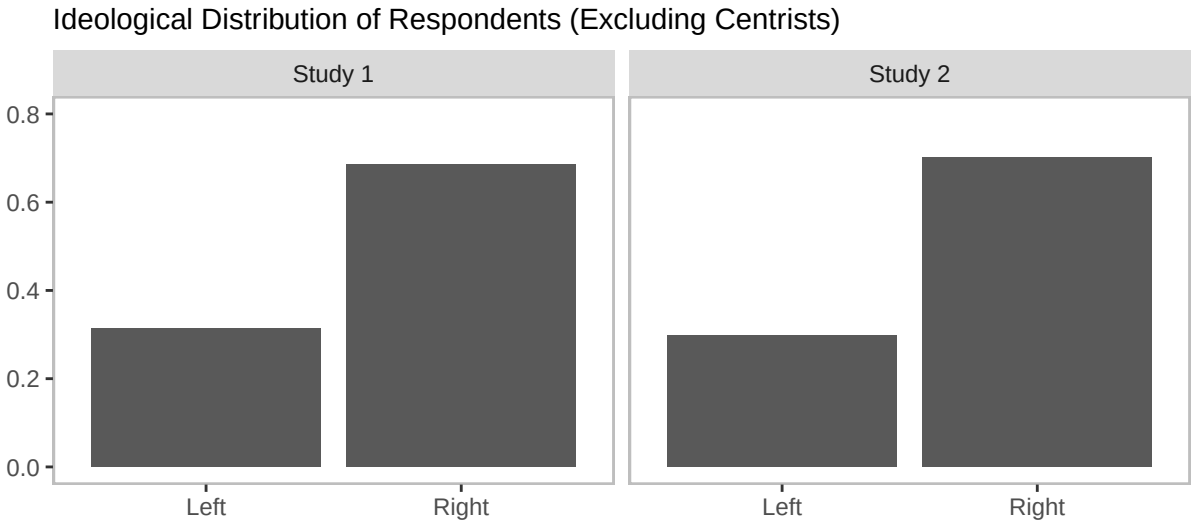


Figure 5

```
# Survey 1 (without controls)

# Progressive taxes
tax1.0 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)


tax1.1 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = tax1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = tax1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')


# Subsidies
Subsidies1.0 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

Subsidies1.1 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = Subsidies1.0$coefficients[2]
```

```
lb = Subsidies1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = Subsidies1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt1 = rbind(dt_tax1.0, dt_tax1.1,
            dt_subsidy1.0, dt_subsidy1.1) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable, levels = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                                  'Subsidies')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

# Plot
## Heterogeneous Preferences Among The Wealthy
preferences1 = ggplot(dt1,
                      aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                          group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
    guides("none")



# Mechanisms (uncertainty is reported in regression tables)
## Effectiveness

eff1.0 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

eff1.1 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = eff1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.0$conf.low[2]
```

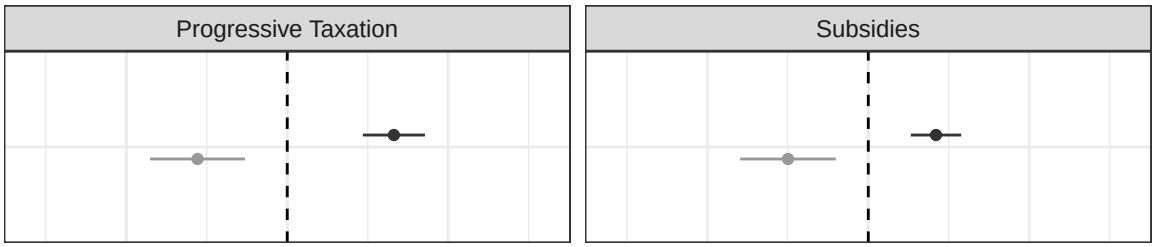
```r
ub = eff1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = eff1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = eff1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

## Economic Instability
stability1.0 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

stability1.1 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = stability1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = stability1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt1_mechanisms = rbind(dt_eff1.0, dt_eff1.1,
                       dt_stability1.0, dt_stability1.1) %>%
    mutate(ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

## Heterogeneous Expectations Among The Wealthy
mechanisms1 = ggplot(dt1_mechanisms,
                     aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                         group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-1,1)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
    guides("none")
```

```r
# Survey 2 (without controls)

# Progressive taxes
tax2.0 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

tax2.1 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = tax2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = tax2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')


# Subsidies
Subsidies2.0 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

Subsidies2.1 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = Subsidies2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = Subsidies2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt2 = rbind(dt_tax2.0, dt_tax2.1,
            dt_subsidy2.0, dt_subsidy2.1) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable, levels = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                                  'Subsidies')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

# Plot
preferences2 = ggplot(dt2,
                      aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                          group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
```

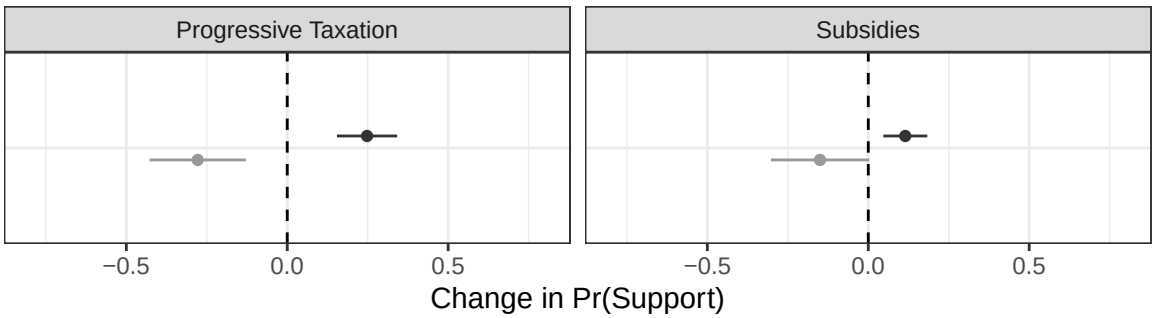
```
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)



# Mechanisms
## Effectiveness
eff2.0 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

eff2.1 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = eff2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_eff2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = eff2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_eff2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

## Economic Instability
stability2.0 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 0)

stability2.1 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_mean == 1)

beta = stability2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_stability2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = stability2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.1$conf.high[2]
```

```r
dt_stability2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt2_mechanisms = rbind(dt_eff2.0, dt_eff2.1,
                       dt_stability2.0, dt_stability2.1) %>%
    mutate(ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

# plots
mechanisms2 = ggplot(dt2_mechanisms,
                     aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                         group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Expectation)') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-1,1)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)


preferences1 + preferences2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```

Study 1



Study 2



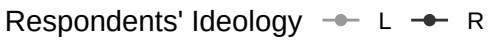
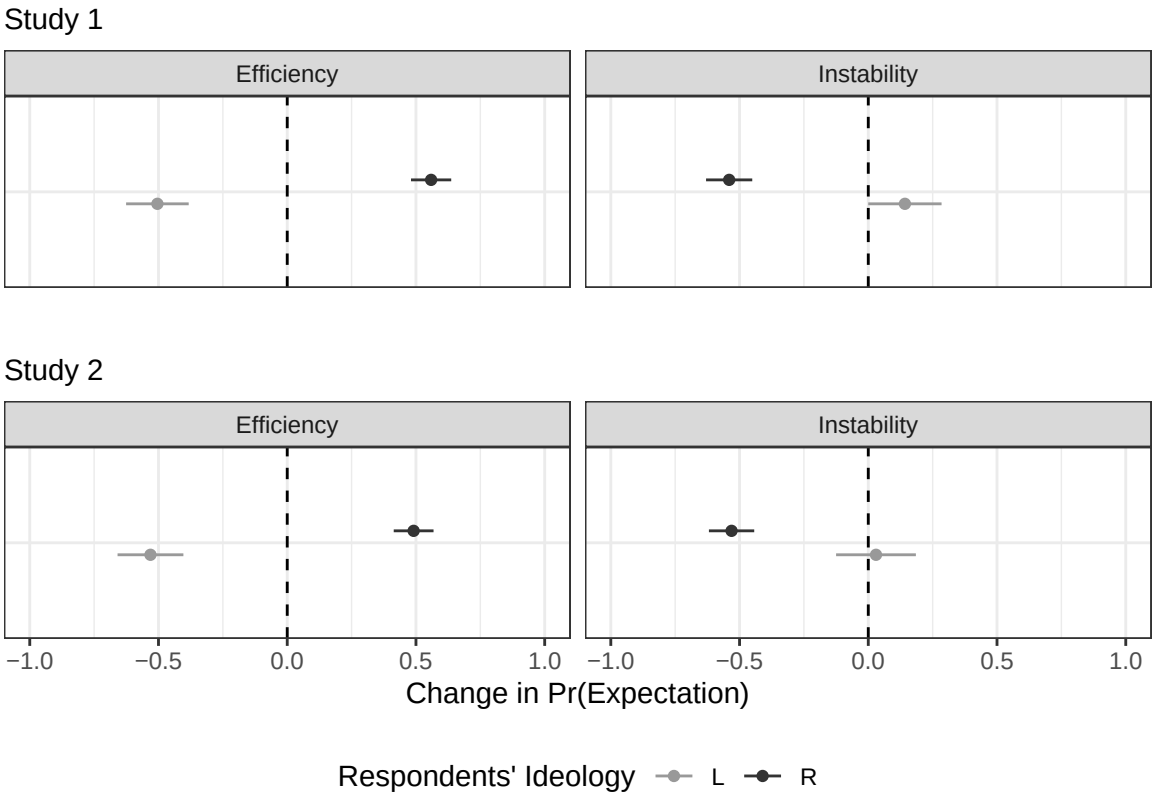


Figure 6

```
mechanisms1 + mechanisms2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```



Manuscript - Tables

Table 1

```
# harmonizing coefficients
out_s1_1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'

out_s1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'



texreg(list(out_s1_1[[3]], out_s1[[3]],
            out_s1_1[[4]], out_s1[[4]],
            out_s1_1[[5]], out_s1[[5]]),
       caption = "Testing Theoretical Explanations - Study 1",
       #file = '../output/tables/Table 1.tex',
```

```
      label = "table:mechanisms1",
      use.packages = FALSE,
      custom.header = list('Uncertainty'=1:2,
                           'Efficiency'=3:4,
                           'Instability'=5:6),
      custom.model.names = c('1','2','3','4','5','6'),
      custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                             't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
      float.pos = "h",
      digits = 3,
      caption.above = TRUE,
      #custom.coef.names = mechanisms1_controls,
      include.rsquared = F, include.adjrs = F, include.groups = T,
      include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
      custom.gof.rows = list("Covariate Adjustment"=c("No","Yes",
                                                      "No","Yes",
                                                      "No","Yes")),
      #reorder.gof = c(1,3,4,2,5,6),
      threeparttable = TRUE,
      stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
      custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 1: Testing Theoretical Explanations - Study 1

	Uncertainty		Efficiency		Instability	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Base category						
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	-1.143^{***}	1.872	0.164^{***}	-0.113	0.518^{***}	0.126
	(0.271)	(1.610)	(0.019)	(0.136)	(0.026)	(0.153)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	-0.649^{*}	-0.607	0.169^{***}	0.175^{***}	-0.259^{***}	-0.286^{***}
	(0.365)	(0.412)	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.038)
Covariate Adjustment	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	723	565	764	606	746	594
RMSE	4.939	4.732	0.424	0.428	0.470	0.461

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table 2

```
# harmonizing coefficients
out_s2_1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'

out_s2[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'

# regression table
```

```
texreg(list(out_s2_1[[3]], out_s2[[3]],
            out_s2_1[[4]], out_s2[[4]],
            out_s2_1[[5]], out_s2[[5]]),
       caption = "Testing Theoretical Explanations - Study 2",
        use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:mechanisms2",
       custom.header = list('Uncertainty'=1:2,
                            'Efficiency'=3:4,
                            'Instability'=5:6),
       custom.model.names = c('1','2','3','4','5','6'),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
       float.pos = "h",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = TRUE,
       #custom.coef.names = mechanisms1_controls,
       include.rsquared = F, include.adjrs = F, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       custom.gof.rows = list("Covariate Adjustment"=c("No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes")),
       #reorder.gof = c(1,3,4,2,5,6),
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 2: Testing Theoretical Explanations - Study 2

	Uncertainty		Efficiency		Instability	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Base category						
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	-1.121^{***}	2.306^{*}	0.193^{***}	0.277^{*}	0.568^{***}	0.465^{***}
	(0.239)	(1.327)	(0.020)	(0.151)	(0.026)	(0.151)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	-0.320	-0.246	0.179^{***}	0.171^{***}	-0.337^{***}	-0.346^{***}
	(0.316)	(0.341)	(0.031)	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.037)
Covariate Adjustment	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	832	643	804	638	798	634
RMSE	4.560	4.264	0.444	0.448	0.458	0.455

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Online SI - Figures

Figure S1

```
# generate plots
sex = ggplot(dt_pooled, aes(x=female, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group = sample), position = "dodge") +
```

```
    labs(subtitle = "Sex") +
    xlab("") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Male','Female')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")


age = ggplot(dt_pooled, aes(x=age, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group= sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Age") +
    xlab("") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c("18-24",
                                "25-34",
                                "35-44",
                                "45-54",
                                "55+")) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")

education = ggplot(dt_pooled, aes(x=education, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Education") +
    xlab("") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Primary','High Sch.','University','Technical',
                                'Master','PhD')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")

race = dt_pooled %>%
    filter(race=='1'|race=='2'|race=='3'|race=='4'|race=='5'|race=='6') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x=race, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Race") +
    xlab("") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('White','Mestizo','Indigenous','Afro','Mulato','Other')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
```

```
        axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")

marriage = ggplot(dt_pooled, aes(x=marriage_new, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Marriage") +
    xlab("") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Single','Married','Civil union','Divorced','Widow')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")

religion = ggplot(dt_pooled, aes(x=religion_new, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Religion") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    xlab("") +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Catholic','Evangelical','Atheist/Agnostic','Other')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")

occupation = ggplot(dt_pooled, aes(x=occup, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Occupation") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    xlab("") +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Business owner','Salaried employee',
                                'Self-employed','Retired','Student',
                                'Unemployed','Other')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_text(angle = 45, hjust = 1)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")

ideology = dt_pooled %>%
    filter(ideology %in% 1:5) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x=as.factor(ideology), fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Political Ideology") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    xlab("") +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Left','',
                                '','','Right',
```

```
                                  'NA')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")


vote_int = dt_pooled %>%
    filter(vote_int_descriptive2!='4') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x=vote_int_descriptive2, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=sample), position = "dodge") +
    labs(subtitle = "Vote Intention") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    xlab("") +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Petro','Gutiérrez',
                                  'Hernández')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8)) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")
```

```
# Create plot
sex + age + education + race + marriage +  religion + occupation + ideology + vote_int +
    plot_layout(ncol = 2, guides = 'collect')
```

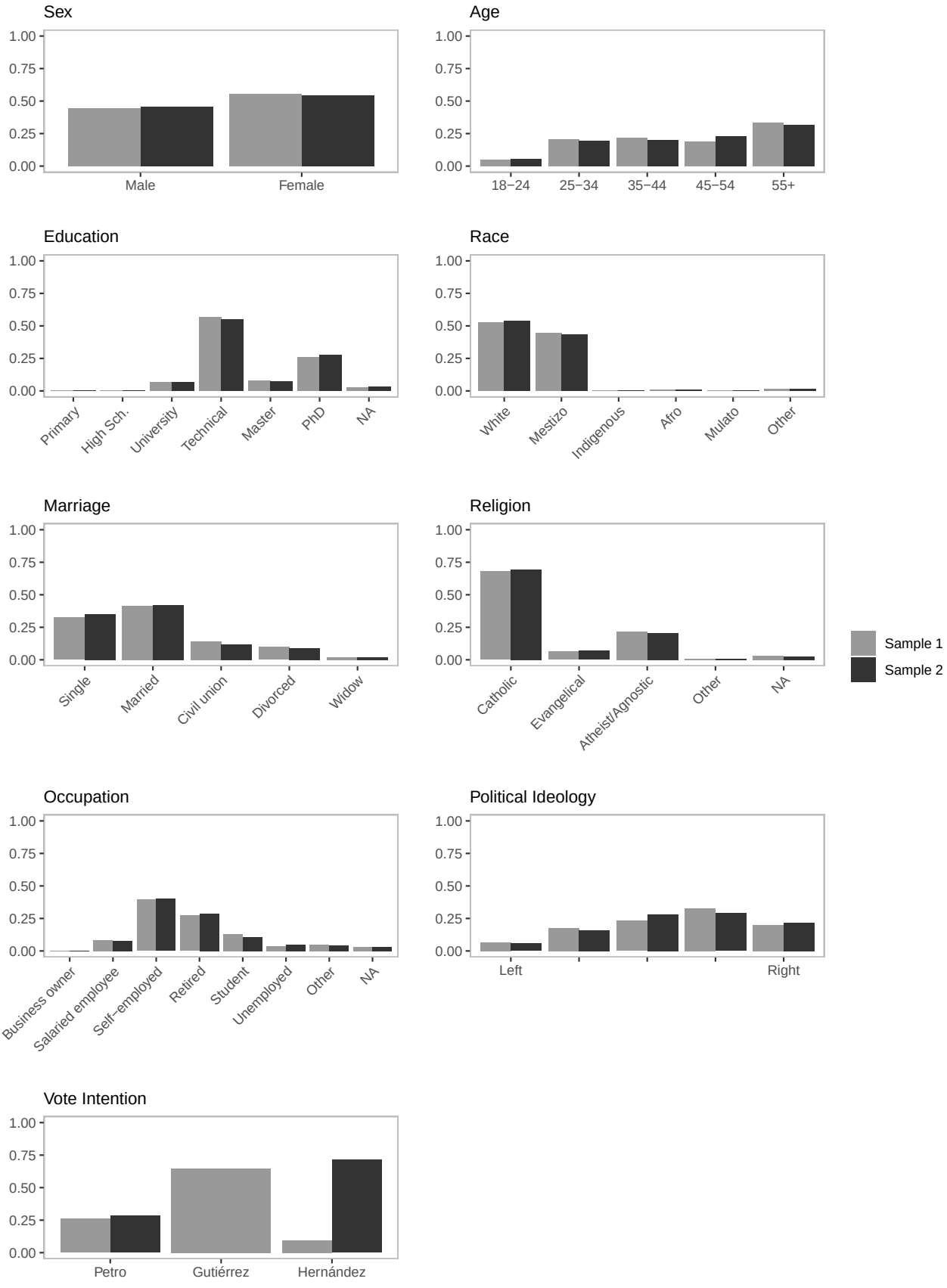

Sex
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
Male
Female
Age
18−24
25−34
35−44
45−54
55+
Education
Primary
High Sch.
University
Technical
Master
PhD
NA
Race
White
Mestizo
Indigenous
Afro
Mulato
Other
Marriage
Single
Married
Civil union
Divorced
Widow
Religion
Catholic
Evangelical
Atheist/Agnostic
Other
NA
Sample 1
Sample 2
Occupation
Business owner
Salaried employee
Self−employed
Retired
Student
Unemployed
Other
NA
Political Ideology
Left
Right
Vote Intention
Petro
Gutiérrez
Hernández

Figure S2

```
## Hernandez ideological placement
ggplot(col22_2, aes(x=as.factor(rodolf_id))) +
    geom_bar(aes(y = ..prop.., group=1), position = "dodge") +
    ggtitle("Ideological Placement - Hernández") +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    xlab("") +
    scale_x_discrete(labels = c('Left','',
                                '','','Right',
                                'NA')) +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8))
```

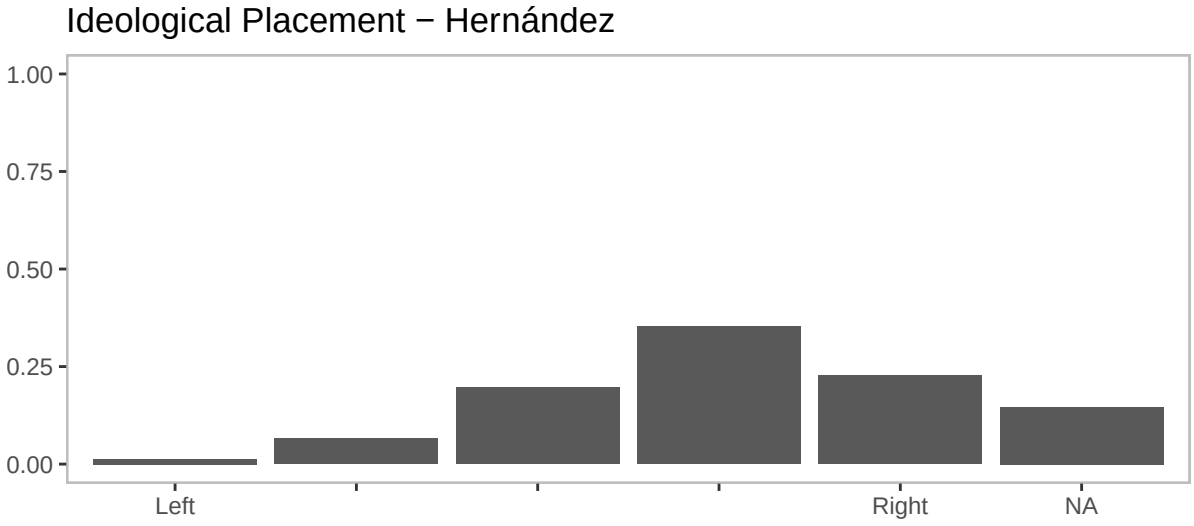


Figure S3

```
# Create plots to compare data
female = dt_merged %>%
    group_by(sample) %>%
    summarise(mean_female = mean(female, na.rm = T),
              se_female = sd(female, na.rm = T)/sqrt(length(sample))) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x = sample, y = mean_female, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(stat = 'identity') +
    geom_errorbar(aes(x = sample,
                      ymin = mean_female - 1.96*se_female,
                      ymax = mean_female + 1.96*se_female),
                  width = 0.2) +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1),
                       breaks = c(0,.2,.5,.8,1)) +
    labs(subtitle = 'Sex = Female') +
    xlab("") +
```

```
    ylab("Proportion") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_blank(),
        axis.ticks.x = element_blank(),
        legend.position = c(0.4, 0.9),  # Adjust x and y values as needed
        legend.background = element_rect(fill = NA, color = NA),
        legend.key = element_blank()) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="")



age = dt_merged %>%
    group_by(sample) %>%
    summarise(mean_age = mean(age_dummy, na.rm = T),
              se_age = sd(age_dummy, na.rm = T)/sqrt(length(sample))) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x = sample, y = mean_age, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(stat = 'identity') +
    geom_errorbar(aes(x = sample,
                      ymin = mean_age - 1.96*se_age,
                      ymax = mean_age + 1.96*se_age),
                  width = 0.2) +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1),
                       breaks = c(0,.2,.5,.8,1)) +
    labs(subtitle = 'Age = 55 or older') +
    xlab("") +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_blank(),
        axis.ticks.x = element_blank()) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="") +
    guides(fill = "none")  # Remove legend


married = dt_merged %>%
    group_by(sample) %>%
    summarise(mean_married = mean(married, na.rm = T),
              se_married = sd(married, na.rm = T)/sqrt(length(sample))) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x = sample, y = mean_married, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(stat = 'identity') +
    geom_errorbar(aes(x = sample,
                      ymin = mean_married - 1.96*se_married,
                      ymax = mean_married + 1.96*se_married),
                  width = 0.2) +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1),
                       breaks = c(0,.2,.5,.8,1)) +
    labs(subtitle = 'Marital status = Married') +
    xlab("") +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
```

```
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_blank(),
        axis.ticks.x = element_blank()) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="") +
    guides(fill = "none")  # Remove legend


college = dt_merged %>%
    group_by(sample) %>%
    summarise(mean_college = mean(college_dummy, na.rm = T),
              se_college = sd(college_dummy, na.rm = T)/sqrt(length(sample))) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x = sample, y = mean_college, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(stat = 'identity') +
    geom_errorbar(aes(x = sample,
                      ymin = mean_college - 1.96*se_college,
                      ymax = mean_college + 1.96*se_college),
                  width = 0.2) +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1),
                       breaks = c(0,.2,.5,.8,1)) +
    labs(subtitle = 'Education = College degree') +
    xlab("") +
    ylab("Proportion") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_blank(),
        axis.ticks.x = element_blank()) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="") +
    guides(fill = "none")  # Remove legend

catholic = dt_merged %>%
    group_by(sample) %>%
    summarise(mean_cath = mean(catholic, na.rm = T),
              se_cath = sd(catholic, na.rm = T)/sqrt(length(sample))) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x = sample, y = mean_cath, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(stat = 'identity') +
    geom_errorbar(aes(x = sample,
                      ymin = mean_cath - 1.96*se_cath,
                      ymax = mean_cath + 1.96*se_cath),
                  width = 0.2) +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1),
                       breaks = c(0,.2,.5,.8,1)) +
    labs(subtitle = 'Religion = Catholic') +
    xlab("") +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_blank(),
        axis.ticks.x = element_blank()) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="") +
    guides(fill = "none")  # Remove legend
```

```
right_wing = dt_merged %>%
    group_by(sample) %>%
    summarise(mean_right = mean(right_dummy, na.rm = T),
              se_right = sd(right_dummy, na.rm = T)/sqrt(length(sample))) %>%
    ggplot(., aes(x = sample, y = mean_right, fill = sample)) +
    geom_bar(stat = 'identity') +
    geom_errorbar(aes(x = sample,
                      ymin = mean_right - 1.96*se_right,
                      ymax = mean_right + 1.96*se_right),
                  width = 0.2) +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(0,1)) +
    labs(subtitle = 'Ideology = Right-wing') +
    xlab("") +
    ylab("") +
    theme(
        panel.background = element_blank(),
        panel.border = element_rect(colour = "gray", fill=NA, size=.8),
        axis.text.x = element_blank(),
        axis.ticks.x = element_blank()) +
    scale_fill_manual(values = c("#999999","#333333"), name="") +
    guides(fill = "none")  # Remove legend
```

```
# Merge plots
female + age + married + college + catholic + right_wing +
    plot_layout(ncol = 3)
```

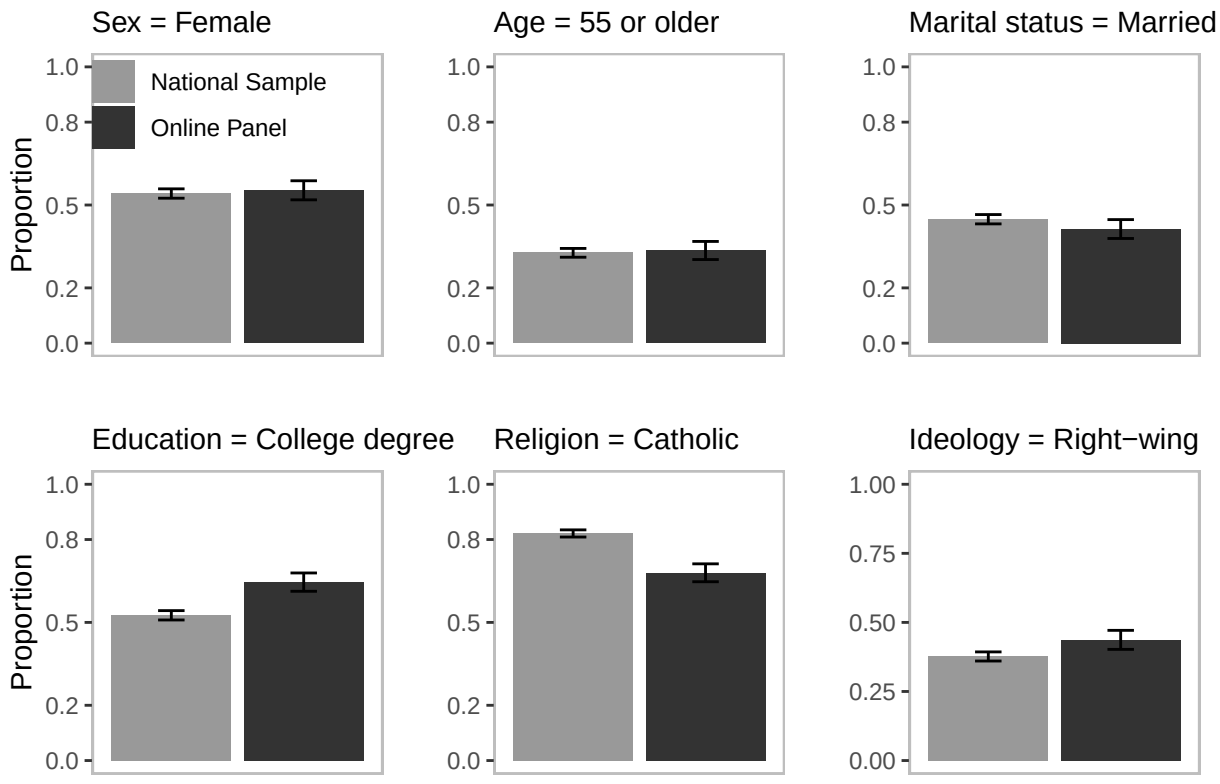


Figure S4

```
f_scale = list(tax~t_tax,
               subsidy~t_subsidy,
               uncert~t_uncert,
               effectiveness~t_effectiveness,
               stability~t_stability,
               police~t_police,
               visa~t_visa)
out_s1_c = list()
out_s1_1_c = list()

for(i in 1:length(f_scale)){
    out_s1_c[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f_scale[i],
                                               paste(covariates, collapse = '+'))),
                              data = col22, clusters = ticket_id)
    out_s1_1_c[[i]] = lm_robust(f_scale[[i]], data = col22, clusters = ticket_id)
}

outcomes_s1_c = data.frame(outcome = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                       'Subsidies',
                                       'Uncertainty',
                                       'Efficiency',
                                       'Instability',
                                       'Police',
                                       'Visa',
                                       'Progressive Taxation',
                                       'Subsidies',
                                       'Uncertainty',
                                       'Efficiency',
                                       'Instability',
                                       'Police',
                                       'Visa'),
                           ATE = c(rep('ATE', length(f)*2)),
                           estimate = c(foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                            out_s1_c[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                               unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                   out_s1_1_c[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                   unlist()),
                           lower = c(foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                         out_s1_c[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                               unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                   out_s1_1_c[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                   unlist()),
                           upper = c(foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                         out_s1_c[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                               unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                   out_s1_1_c[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                   unlist()),
                           group = c('Preferences','Preferences',
                                     'Explanations','Explanations','Explanations',
                                     'Placebos','Placebos'),
                           covariates = c(rep(1, length(f_scale)),
```

```
                                        rep(0, length(f_scale))))
```

```
a=outcomes_s1_c %>%
    filter(group=='Preferences') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('DVs in 5-point Scale') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Estimate') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes")) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)

b=outcomes_s1_c %>%
    filter(outcome=='Efficiency' | outcome=='Instability') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('DVs in 3-point Scale') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Estimate') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes")) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)


c=outcomes_s1_c %>%
    filter(outcome=='Uncertainty') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('DV in 20-point Scale') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Estimate') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
```

```
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes")) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)


a+b+c + plot_layout(ncol = 2, guides = "collect")
```

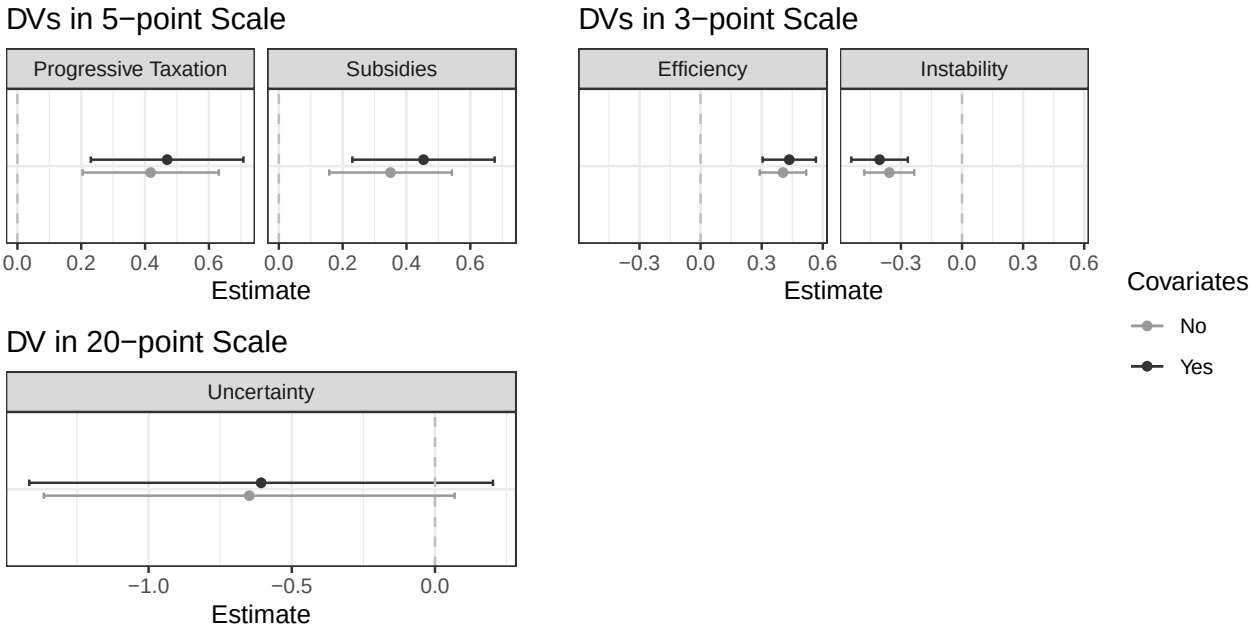


Figure S5

```
out_s2_c = list()
out_s2_1_c = list()

for(i in 1:length(f_scale)){
    out_s2_c[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f_scale[i],
                                               paste(covariates2, collapse = '+'))),
                              data = col22_2, clusters = ticket_id)
    out_s2_1_c[[i]] = lm_robust(f_scale[[i]], data = col22_2, clusters = ticket_id)
}

outcomes_s2_c = data.frame(outcome = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                       'Subsidies',
                                       'Uncertainty',
                                       'Efficiency',
                                       'Instability',
                                       'Police',
                                       'Visa',
                                       'Progressive Taxation',
                                       'Subsidies',
                                       'Uncertainty',
                                       'Efficiency',
                                       'Instability',
```

```
                                    'Police',
                                    'Visa'),
                          ATE = c(rep('ATE', length(f)*2)),
                          estimate = c(foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                         out_s2_c[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                         unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                         out_s2_1_c[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                         unlist()),
                          lower = c(foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                      out_s2_c[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                      unlist(),foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                      out_s2_1_c[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                      unlist()),
                          upper = c(foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                      out_s2_c[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                      unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f_scale)) %do%
                                      out_s2_1_c[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                      unlist()),
                          group = c('Preferences','Preferences',
                                    'Explanations','Explanations','Explanations',
                                    'Placebos','Placebos'),
                          covariates = c(rep(1, length(f_scale)),
                                         rep(0, length(f_scale))))
```

```
a=outcomes_s2_c %>%
    filter(group=='Preferences') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('DVs in 5-point Scale') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Estimate') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes")) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)

b=outcomes_s2_c %>%
    filter(outcome=='Efficiency' | outcome=='Instability') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('DVs in 3-point Scale') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Estimate') +
```

```
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes")) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)


c=outcomes_s2_c %>%
    filter(outcome=='Uncertainty') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('DV in 20-point Scale') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Estimate') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes")) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)


a+b+c + plot_layout(ncol = 2, guides = "collect")
```

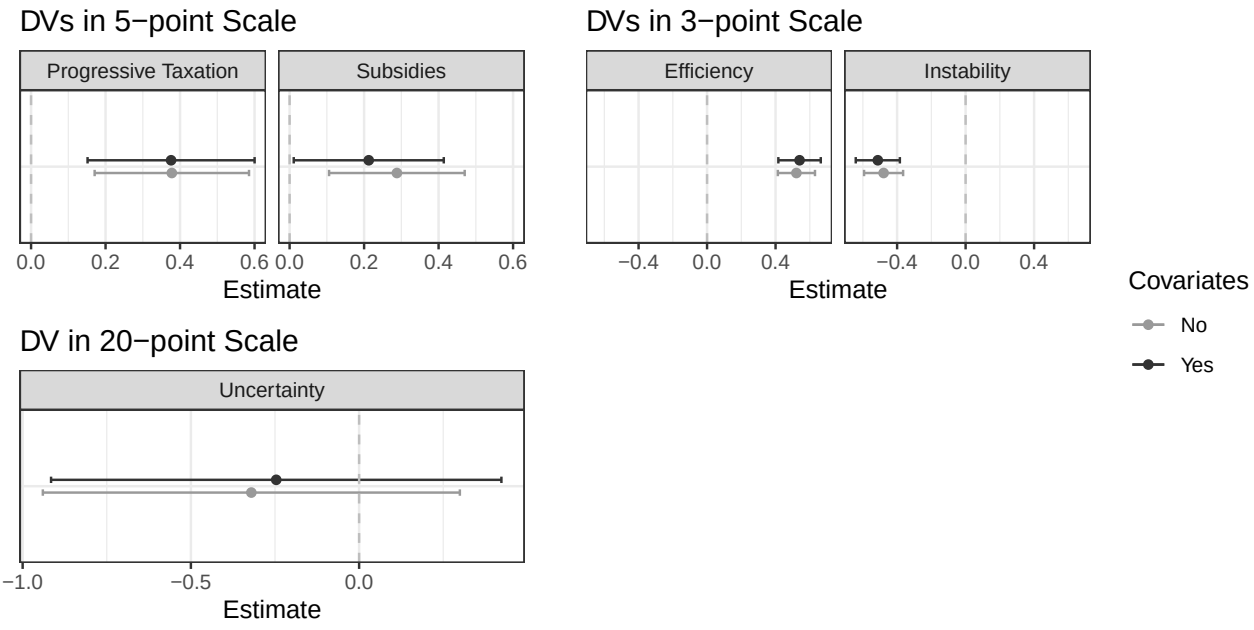


Figure S6

```
## Effect of candidate's indeological placement on fear

petro_left = lm_robust(fear_petro ~ petro_ideology
                      +have_nots+size_population+urban+big_city+women+age
                      +education+catholic+religiosity+employed+married+color
                      +num_kids+sec_perception_neighborhood+victim_del
                      +stable_income+news_cons_d+trust_congress+nationalization
                      +interest_pol+media_exposure+political_machismo,
                         data = dt18,
                         clusters = municipio)

petro_right = lm_robust(fear_petro ~ petro_ideology_r
                      +have_nots+size_population+urban+big_city+women+age
                      +education+catholic+religiosity+employed+married+color
                      +num_kids+sec_perception_neighborhood+victim_del
                      +stable_income+news_cons_d+trust_congress+nationalization
                      +interest_pol+media_exposure+political_machismo,
                          data = dt18,
                          clusters = municipio)


duque_left = lm_robust(fear_duque ~ duque_ideology_l
                      +have_nots+size_population+urban+big_city+women+age
                      +education+catholic+religiosity+employed+married+color
                      +num_kids+sec_perception_neighborhood+victim_del
                      +stable_income+news_cons_d+trust_congress+nationalization
                      +interest_pol+media_exposure+political_machismo,
                         data = dt18,
                         clusters = municipio)

id_placement = data.frame(outcome = c('Petro - Left',
                                      'Petro - Right',
                                      'Duque - Left'),
                          estimate = c(petro_left$coefficients[2],
                                       petro_right$coefficients[2],
                                       duque_left$coefficients[2]),
                          lower = c(petro_left$conf.low[2],
                                    petro_right$conf.low[2],
                                    duque_left$conf.low[2]),
                          upper = c(petro_left$conf.high[2],
                                    petro_right$conf.high[2],
                                    duque_left$conf.high[2]))


ggplot(id_placement, aes(y=estimate, x=outcome)) +
        geom_point(position = pd) +
        geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1) +
        geom_line(position = pd) +
        geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
        coord_flip() +
        ggtitle('Effect of Ideological Placement on Fear') +
```

```
        xlab('') +
        ylab('Estimate') +
        theme() + theme_bw()
```

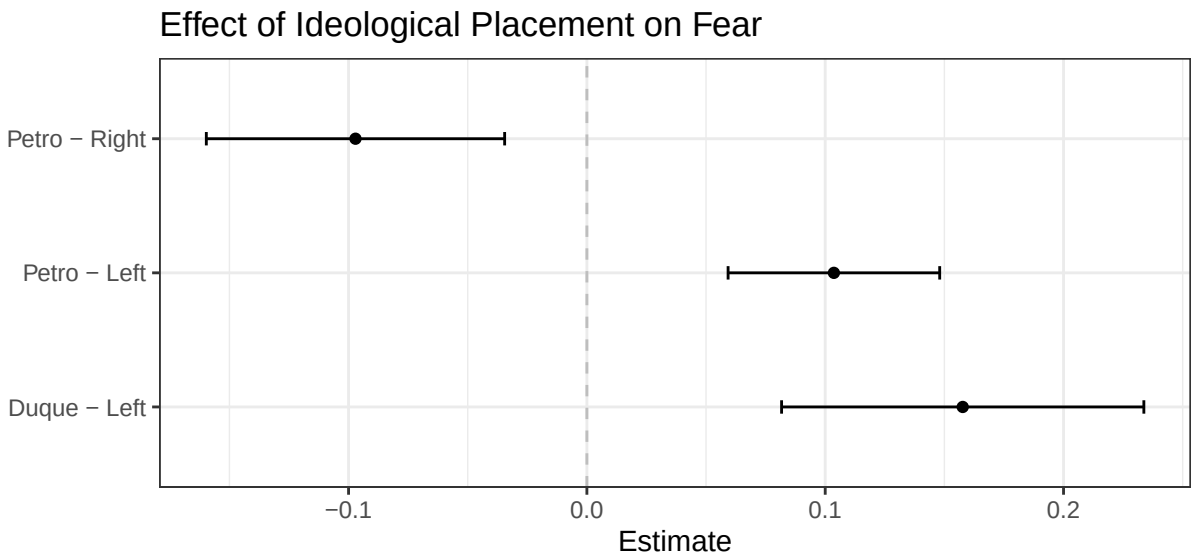


Figure S7

```
tax1.0 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)


tax1.1 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = tax1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'No')


beta = tax1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'Yes')


# Subsidies
```

```r
Subsidies1.0 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

Subsidies1.1 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

beta = Subsidies1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Rightwing = 'No')


beta = Subsidies1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt1 = rbind(dt_tax1.0, dt_tax1.1,
            dt_subsidy1.0, dt_subsidy1.1) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable,
                             levels = c('Progressive Taxation','Subsidies')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

## Study 2
tax2.0 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)


tax2.1 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = tax2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'No')


beta = tax2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'Yes')
```

```r
# Subsidies

Subsidies2.0 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

Subsidies2.1 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

beta = Subsidies2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Rightwing = 'No')


beta = Subsidies2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt2 = rbind(dt_tax2.0, dt_tax2.1,
            dt_subsidy2.0, dt_subsidy2.1) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable,
                             levels = c('Progressive Taxation','Subsidies')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))
```

```r
# Plot
## Heterogeneous Preferences Among The Wealthy
preferences1 = ggplot(dt1,
                      aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                          group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
```

```
    guides("none")

preferences2 = ggplot(dt2,
                      aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                          group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)

preferences1 + preferences2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```

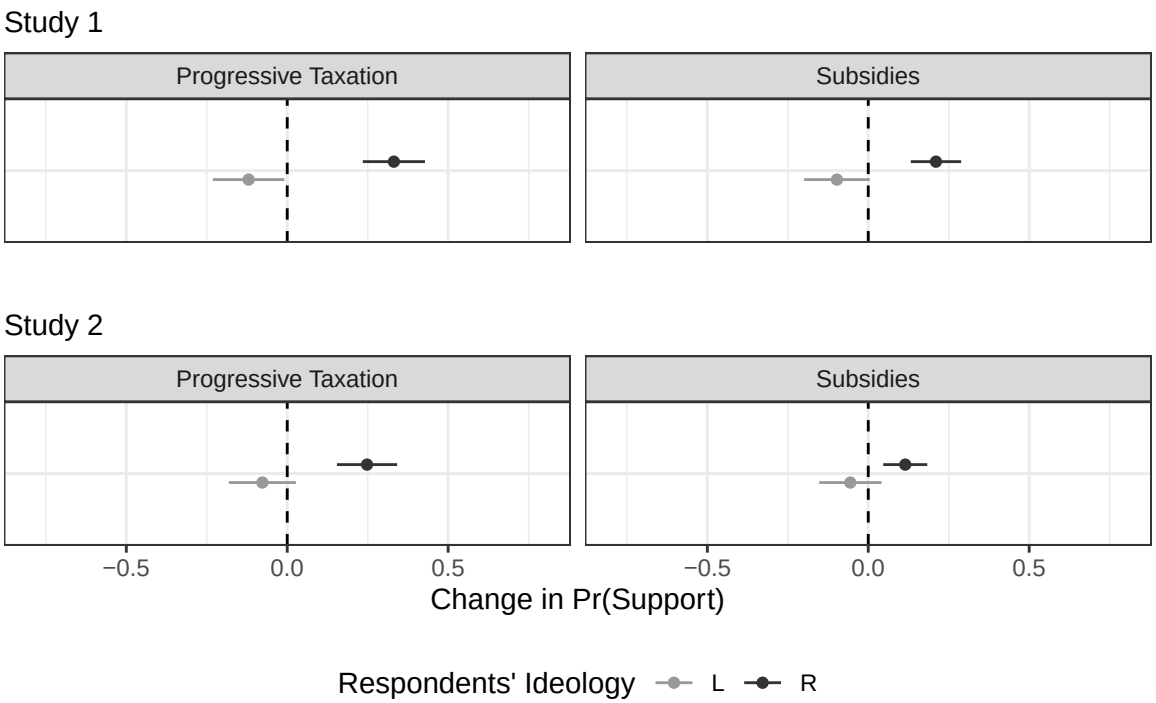


Figure S8

```
# Mechanisms

## Uncertainty
```

```r
uncert1.0 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_r_3l_2r==0,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

uncert1.1 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_r_3l_2r==1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

beta = uncert1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub,
                          Rightwing = 'No')

beta = uncert1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub,
                          Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt_uncert1 = rbind(dt_uncert1.0, dt_uncert1.1)

## Effectiveness

eff1.0 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

eff1.1 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = eff1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = eff1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'No')

beta = eff1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = eff1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'Yes')

## Economic Instability

stability1.0 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
```

```
                          clusters = ticket_id)

stability1.1 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                          data = col22,
                          subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                          clusters = ticket_id)

beta = stability1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Rightwing = 'No')

beta = stability1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Rightwing = 'Yes')


dt1_mechanisms = rbind(dt_eff1.0, dt_eff1.1,
                       dt_stability1.0, dt_stability1.1) %>%
    mutate(ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

## Study 2
uncert2.0 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_r_3l_2r==0,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

uncert2.1 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_r_3l_2r==1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

beta = uncert2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = uncert2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

dt_uncert2 = rbind(dt_uncert2.0, dt_uncert2.1)

## Effectiveness

eff2.0 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)
```

```r
eff2.1 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = eff2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_eff2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'No')

beta = eff2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_eff2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Rightwing = 'Yes')

## Economic Instability

stability2.0 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 0,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

stability2.1 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_r_3l_2r == 1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

beta = stability2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_stability2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Rightwing = 'No')

beta = stability2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_stability2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Rightwing = 'Yes')


dt2_mechanisms = rbind(dt_eff2.0, dt_eff2.1,
                       dt_stability2.0, dt_stability2.1) %>%
    mutate(ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))
```

```r
## Heterogeneous Expectations Among The Wealthy
mechanisms1 = ggplot(dt1_mechanisms,
                     aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                         group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
```

```
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-1,1)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
    guides("none")


mechanisms2 = ggplot(dt2_mechanisms,
                     aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                         group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Expectation)') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-1,1)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)

mechanisms1 + mechanisms2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```

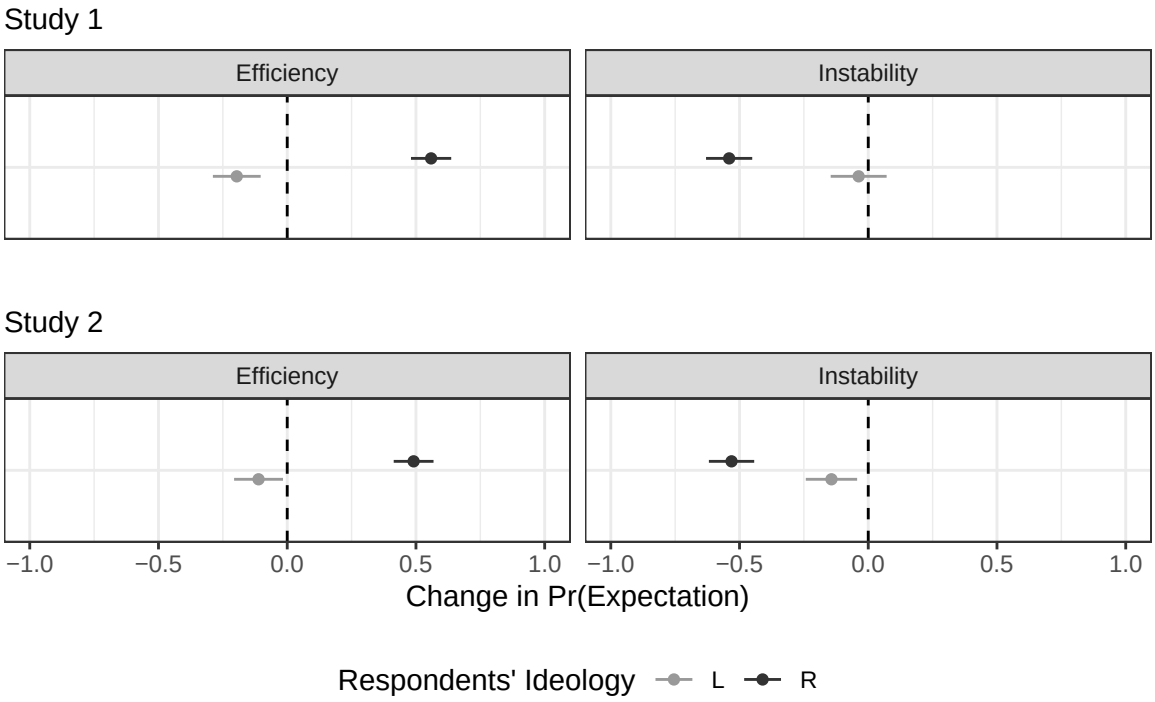


Figure S9

```
### ideology_3
tax1.0 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

tax1.1 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)


tax1.2 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = tax1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'L')

beta = tax1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
```

```
                        Ideology = 'C')

beta = tax1.2$coefficients[2]
lb = tax1.2$conf.low[2]
ub = tax1.2$conf.high[2]
dt_tax1.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                        Ideology = 'R')


# Subsidies

Subsidies1.0 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

Subsidies1.1 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

Subsidies1.2 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

beta = Subsidies1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Ideology = 'L')

beta = Subsidies1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Ideology = 'C')

beta = Subsidies1.2$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies1.2$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies1.2$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy1.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Ideology = 'R')

dt1 = rbind(dt_tax1.0, dt_tax1.1, dt_tax1.2,
            dt_subsidy1.0, dt_subsidy1.1, dt_subsidy1.2) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable, levels = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                                  'Subsidies')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

# Study 2
tax2.0 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                   data = col22_2,
```

```
                    subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                    clusters = ticket_id)

tax2.1 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                    data = col22_2,
                    subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                    clusters = ticket_id)


tax2.2 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax,
                    data = col22_2,
                    subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                    clusters = ticket_id)

beta = tax2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                        Ideology = 'L')

beta = tax2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                        Ideology = 'C')

beta = tax2.2$coefficients[2]
lb = tax2.2$conf.low[2]
ub = tax2.2$conf.high[2]
dt_tax2.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Progressive Taxation', beta, lb, ub,
                        Ideology = 'R')


# Subsidies

Subsidies2.0 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                          data = col22_2,
                          subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                          clusters = ticket_id)

Subsidies2.1 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                          data = col22_2,
                          subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                          clusters = ticket_id)

Subsidies2.2 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy,
                          data = col22_2,
                          subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                          clusters = ticket_id)

beta = Subsidies2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.0$conf.high[2]
```

```r
dt_subsidy2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Ideology = 'L')

beta = Subsidies2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Ideology = 'C')

beta = Subsidies2.2$coefficients[2]
lb = Subsidies2.2$conf.low[2]
ub = Subsidies2.2$conf.high[2]
dt_subsidy2.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Subsidies', beta, lb, ub,
                           Ideology = 'R')

dt2 = rbind(dt_tax2.0, dt_tax2.1, dt_tax2.2,
            dt_subsidy2.0, dt_subsidy2.1, dt_subsidy2.2) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable,
                             levels = c('Progressive Taxation','Subsidies')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))
```

```r
# Plot
## Heterogeneous Preferences Among The Wealthy
preferences1 = ggplot(dt1,
                      aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                          group=Ideology, color=Ideology)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#CCCCCC', '#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("C","L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
    guides("none")

preferences2 = ggplot(dt2,
                      aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                          group=Ideology, color=Ideology)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
```

```
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(#axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#CCCCCC', '#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("C","L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)

preferences1 + preferences2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```

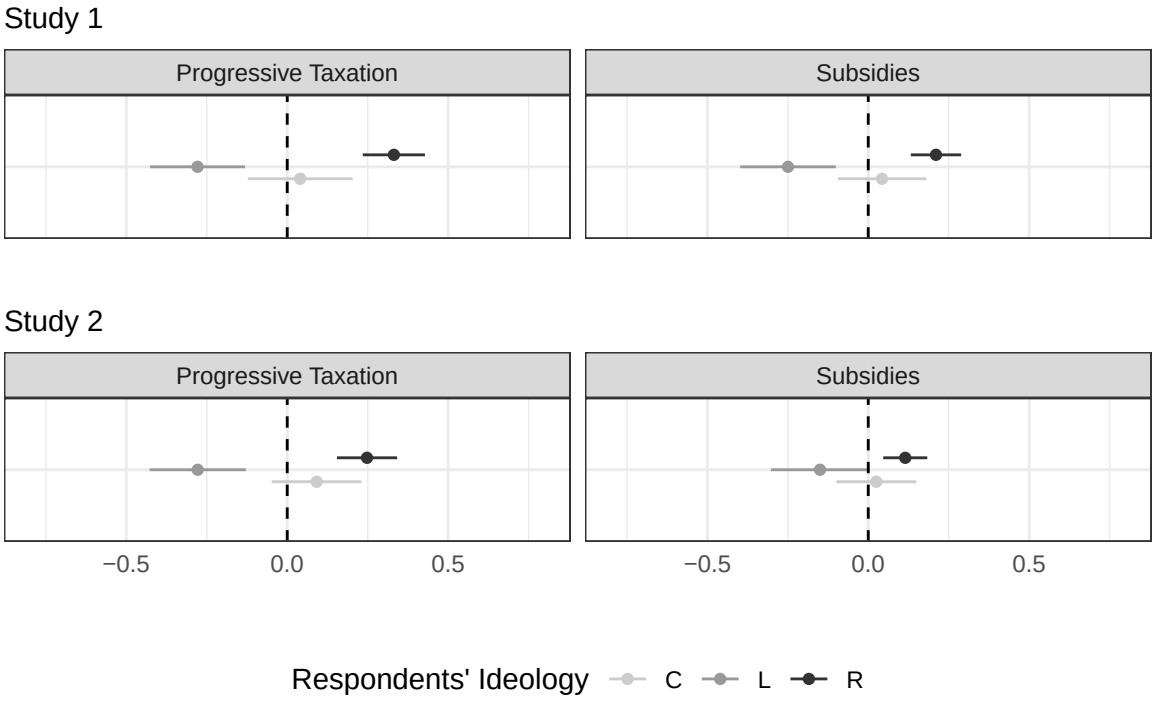


Figure S10

```
# Mechanisms

## Uncertainty

uncert1.0 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_3==-1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

uncert1.1 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_3==0,
                      clusters = ticket_id)
```

```r
uncert1.2 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_3==1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

beta = uncert1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub, Ideology = 'L')

beta = uncert1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub, Ideology = 'C')

beta = uncert1.2$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert1.2$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert1.2$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert1.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub, Ideology = 'R')

dt_uncert1 = rbind(dt_uncert1.0, dt_uncert1.1, dt_uncert1.2)

## Effectiveness

eff1.0 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

eff1.1 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

eff1.2 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = eff1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = eff1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'L')

beta = eff1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = eff1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'C')

beta = eff1.2$coefficients[2]
lb = eff1.2$conf.low[2]
```

```
ub = eff1.2$conf.high[2]
dt_eff1.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'R')

## Economic Instability

stability1.0 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

stability1.1 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

stability1.2 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22,
                         subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

beta = stability1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Ideology = 'L')

beta = stability1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Ideology = 'C')

beta = stability1.2$coefficients[2]
lb = stability1.2$conf.low[2]
ub = stability1.2$conf.high[2]
dt_stability1.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Ideology = 'R')

dt1_mechanisms = rbind(dt_eff1.0, dt_eff1.1, dt_eff1.2,
                       dt_stability1.0, dt_stability1.1, dt_stability1.2) %>%
    mutate(ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))


# Study 2
uncert2.0 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_3==-1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

uncert2.1 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_3==0,
```

```
                      clusters = ticket_id)

uncert2.2 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_3==1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

beta = uncert2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub,
                          Ideology = 'L')

beta = uncert2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub,
                          Ideology = 'C')

beta = uncert2.2$coefficients[2]
lb = uncert2.2$conf.low[2]
ub = uncert2.2$conf.high[2]
dt_uncert2.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Uncertainty', beta, lb, ub,
                          Ideology = 'R')

dt_uncert2 = rbind(dt_uncert2.0, dt_uncert2.1, dt_uncert2.2)

## Effectiveness

eff2.0 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

eff2.1 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

eff2.2 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = eff2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_eff2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'L')

beta = eff2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.1$conf.high[2]
```

```r
dt_eff2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'C')

beta = eff2.2$coefficients[2]
lb = eff2.2$conf.low[2]
ub = eff2.2$conf.high[2]
dt_eff2.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Efficiency', beta, lb, ub,
                       Ideology = 'R')

## Economic Instability

stability2.0 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_3 == -1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

stability2.1 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_3 == 0,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

stability2.2 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability,
                         data = col22_2,
                         subset = ideology_3 == 1,
                         clusters = ticket_id)

beta = stability2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_stability2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Ideology = 'L')

beta = stability2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_stability2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Ideology = 'C')

beta = stability2.2$coefficients[2]
lb = stability2.2$conf.low[2]
ub = stability2.2$conf.high[2]
dt_stability2.2 = data.frame(variable = 'Instability', beta, lb, ub,
                             Ideology = 'R')

dt2_mechanisms = rbind(dt_eff2.0, dt_eff2.1, dt_eff2.2,
                       dt_stability2.0, dt_stability2.1, dt_stability2.2) %>%
    mutate(ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))
```

```r
## Heterogeneous Expectations Among The Wealthy
mechanisms1 = ggplot(dt1_mechanisms,
                     aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                         group=Ideology, color=Ideology)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
```

```
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-1,1)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c("#CCCCCC",'#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("C", "L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
    guides("none")

mechanisms2 = ggplot(dt2_mechanisms,
                     aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                         group=Ideology, color=Ideology)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-1,1)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(#axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c("#CCCCCC",'#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("C", "L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)

mechanisms1 + mechanisms2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```

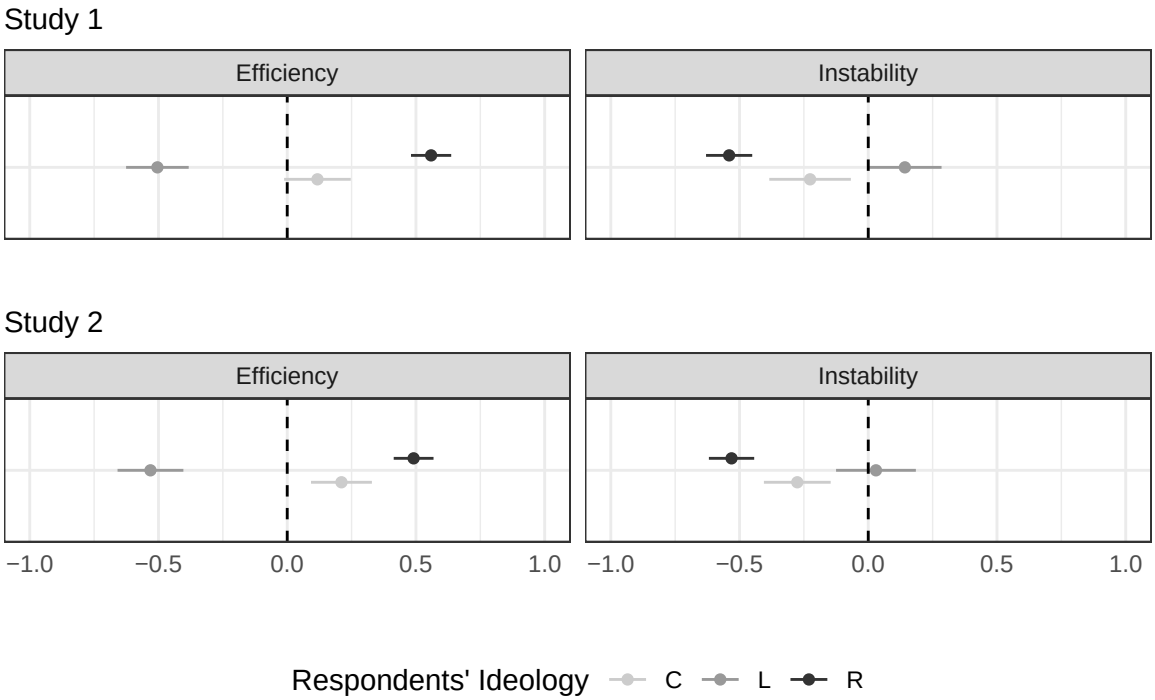


Figure S11

```
## Regressions
out_s1 = list()
out_s1_1 = list()

covariates = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
               'married','university_degree','employed','exp_crime',
               'guerrilla_threat','migration','trust_institutions',
               'ideology_r_mean2','resent','vote_fico')

for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i],
                                             paste(covariates, collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
    out_s1_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
}

outcomes_s1_subset = data.frame(outcome = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                        'Subsidies',
                                        'Uncertainty',
                                        'Efficiency',
                                        'Stability',
                                        'Police',
                                        'Visa',
                                        'Progressive Taxation',
                                        'Subsidies',
                                        'Uncertainty',
                                        'Efficiency',
```

```
                                    'Stability',
                                    'Police',
                                    'Visa'),
                          ATE = c(rep('ATE', length(f)*2)),
                          estimate = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                         out_s1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                         unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                         out_s1_1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                         unlist()),
                          lower = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                      out_s1[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                      unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                      out_s1_1[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                      unlist()),
                          upper = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                      out_s1[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                      unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                      out_s1_1[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                      unlist()),
                          group = c('Preferences','Preferences',
                                    'Explanations','Explanations','Explanations',
                                    'Placebos','Placebos'),
                          covariates = c(rep(1, length(f)),
                                         rep(0, length(f))))

## preferences plot
outcomes_s1_subset %>%
    filter(group=='Preferences') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('Redistributive Preferences - Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes"),
                       guide = guide_legend(reverse = TRUE)) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)
```

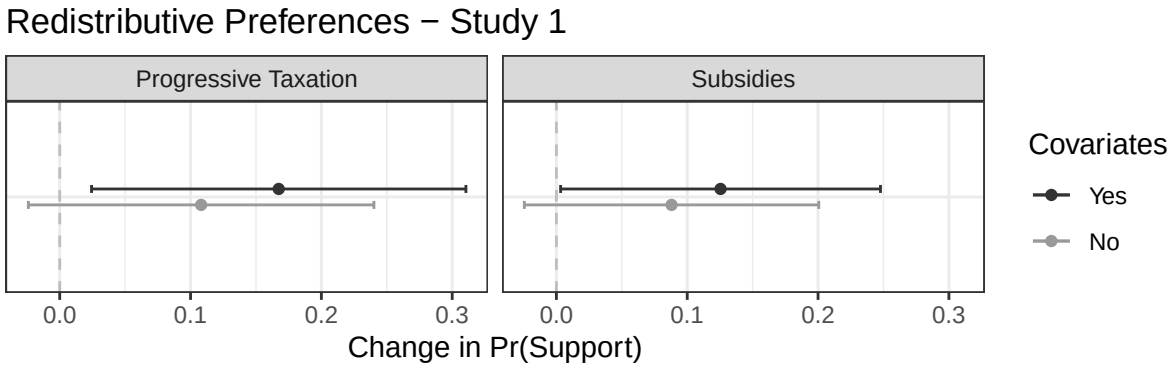


Figure S12

```
out_s2 = list()
out_s2_1 = list()
covariates2 = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
                'married','university_degree',
                'employed','exp_crime',
                'guerrilla_threat','migration','trust_institutions',
                'ideology_r_mean2','resent','rodolf_right','vote_hernandez')

for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s2[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i],
                                             paste(covariates2, collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22_2_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
    out_s2_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22_2_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
}

outcomes_s2_subset = data.frame(outcome = c('Progressive Taxation',
                                        'Subsidies',
                                        'Uncertainty',
                                        'Efficiency',
                                        'Stability',
                                        'Police',
                                        'Visa',
                                        'Progressive Taxation',
                                        'Subsidies',
                                        'Uncertainty',
                                        'Efficiency',
                                        'Stability',
                                        'Police',
                                        'Visa'),
                            ATE = c(rep('ATE', length(f)*2)),
                            estimate = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                             out_s2[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                             unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                             out_s2_1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                                             unlist()),
                            lower = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                          out_s2[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                          unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
```

```
                                    out_s2_1[[i]]$conf.low[2] %>%
                                    unlist()),
                          upper = c(foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                    out_s2[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                    unlist(), foreach(i=1:length(f)) %do%
                                    out_s2_1[[i]]$conf.high[2] %>%
                                    unlist()),
                          group = c('Preferences','Preferences',
                                    'Explanations','Explanations','Explanations',
                                    'Placebos','Placebos'),
                          covariates = c(rep(1, length(f)),
                                         rep(0, length(f))))

outcomes_s2_subset %>%
    filter(group=='Preferences') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    ggtitle('Redistributive Preferences - Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes"),
                       guide = guide_legend(reverse = TRUE)) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)
```

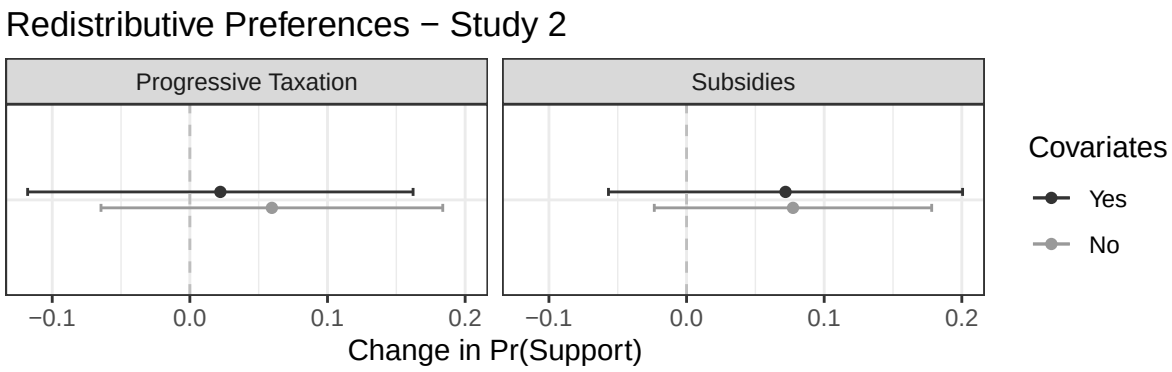


Figure S13

```
placebos_s1 = outcomes_s1 %>%
    filter(group=='Placebos') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
```

```
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    labs(subtitle = 'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes"),
                       guide = guide_legend(reverse = TRUE)) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)

placebos_s2 = outcomes_s2 %>%
    filter(group=='Placebos') %>%
    ggplot(., aes(y=estimate, x=ATE, color=as.factor(covariates))) +
    geom_point(position = pd) +
    geom_errorbar(aes(ymin=lower, ymax=upper), width=0.1, position = pd) +
    geom_line(position = pd) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, color = "grey", linetype = "dashed") +
    coord_flip() +
    labs(subtitle = 'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank()) +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Covariates", labels=c("No","Yes"),
                       guide = guide_legend(reverse = TRUE)) +
    facet_wrap(~outcome)


placebos_s1 + placebos_s2 + plot_layout(ncol = 1, guides = 'collect')
```

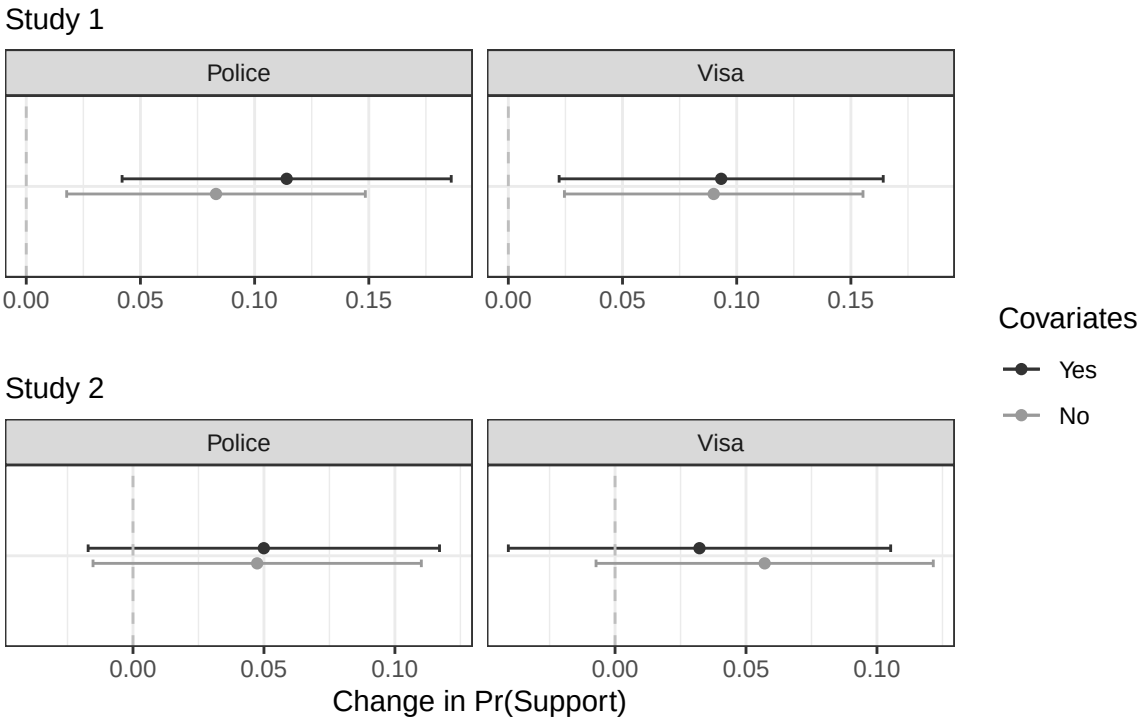


Figure S14

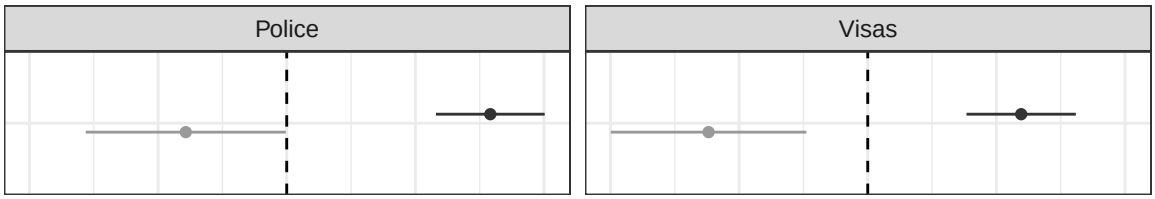
```
# Migration
mig1.0 = lm_robust(visa_dummy ~ t_visa,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

mig1.1 = lm_robust(visa_dummy ~ t_visa,
                   data = col22,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = mig1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = mig1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = mig1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_mig1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Visas', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = mig1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = mig1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = mig1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_mig1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Visas', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

# Police
police1.0 = lm_robust(police_dummy ~ t_police,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_r_mean == 0,
                      clusters = ticket_id)
```

```r
police1.1 = lm_robust(police_dummy ~ t_police,
                      data = col22,
                      subset = ideology_r_mean == 1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)


beta = police1.0$coefficients[2]
lb = police1.0$conf.low[2]
ub = police1.0$conf.high[2]
dt_police1.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Police', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')


beta = police1.1$coefficients[2]
lb = police1.1$conf.low[2]
ub = police1.1$conf.high[2]
dt_police1.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Police', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')


# Migration
mig2.0 = lm_robust(visa_dummy ~ t_visa,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 0,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

mig2.1 = lm_robust(visa_dummy ~ t_visa,
                   data = col22_2,
                   subset = ideology_r_mean == 1,
                   clusters = ticket_id)

beta = mig2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = mig2.0$conf.low[2]
ub = mig2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_mig2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Visas', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')

beta = mig2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = mig2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = mig2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_mig2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Visas', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')

# Police
police2.0 = lm_robust(police_dummy ~ t_police,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_r_mean == 0,
                      clusters = ticket_id)

police2.1 = lm_robust(police_dummy ~ t_police,
                      data = col22_2,
                      subset = ideology_r_mean == 1,
                      clusters = ticket_id)


beta = police2.0$coefficients[2]
lb = police2.0$conf.low[2]
```

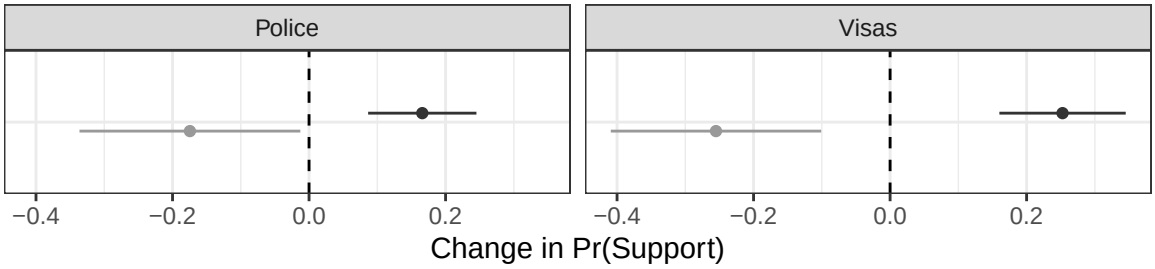
```
ub = police2.0$conf.high[2]
dt_police2.0 = data.frame(variable = 'Police', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'No')


beta = police2.1$coefficients[2]
lb = police2.1$conf.low[2]
ub = police2.1$conf.high[2]
dt_police2.1 = data.frame(variable = 'Police', beta, lb, ub, Rightwing = 'Yes')


## Plots
dt1_placebos = rbind(dt_police1.0, dt_police1.1,dt_mig1.0, dt_mig1.1) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable, levels = c('Police','Visas')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

dt1_placebos_plot = ggplot(dt1_placebos,
                           aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                               group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 1') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('') +
    #scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
    theme(axis.text.x = element_blank(),
          axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'none') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable) +
    guides("none")


dt2_placebos = rbind(dt_police2.0, dt_police2.1,dt_mig2.0, dt_mig2.1) %>%
    mutate(variable = factor(variable, levels = c('Police','Visas')),
           ATE = rep('ATE', length(variable)))

dt2_placebos_plot = ggplot(dt2_placebos,
                           aes(y=beta, x=ATE, ymin=lb, ymax=ub,
                               group=Rightwing, color=Rightwing)) +
    geom_point(position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_linerange(key_glyph ='path', position = position_dodge(w=0.3)) +
    geom_hline(yintercept = 0, colour = 'black', linetype = 'dashed') +
    labs(subtitle =  'Study 2') +
    xlab('') +
    ylab('Change in Pr(Support)') +
    #scale_y_continuous(limits = c(-.8,.8)) +
    coord_flip() +
    theme_bw() +
```

```
    theme(axis.text.y = element_blank(),
          axis.ticks.y = element_blank(),
          legend.position = 'bottom') +
    scale_color_manual(values = c('#999999','#333333'),
                       name="Respondents' Ideology", labels=c("L","R")) +
    facet_wrap(~variable)

dt1_placebos_plot + dt2_placebos_plot + plot_layout(ncol = 1)
```

Study 1



Study 2



Online SI - Tables

Table S1

```
col22_covariates = col22
col22_covariates = col22_covariates %>%
    mutate(across(c(age,white,catholic,married,university_degree,
                    employed,trust_institutions,resent), as.numeric),
           female=as.character(female) %>% as.numeric(),
           capital=as.character(capital) %>% as.numeric(),
           right_ideology=as.character(ideology_r_mean2) %>% as.numeric()) %>%
    as.data.table

variables = c('age','female','capital','white','catholic',
              'married','university_degree',
              'employed','right_ideology')


equiv_taxes <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
```

```
  {
    dt_0 = col22_covariates[t_tax==0]
    dt_1 = col22_covariates[t_tax==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}


equiv_subsidy <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_covariates[t_subsidy==0]
    dt_1 = col22_covariates[t_subsidy==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}


equiv_uncert <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_covariates[t_uncert==0]
    dt_1 = col22_covariates[t_uncert==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
```

```
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equiv_eff <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_covariates[t_effectiveness==0]
    dt_1 = col22_covariates[t_effectiveness==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equiv_stability <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_covariates[t_stability==0]
    dt_1 = col22_covariates[t_stability==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}


equivalence_dt1 = rbindlist(list(equiv_taxes, equiv_subsidy,
                                 equiv_uncert, equiv_eff, equiv_stability))

# Generate latex table
kbl(equivalence_dt1, 'latex',
    caption = 'Equivalence Table (Study 1) - T0 vs T1',
    col.names =  c("Variable","Mean Difference",
                   "CI (+/-)",
                   "p-val"), position = 'h', align = 'c',
```

```
    longtable = T) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Progressive Taxation', 1,9) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Subsidies', 10,18) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Uncertainty', 19,27) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Efficiency', 28,35) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Instability', 36,43)
```

Table 3: Equivalence Table (Study 1) - T0 vs T1

Variable	Mean Difference	CI (+/-)	p-val
Progressive Taxation			
age	-0.120	0.269	0.000
female	0.005	0.047	0.005
capital	0.054	0.107	0.245
white	-0.027	0.085	0.037
catholic	-0.045	0.099	0.156
married	-0.021	0.077	0.027
university_degree	0.017	0.073	0.020
employed	-0.039	0.090	0.179
right_ideology	-0.026	0.090	0.050
Subsidies			
age	0.022	0.150	0.000
female	-0.048	0.106	0.122
capital	0.038	0.091	0.118
white	0.033	0.092	0.055
catholic	-0.010	0.058	0.015
married	-0.023	0.080	0.033
university_degree	-0.071	0.129	0.311
employed	0.023	0.073	0.072
right_ideology	0.002	0.002	0.003
Uncertainty			
age	0.072	0.228	0.000
female	0.021	0.081	0.032
capital	0.037	0.094	0.127
white	-0.052	0.113	0.153
catholic	-0.100	0.157	0.738
married	-0.044	0.104	0.117
university_degree	0.032	0.093	0.063
employed	0.047	0.100	0.254
right_ideology	0.018	0.083	0.036
Efficiency			
age	0.059	0.206	0.000
female	-0.001	0.001	0.001
capital	0.027	0.080	0.063
white	-0.041	0.100	0.084
catholic	0.016	0.069	0.027
married	0.014	0.068	0.016
university_degree	-0.039	0.097	0.079
employed	-0.009	0.055	0.023
Instability			
right_ideology	0.010	0.065	0.014

age	-0.004	0.004	0.000
female	-0.049	0.107	0.127
capital	0.022	0.075	0.046
white	-0.001	0.001	0.001
catholic	-0.015	0.068	0.025
married	0.000	0.000	0.000
university_degree	0.009	0.060	0.009
employed	0.023	0.073	0.072
right_ideology	0.011	0.069	0.017

Table S2

```
col22_2_covariates = col22_2
col22_2_covariates = col22_2_covariates %>%
    mutate(across(c(age,white,catholic,married,university_degree,
                    employed,trust_institutions,resent), as.numeric),
           female=as.character(female) %>% as.numeric(),
           capital=as.character(capital) %>% as.numeric(),
           right_ideology=as.character(ideology_r_mean2) %>% as.numeric()) %>%
    as.data.table

variables = c('age','female','capital','white','catholic',
              'married','university_degree',
              'employed','right_ideology')

equiv_taxes2 <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_2_covariates[t_tax==0]
    dt_1 = col22_2_covariates[t_tax==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equiv_subsidy2 <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_2_covariates[t_subsidy==0]
    dt_1 = col22_2_covariates[t_subsidy==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
```

```
                  mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equiv_uncert2 <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_2_covariates[t_uncert==0]
    dt_1 = col22_2_covariates[t_uncert==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                  mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equiv_eff2 <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_2_covariates[t_effectiveness==0]
    dt_1 = col22_2_covariates[t_effectiveness==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                  mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equiv_stability2 <- foreach(i = 1:length(variables), .combine = 'rbind') %do%
  {
    dt_0 = col22_2_covariates[t_stability==0]
```

```
    dt_1 = col22_2_covariates[t_stability==1]
    variable = variables[i]
    # Observed mean difference
    diff_mean = (mean(dt_0[[variable]], na.rm = T) -
                   mean(dt_1[[variable]], na.rm = T)) %>%
        round(., 3)
    # Equivalence analysis
    eqv = equivtest::equiv.t.test(x = dt_0[[variable]], y = dt_1[[variable]],
                                  eps_tol = 'strict')
    eqv_ci = eqv$CI_sub[2] %>% round(., 3)
    eqv_p = eqv$p %>% round(., 3)
    # return
    out = data.frame(Variable=variables[i], diff_mean,eqv_ci,eqv_p)
    return(out)
}

equivalence_dt2 = rbindlist(list(equiv_taxes2, equiv_subsidy2,
                                 equiv_uncert2, equiv_eff2, equiv_stability2))

# Generate latex table
kbl(equivalence_dt2, 'latex',
    caption = 'Equivalence Table (Study 2) - T0 vs T1',
    col.names =  c("Variable","Mean Difference",
                   "CI (+/-)",
                   "p-val"), position = 'h', align = 'c',
    longtable = T) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Progressive Taxation', 1,9) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Subsidies', 10,18) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Uncertainty', 19,27) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Efficiency', 28,35) %>%
    pack_rows(group_label = 'Instability', 36,43)
```

Table 4: Equivalence Table (Study 2) - T0 vs T1

Variable	Mean Difference	CI (+/-)	p-val
Progressive Taxation			
age	-0.082	0.226	0.000
female	0.025	0.081	0.030
capital	0.009	0.057	0.011
white	-0.012	0.065	0.011
catholic	-0.011	0.060	0.018
married	-0.054	0.110	0.160
university_degree	-0.002	0.002	0.002
employed	-0.002	0.002	0.004
right_ideology	0.023	0.084	0.035
Subsidies			
age	-0.046	0.187	0.000
female	-0.059	0.116	0.193
capital	0.054	0.108	0.202
white	0.029	0.086	0.039
catholic	0.035	0.088	0.098
married	-0.004	0.034	0.003

university_degree	0.053	0.110	0.151
employed	-0.032	0.080	0.130
right_ideology	0.062	0.123	0.225
Uncertainty			
age	-0.013	0.116	0.000
female	0.050	0.106	0.126
capital	-0.033	0.087	0.071
white	-0.068	0.125	0.263
catholic	0.040	0.092	0.124
married	0.028	0.084	0.040
university_degree	-0.013	0.066	0.012
employed	-0.003	0.026	0.007
right_ideology	0.022	0.083	0.033
Efficiency			
age	0.144	0.288	0.000
female	0.075	0.132	0.344
capital	0.009	0.057	0.011
white	0.025	0.081	0.029
catholic	0.004	0.038	0.006
married	0.045	0.101	0.104
university_degree	-0.047	0.104	0.113
employed	-0.033	0.081	0.140
Instability			
right_ideology	-0.018	0.077	0.024
age	0.093	0.237	0.000
female	-0.044	0.101	0.095
capital	0.005	0.041	0.005
white	0.025	0.082	0.031
catholic	-0.043	0.096	0.150
married	-0.045	0.101	0.104
university_degree	0.026	0.083	0.034
employed	-0.045	0.093	0.248
right_ideology	0.002	0.002	0.002

Table S3

```
out_s1 = list()
out_s1_1 = list()

f = list(tax_dummy~t_tax,
         subsidy_dummy~t_subsidy,
         uncert_scale~t_uncert,
         effectiveness_dummy~t_effectiveness,
         stability_dummy~t_stability)

covariates = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
               'married','university_degree',
               'employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat',
               'migration','trust_institutions',
               'ideology_r_mean2',
```

```
              'resent','vote_fico')

for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i],
                                             paste(covariates, collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22)
    out_s1_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22)
}


# harmonizing coefficients
out_s1_1[[1]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[2]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'


# with covariate
out_s1[[1]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[2]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'
```

```
# regression table
texreg(list(out_s1_1[[1]], out_s1_1[[2]],
            out_s1_1[[3]], out_s1_1[[4]], out_s1_1[[5]]),
       use.packages = FALSE,
       caption = "Regression Results - Study 1 (without covariates)",
       label = "table:results_s1_baseline",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=F,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. Robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 5: Regression Results - Study 1 (without covariates)

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.395***	0.196***	−1.143***	0.164***	0.518***
	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.271)	(0.019)	(0.026)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	0.094***	0.042	−0.649*	0.169***	−0.259***
	(0.036)	(0.030)	(0.365)	(0.031)	(0.034)
R^2	0.009	0.003	0.004	0.038	0.071
Adj. R^2	0.008	0.001	0.003	0.037	0.070
Num. obs.	760	773	723	764	746
RMSE	0.495	0.412	4.939	0.424	0.470

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. Robust standard errors.

Table S4

```
texreg(list(out_s1[[1]], out_s1[[2]],
            out_s1[[3]], out_s1[[4]], out_s1[[5]]),
       caption = "Regression Results - Study 1 (with covariates)",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:results_s1",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate',
                              'age2'='Age(25-34)',
                              'age3'='Age(35-44)',
                              'age4'='Age(45-54)',
                              'age5'='Age(55+)',
                              'female1'='Female',
                              'capital1'='Capital',
                              'white'='White',
                              'catholic'='Catholic',
                              'married'='Married',
                              'university_degree'='Education',
                              'employed'='Employed',
                              'exp_crime1'='Exp. crime',
                              'guerrilla_threat1'='Guerrilla threat',
                              'migration1'='Int. to migrate',
                              'trust_institutions'='Trust inst.',
                              'ideology_r_mean2'='Ideology (Right)',
                              'resent'='Percep. of resent.',
                              'vote_fico1'='Vote (Right)'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=T,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
```

```
        include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
        threeparttable = TRUE,
        stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
        custom.note = "\\item%stars. Robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 6: Regression Results - Study 1 (with covariates)

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.450***	0.289**	1.872	−0.113	0.126
	(0.173)	(0.140)	(1.610)	(0.136)	(0.153)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	0.105***	0.073**	−0.607	0.175***	−0.286***
	(0.040)	(0.034)	(0.412)	(0.035)	(0.038)
Age(25-34)	0.154	−0.025	0.134	0.054	0.025
	(0.119)	(0.099)	(1.033)	(0.094)	(0.095)
Age(35-44)	0.162	−0.046	0.005	0.044	0.171*
	(0.120)	(0.099)	(1.073)	(0.097)	(0.097)
Age(45-54)	0.214*	0.038	0.777	0.088	0.074
	(0.119)	(0.102)	(1.107)	(0.096)	(0.099)
Age(55+)	0.111	0.026	0.235	0.094	0.130
	(0.116)	(0.097)	(1.037)	(0.093)	(0.093)
Female	−0.026	−0.112***	−0.593	−0.012	−0.014
	(0.041)	(0.034)	(0.413)	(0.037)	(0.040)
Capital	−0.020	−0.043	−0.350	−0.022	0.035
	(0.042)	(0.035)	(0.447)	(0.038)	(0.042)
White	−0.072*	0.016	0.030	0.034	−0.021
	(0.042)	(0.035)	(0.436)	(0.038)	(0.040)
Catholic	−0.074	−0.073*	−0.138	−0.061	0.114***
	(0.045)	(0.039)	(0.447)	(0.040)	(0.043)
Married	−0.016	−0.054	−0.052	0.003	0.002
	(0.042)	(0.038)	(0.431)	(0.039)	(0.041)
Education	−0.024	0.027	−0.157	−0.033	−0.004
	(0.041)	(0.034)	(0.420)	(0.037)	(0.039)
Employed	−0.048	0.025	−0.695	0.021	0.075
	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.525)	(0.045)	(0.048)
Guerrilla threat	−0.064	−0.018	−0.333	0.046	0.017
	(0.043)	(0.037)	(0.461)	(0.039)	(0.042)
Trust inst.	−0.011	0.043	0.059	0.100**	0.011
	(0.050)	(0.042)	(0.503)	(0.043)	(0.047)
Ideology (Right)	−0.198***	−0.125***	−1.931***	−0.034	−0.035
	(0.052)	(0.039)	(0.497)	(0.040)	(0.050)
Percep. of resent.	0.037*	0.002	−0.196	0.012	0.030
	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.209)	(0.017)	(0.019)
Vote (Right)	0.013	−0.010	0.156	0.084**	0.071
	(0.054)	(0.043)	(0.541)	(0.042)	(0.053)
R^2	0.095	0.067	0.061	0.085	0.130
Adj. R^2	0.066	0.037	0.028	0.055	0.101
Num. obs.	609	606	565	606	594
RMSE	0.483	0.413	4.732	0.428	0.461

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. Robust standard errors.

Table S5

```
out_s2 = list()
out_s2_1 = list()
covariates2 = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
                'married','university_degree',
               'employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat',
               'migration','trust_institutions',
               'ideology_r_mean2','resent',
               'rodolf_right','vote_hernandez')

for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s2[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i],
                                             paste(covariates2, collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22_2)
    out_s2_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22_2)
}

out_s2_1[[1]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[2]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'


out_s2[[1]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[2]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'
```

```
texreg(list(out_s2_1[[1]], out_s2_1[[2]],
            out_s2_1[[3]], out_s2_1[[4]], out_s2_1[[5]]),
       use.packages = FALSE,
       caption = "Regression Results - Study 2 (without covariates)",
       label = "table:results_s2_baseline",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=F,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. Robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 7: Regression Results - Study 2 (without covariates)

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.380***	0.181***	−1.121***	0.193***	0.568***
	(0.024)	(0.019)	(0.239)	(0.020)	(0.026)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	0.089**	0.048*	−0.320	0.179***	−0.337***
	(0.035)	(0.028)	(0.316)	(0.031)	(0.033)
R^2	0.008	0.004	0.001	0.039	0.119
Adj. R^2	0.007	0.002	0.000	0.038	0.118
Num. obs.	797	819	832	804	798
RMSE	0.493	0.403	4.560	0.444	0.458

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. Robust standard errors.

Table S6

```
texreg(list(out_s2[[1]], out_s2[[2]],
            out_s2[[3]], out_s2[[4]], out_s2[[5]]),
       caption = "Regression Results - Study 2 (with covariates)",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:results_s2",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate',
                              'age2'='Age(25-34)',
                              'age3'='Age(35-44)',
                              'age4'='Age(45-54)',
                              'age5'='Age(55+)',
                              'female1'='Female',
                              'capital1'='Capital',
                              'white'='White',
                              'catholic'='Catholic',
                              'married'='Married',
                              'university_degree'='Education',
                              'employed'='Employed',
                              'exp_crime1'='Exp. crime',
                              'guerrilla_threat1'='Guerrilla threat',
                              'migration1'='Int. to migrate',
                              'trust_institutions'='Trust inst.',
                              'resent'='Percep. of resent.',
                              'ideology_r_mean2'='Ideology (Right)',
                              'rodolf_right'='Hernández Id.',
                              'vote_hernandez1'='Vote (Right)'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=T,
       booktabs = T,
```

```
        include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
        include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
        threeparttable = TRUE,
        stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
        custom.note = "\\item%stars. Robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 8: Regression Results - Study 2 (with covariates)

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.204	0.463***	2.306*	0.277*	0.465***
	(0.139)	(0.130)	(1.327)	(0.151)	(0.151)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	0.091**	0.027	−0.246	0.171***	−0.346***
	(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.341)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Age(25-34)	0.188**	−0.177*	−0.608	−0.103	−0.016
	(0.090)	(0.095)	(0.803)	(0.104)	(0.099)
Age(35-44)	0.100	−0.180*	−0.147	−0.053	0.077
	(0.094)	(0.098)	(0.816)	(0.107)	(0.102)
Age(45-54)	0.145	−0.189**	−0.637	−0.059	0.081
	(0.094)	(0.095)	(0.848)	(0.106)	(0.100)
Age(55+)	0.123	−0.218**	−1.411*	−0.026	0.025
	(0.090)	(0.091)	(0.791)	(0.101)	(0.096)
Female	−0.025	−0.050	−1.036***	−0.055	−0.011
	(0.039)	(0.032)	(0.352)	(0.037)	(0.038)
Capital	−0.057	0.017	0.556	0.057	−0.019
	(0.039)	(0.033)	(0.363)	(0.038)	(0.037)
White	−0.044	0.006	0.136	−0.040	0.049
	(0.040)	(0.033)	(0.359)	(0.037)	(0.038)
Catholic	−0.015	−0.027	−0.394	−0.005	0.086**
	(0.046)	(0.038)	(0.416)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Married	−0.006	0.034	0.143	−0.015	−0.012
	(0.041)	(0.034)	(0.377)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Education	0.073*	0.009	−0.829**	−0.000	0.038
	(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.346)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Employed	−0.084	−0.019	−0.544	−0.001	−0.024
	(0.051)	(0.043)	(0.441)	(0.051)	(0.048)
Guerrilla threat	−0.023	−0.041	−0.432	−0.043	−0.013
	(0.040)	(0.033)	(0.373)	(0.038)	(0.040)
Trust inst.	0.004	0.017	−0.493	0.038	−0.066
	(0.049)	(0.038)	(0.451)	(0.047)	(0.045)
Percep. of resent.	0.047***	−0.000	0.048	−0.014	0.012
	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.182)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Ideology (Right)	−0.254***	−0.217***	−1.731***	0.007	0.091**
	(0.047)	(0.038)	(0.398)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Hernández Id.	0.118***	0.074**	0.670*	0.019	−0.025
	(0.041)	(0.034)	(0.364)	(0.040)	(0.040)
Vote (Right)	−0.034	0.027	−0.000	0.019	0.034
	(0.049)	(0.040)	(0.429)	(0.046)	(0.049)
R^2	0.124	0.095	0.104	0.062	0.164
Adj. R^2	0.096	0.066	0.075	0.031	0.137
Num. obs.	640	642	643	638	634

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
RMSE	0.470	0.394	4.264	0.448	0.455

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. Robust standard errors.

Table S7

```
f3 = 'uncert_scale3~t_uncert'

uncertainty_out_s1 = list()
uncertainty_out_s1_1 = list()
uncertainty_out_s2 = list()
uncertainty_out_s2_1 = list()

covariates = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
               'married','university_degree',
               'employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat',
               'migration','trust_institutions',
               'ideology_r_mean2','resent',
               'vote_fico')

covariates2 = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
                'married','university_degree',
                'employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat',
                'migration','trust_institutions',
                'ideology_r_mean2','resent',
                'rodolf_right','vote_hernandez')


for(i in 1:length(f3)){
    uncertainty_out_s1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f3,
                                                         paste(covariates,
                                                               collapse = '+'))),
                                data = col22)
    uncertainty_out_s1_1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(f3), data = col22)
}

for(i in 1:length(f3)){
    uncertainty_out_s2[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f3,
                                                         paste(covariates2,
                                                               collapse = '+'))),
                                data = col22_2)
    uncertainty_out_s2_1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(f3), data = col22_2)
}


# mechanisms table
texreg(list(uncertainty_out_s1_1[[1]], uncertainty_out_s1[[1]],
            uncertainty_out_s2_1[[1]], uncertainty_out_s2[[1]]),
       caption = "Effect on Uncertainty (Alternative coding)",
       label = "table:uncertainty",
       use.packages = FALSE,
```

```
        custom.header = list('Study 1'=1:2,
                             'Study 2'=3:4),
        custom.model.names = c('1','2','3','4'),
        custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                               't_uncert1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
        float.pos = "H",
        digits = 3,
        caption.above = TRUE,
        #custom.coef.names = mechanisms1_controls,
        include.rsquared = F, include.adjrs = F, include.groups = T,
        include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
        custom.gof.rows = list("Covariate Adjustment"=c("No","Yes",
                                                        "No","Yes")),
        #reorder.gof = c(1,3,4,2,5,6),
        threeparttable = TRUE,
        stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
        custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 9: Effect on Uncertainty (Alternative coding)

	Study 1		Study 2	
	1	2	3	4
Base category				
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	−0.244***	0.331	−0.240***	0.497**
	(0.047)	(0.312)	(0.043)	(0.252)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	−0.154**	−0.171**	−0.114*	−0.121*
	(0.066)	(0.074)	(0.059)	(0.065)
Covariate Adjustment	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	694	543	804	625
RMSE	0.866	0.840	0.833	0.811

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S8

```
trust_subsidy = lm_robust(rodolf_trust~t_subsidy, data = col22_2)
trust_tax = lm_robust(rodolf_trust~t_tax, data = col22_2)

trust_subsidy_controls = lm_robust(as.formula(paste('rodolf_trust~t_subsidy',
                                                    paste(covariates2,
                                                          collapse='+'))),
                                   data = col22_2)
trust_tax_controls = lm_robust(as.formula(paste('rodolf_trust~t_tax',
                                                paste(covariates2,
                                                      collapse='+'))),
                               data = col22_2)

# regression table
texreg(list(trust_tax,trust_tax_controls,
```

```
            trust_subsidy,trust_subsidy_controls),
       use.packages = FALSE,
       caption = "Effect of Redistributive Proposal on Trust",
       label = "table:trust_proposal",
       custom.model.names = c('1','2','3','4'),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='(Intercept)',
                              't_tax1'='Tax (T1)',
                              't_subsidy1'='Subsidy (T1)'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = TRUE,
       #custom.coef.names = mechanisms1_controls,
       include.rsquared = F, include.adjrs = F, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       custom.gof.rows = list("Covariate Adjustment"=c("No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes")),
       #reorder.gof = c(1,3,4,2,5,6),
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 10: Effect of Redistributive Proposal on Trust

	1	2	3	4
(Intercept)	1.980***	1.305***	2.047***	1.321***
	(0.038)	(0.177)	(0.038)	(0.176)
Tax (T1)	0.033	0.027		
	(0.055)	(0.044)		
Subsidy (T1)			−0.105*	−0.003
			(0.055)	(0.044)
Covariate Adjustment	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	787	631	787	631
RMSE	0.769	0.544	0.768	0.545

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S9

```
f_complete = list(tax_dummy~t_tax,
                  subsidy_dummy~t_subsidy,
                  uncert_scale~t_uncert,
                  effectiveness_dummy~t_effectiveness,
                  stability_dummy~t_stability,
                  police_dummy~t_police,
                  visa_dummy~t_visa)


outcomes = c('Progressive Taxation',
             'Subsidies','Uncertainty',
             'Efficiency','Instability',
```

```
             'Police','Visa')

for(i in 1:length(f_complete)){
    out_s1_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f_complete[[i]], data = col22)
}

unadjusted = p.adjust(foreach(i=1:length(f_complete)) %do%
                        out_s1_1[[i]]$p.value[2] %>%
                          unlist(), method = 'none', n=7) %>% round(., 3)

fdr = p.adjust(foreach(i=1:length(f_complete)) %do%
                 out_s1_1[[i]]$p.value[2] %>%
                   unlist(), method = 'fdr', n=7) %>% round(., 3)

pval = data.frame(Estimate = foreach(i=1:length(f_complete)) %do%
                     out_s1_1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                       unlist(),
                   Unadjusted = unadjusted,
                   FDR = fdr)

rownames(pval) = outcomes

kbl(pval, 'latex',
          caption = 'Adjusted p-values - Study 1',
          position = 'H', align = 'c', label = 'adjusted_pval')
```

Table 11: Adjusted p-values - Study 1

	Estimate	Unadjusted	FDR
Progressive Taxation	0.0937223	0.009	0.016
Subsidies	0.0424166	0.154	0.154
Uncertainty	-0.6486714	0.076	0.089
Efficiency	0.1688425	0.000	0.000
Instability	-0.2591360	0.000	0.000
Police	0.0830918	0.013	0.018
Visa	0.0899280	0.007	0.016

Table S10

```
out_s2_1 = list()


for(i in 1:length(f_complete)){
    out_s2_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f_complete[[i]], data = col22_2)
}

unadjusted2 = p.adjust(foreach(i=1:length(f_complete)) %do%
                         out_s2_1[[i]]$p.value[2] %>%
                           unlist(), method = 'none', n=7) %>% round(., 3)
```

```
fdr2 = p.adjust(foreach(i=1:length(f_complete)) %do%
                  out_s2_1[[i]]$p.value[2] %>%
                    unlist(), method = 'fdr', n=7) %>% round(., 3)

pval2 = data.frame(Estimate = foreach(i=1:length(f_complete)) %do%
                     out_s2_1[[i]]$coefficients[2] %>%
                       unlist(),
                   Unadjusted = unadjusted2,
                   FDR = fdr2)

rownames(pval2) = outcomes

kbl(pval2, 'latex',
          caption = 'Adjusted p-values - Study 2',
          position = 'H', align = 'c', label = 'adjusted_pval_s2')
```

Table 12: Adjusted p-values - Study 2

	Estimate	Unadjusted	FDR
Progressive Taxation	0.0886047	0.011	0.027
Subsidies	0.0481207	0.089	0.124
Uncertainty	-0.3203190	0.311	0.311
Efficiency	0.1787202	0.000	0.000
Instability	-0.3372355	0.000	0.000
Police	0.0474136	0.138	0.161
Visa	0.0571197	0.082	0.124

Table S11

```
tax.out = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax*ideology_r_mean, data = col22)
subsidy.out = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy*ideology_r_mean, data = col22)
uncert.out = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert*ideology_r_mean, data = col22)
eff.out = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness*ideology_r_mean, data=col22)
stability.out = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability*ideology_r_mean, data = col22)
# harmonizing coefficients
tax.out$term[2]='t1'
subsidy.out$term[2]='t1'
uncert.out$term[2]='t1'
eff.out$term[2]='t1'
stability.out$term[2]='t1'

tax.out$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
subsidy.out$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
uncert.out$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
eff.out$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
stability.out$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
```

```
texreg(list(tax.out, subsidy.out,
            uncert.out, eff.out, stability.out),
       caption = "Heterogeneous Effects (Ideology  = Right) - Study 1",
```

```
        use.packages = FALSE,
        label = "table:heterogeneity_ideology_s1",
        custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                               "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
        custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                               't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate',
                               't1:ideology_r_mean'='T1 X Ideology (Right)',
                                'ideology_r_mean'='Ideology (Right)'),
        float.pos = "H",
        digits = 3,
        caption.above = T,
        longtable=T,
        booktabs = T,
        include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
        include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
        threeparttable = TRUE,
        stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
        custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 13: Heterogeneous Effects (Ideology = Right) - Study 1

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.765***	0.493***	0.500	0.528***	0.219***
	(0.047)	(0.058)	(0.393)	(0.059)	(0.049)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	−0.279***	−0.249***	−0.113	−0.504***	0.142**
	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.759)	(0.062)	(0.072)
T1 X Ideology (Right)	0.610***	0.460***	0.103	1.063***	−0.683***
	(0.089)	(0.085)	(0.918)	(0.073)	(0.085)
Ideology (Right)	−0.564***	−0.424***	−2.599***	−0.504***	0.474***
	(0.056)	(0.061)	(0.583)	(0.060)	(0.061)
R^2	0.162	0.113	0.060	0.360	0.232
Adj. R^2	0.157	0.108	0.053	0.356	0.227
Num. obs.	500	498	462	497	489
RMSE	0.457	0.400	4.715	0.364	0.427

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S12

```
tax.out2 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax*ideology_r_mean, data = col22_2)
subsidy.out2 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy*ideology_r_mean, data = col22_2)
uncert.out2 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert*ideology_r_mean, data = col22_2)
eff.out2 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness*ideology_r_mean, data = col22_2)
stability.out2 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability*ideology_r_mean, data = col22_2)

tax.out2$term[2]='t1'
subsidy.out2$term[2]='t1'
uncert.out2$term[2]='t1'
eff.out2$term[2]='t1'
```

```
stability.out2$term[2]='t1'

tax.out2$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
subsidy.out2$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
uncert.out2$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
eff.out2$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
stability.out2$term[4]='t1:ideology_r_mean'
```

```
texreg(list(tax.out2, subsidy.out2,
            uncert.out2, eff.out2, stability.out2),
       caption = "Heterogeneous Effects (Ideology = Right) - Study 2",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:heterogeneity_ideology_s2",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate',
                              't1:ideology_r_mean'='T1 X Ideology (Right)',
                               'ideology_r_mean'='Ideology (Right)'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=T,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 14: Heterogeneous Effects (Ideology = Right) - Study 2

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.771***	0.438***	1.014**	0.608***	0.347***
	(0.046)	(0.056)	(0.467)	(0.057)	(0.055)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	−0.278***	−0.150*	−1.697**	−0.531***	0.030
	(0.076)	(0.077)	(0.673)	(0.065)	(0.078)
T1 X Ideology (Right)	0.526***	0.265***	1.483*	1.022***	−0.561***
	(0.089)	(0.085)	(0.826)	(0.076)	(0.090)
Ideology (Right)	−0.585***	−0.373***	−2.902***	−0.567***	0.384***
	(0.054)	(0.058)	(0.612)	(0.059)	(0.065)
R^2	0.170	0.111	0.053	0.297	0.210
Adj. R^2	0.165	0.106	0.047	0.293	0.205
Num. obs.	515	518	520	514	513
RMSE	0.449	0.371	4.504	0.389	0.441

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S13

```
tax.out.id = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax*vote_fico, data = col22)
subsidy.out.id = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy*vote_fico, data = col22)
uncert.out.id = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert*vote_fico, data = col22)
eff.out.id = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness*vote_fico, data = col22)
stability.out.id = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability*vote_fico, data = col22)

tax.out.id$term[2]='t1'
subsidy.out.id$term[2]='t1'
uncert.out.id$term[2]='t1'
eff.out.id$term[2]='t1'
stability.out.id$term[2]='t1'

tax.out.id$term[4]='t1:vote_fico1'
subsidy.out.id$term[4]='t1:vote_fico1'
uncert.out.id$term[4]='t1:vote_fico1'
eff.out.id$term[4]='t1:vote_fico1'
stability.out.id$term[4]='t1:vote_fico1'
```

```
texreg(list(tax.out.id, subsidy.out.id,
            uncert.out.id, eff.out.id, stability.out.id),
       caption = "Heterogeneous Effects (Vote Intention = Right-wing) - Study 1",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:heterogeneity_vote_s1",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate',
                              't1:vote_fico1'='T1 X  Vote (Right)',
                              'vote_fico1'='Vote (Right)'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=T,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 15: Heterogeneous Effects (Vote Intention = Right-wing) - Study 1

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.540^{***}	0.304^{***}	-0.682^{**}	0.284^{***}	0.355^{***}
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.317)	(0.031)	(0.034)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	-0.111^{**}	-0.119^{***}	-0.838^{*}	-0.225^{***}	-0.020

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
	(0.049)	(0.041)	(0.495)	(0.035)	(0.047)
T1 X Vote (Right)	0.462***	0.357***	0.437	0.861***	−0.528***
	(0.069)	(0.058)	(0.733)	(0.050)	(0.065)
Vote (Right)	−0.338***	−0.236***	−1.046*	−0.278***	0.358***
	(0.046)	(0.037)	(0.561)	(0.031)	(0.049)
R^2	0.075	0.054	0.012	0.315	0.152
Adj. R^2	0.071	0.051	0.008	0.312	0.149
Num. obs.	760	773	723	764	746
RMSE	0.479	0.402	4.927	0.359	0.450

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S14

```
tax.out.id2 = lm_robust(tax_dummy ~ t_tax*vote_hernandez, data = col22_2)
subsidy.out.id2 = lm_robust(subsidy_dummy ~ t_subsidy*vote_hernandez, data = col22_2)
uncert.out.id2 = lm_robust(uncert_scale ~ t_uncert*vote_hernandez, data = col22_2)
eff.out.id2 = lm_robust(effectiveness_dummy ~ t_effectiveness*vote_hernandez, data = col22_2)
stability.out.id2 = lm_robust(stability_dummy ~ t_stability*vote_hernandez, data = col22_2)

tax.out.id2$term[2]='t1'
subsidy.out.id2$term[2]='t1'
uncert.out.id2$term[2]='t1'
eff.out.id2$term[2]='t1'
stability.out.id2$term[2]='t1'

tax.out.id2$term[4]='t1:vote_hernandez1'
subsidy.out.id2$term[4]='t1:vote_hernandez1'
uncert.out.id2$term[4]='t1:vote_hernandez1'
eff.out.id2$term[4]='t1:vote_hernandez1'
stability.out.id2$term[4]='t1:vote_hernandez1'
```

```
texreg(list(tax.out.id2,subsidy.out.id2,
            uncert.out.id2,eff.out.id2,stability.out.id2),
       caption = "Heterogeneous Effects (Vote Intention = Right-wing) - Study 2",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:heterogeneity_vote_s2",
       custom.model.names = c('Pro. Tax.','Subsidies',
                              "Uncertainty","Efficiency","Instability"),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate',
                              't1:vote_hernandez1'='T1 X  Vote (Right)',
                               'vote_hernandez1'='Vote (Right)'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=T,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
```

```
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 16: Heterogeneous Effects (Vote Intention = Right-wing) - Study 2

	Pro. Tax.	Subsidies	Uncertainty	Efficiency	Instability
Base category					
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	0.598***	0.323***	−0.410	0.416***	0.339***
	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.324)	(0.038)	(0.037)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	−0.110**	−0.108**	−0.668	−0.318***	−0.014
	(0.055)	(0.048)	(0.483)	(0.045)	(0.052)
T1 X Vote (Right)	0.337***	0.259***	0.570	0.842***	−0.563***
	(0.070)	(0.059)	(0.634)	(0.056)	(0.065)
Vote (Right)	−0.368***	−0.234***	−1.209***	−0.393***	0.412***
	(0.046)	(0.041)	(0.466)	(0.040)	(0.047)
R^2	0.078	0.045	0.012	0.250	0.214
Adj. R^2	0.075	0.042	0.009	0.248	0.211
Num. obs.	797	819	832	804	798
RMSE	0.476	0.395	4.541	0.392	0.433

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S15

```
out_s1 = list()
out_s1_1 = list()

covariates = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
               'married','university_degree',
               'employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat','migration',
               'trust_institutions',
               'ideology_r_mean','resent','vote_fico')

for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s1[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i], paste(covariates,
                                                         collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
    out_s1_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
}

# harmonizing coefficients
out_s1_1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1_1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'

out_s1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'
```

```
texreg(list(out_s1_1[[3]], out_s1[[3]],
            out_s1_1[[4]], out_s1[[4]],
            out_s1_1[[5]], out_s1[[5]]),
       caption = "Testing Theoretical Explanations in Subgroup - Study 1",
       label = "table:mechanisms1_subgroup",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       custom.header = list('Uncertainty'=1:2,
                            'Efficiency'=3:4,
                            'Instability'=5:6),
       custom.model.names = c('1','2','3','4','5','6'),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = TRUE,
       #custom.coef.names = mechanisms1_controls,
       include.rsquared = F, include.adjrs = F, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       custom.gof.rows = list("Covariate Adjustment"=c("No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes")),
       #reorder.gof = c(1,3,4,2,5,6),
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 17: Testing Theoretical Explanations in Subgroup - Study 1

	Uncertainty		Efficiency		Instability	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Base category						
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	−1.313**	1.257	0.196***	−0.093	0.539***	−0.752**
	(0.552)	(4.647)	(0.038)	(0.415)	(0.050)	(0.337)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	0.023	−0.259	0.187***	0.186**	−0.321***	−0.399***
	(0.733)	(0.972)	(0.060)	(0.086)	(0.063)	(0.073)
Covariate Adjustment	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	212	132	219	138	221	140
RMSE	5.386	5.353	0.445	0.456	0.457	0.406

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S16

```
out_s2 = list()
out_s2_1 = list()
covariates2 = c('+age','female','capital','white','catholic',
                'married','university_degree',
                'employed','exp_crime','guerrilla_threat','migration',
                'trust_institutions',
                'ideology_r_mean','resent','rodolf_right','vote_hernandez')
```

```
for(i in 1:length(f)){
    out_s2[[i]] = lm_robust(as.formula(paste(f[i], paste(covariates2,
                                                         collapse = '+'))),
                            data = col22_2_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
    out_s2_1[[i]] = lm_robust(f[[i]], data = col22_2_subset, clusters = ticket_id)
}


# harmonizing coefficients
out_s2_1[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2_1[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'

out_s2[[3]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[4]]$term[2] = 't1'
out_s2[[5]]$term[2] = 't1'
```

```
texreg(list(out_s2_1[[3]], out_s2[[3]],
            out_s2_1[[4]], out_s2[[4]],
            out_s2_1[[5]], out_s2[[5]]),
       caption = "Testing Theoretical Explanations in Subgroup - Study 2",
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:mechanisms2_subgroup",
       custom.header = list('Uncertainty'=1:2,
                            'Efficiency'=3:4,
                            'Instability'=5:6),
       custom.model.names = c('1','2','3','4','5','6'),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='Base category\\\\(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)',
                              't1'='T1 = Rightwing Candidate'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = TRUE,
       #custom.coef.names = mechanisms1_controls,
       include.rsquared = F, include.adjrs = F, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F, include.nclust=F,
       custom.gof.rows = list("Covariate Adjustment"=c("No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes",
                                                       "No","Yes")),
       #reorder.gof = c(1,3,4,2,5,6),
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. OLS models with robust standard errors."
)
```

Table 18: Testing Theoretical Explanations in Subgroup - Study 2

	Uncertainty		Efficiency		Instability	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Base category						
(T0 = Leftwing Candidate)	−0.260	5.290*	0.180***	0.242	0.600***	0.454
	(0.458)	(2.808)	(0.035)	(0.355)	(0.047)	(0.289)
T1 = Rightwing Candidate	−0.819	−1.729**	0.227***	0.224***	−0.397***	−0.484***
	(0.586)	(0.744)	(0.056)	(0.080)	(0.058)	(0.075)
Covariate Adjustment	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Num. obs.	258	133	252	132	248	131
RMSE	4.722	4.242	0.445	0.447	0.445	0.425

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. OLS models with robust standard errors.

Table S17

```
petro_left <- lm_robust(fear_petro ~ petro_ideology
                        +have_nots+size_population+urban+big_city+women+age
                        +education+catholic+religiosity
                        +employed+married+color+num_kids
                        +sec_perception_neighborhood+victim_del
                        +stable_income+news_cons_d
                        +trust_congress+nationalization
                        +interest_pol+media_exposure+political_machismo,
                        data = dt18,
                        clusters = municipio)

petro_right <- lm_robust(fear_petro ~ petro_ideology_r
                         + have_nots+size_population+urban+big_city+women+age
                         +education+catholic+religiosity
                         +employed+married+color+num_kids
                         +sec_perception_neighborhood+victim_del
                         +stable_income+news_cons_d
                         +trust_congress+nationalization
                         +interest_pol+media_exposure+political_machismo,
                         data = dt18,
                         clusters = municipio)


duque_left <- lm_robust(fear_duque ~ duque_ideology_l
                         +have_nots+size_population+urban+big_city+women+age
                         +education+catholic+religiosity
                         +employed+married+color+num_kids
                         +sec_perception_neighborhood+victim_del
                         +stable_income+news_cons_d
                         +trust_congress+nationalization
                         +interest_pol+media_exposure+political_machismo,

                        data = dt18,
                        clusters = municipio)
```

```
texreg(list(petro_left,petro_right,duque_left),
       use.packages = FALSE,
       caption = "Regression Results - Left-Wing Candidate",
       label = "table:petro_analyses",
       custom.model.names = c('Fear of Petro', 'Fear of Petro', 'Fear of Duque'),
       custom.coef.map = list('(Intercept)'='(Intercept)',
                              'petro_ideology1'='Petro Left',
                              'petro_ideology_r1'='Petro Right',
                              'duque_ideology_l1'='Duque Left',
                              'have_nots'='Low income',
                              'stable_income'='Stable income',
                              'size_population'='Pop. size',
                              'urban'='Urban',
                              'big_city'='Big city',
                              'women'='Female',
                              'age'='Age',
                              'education'='Education',
                              'catholic'='Catholic',
                              'religiosity'='Religiosity',
                              'employed'='Employed',
                              'married'='Married',
                              'color'='Race',
                              'num_kids'='Num. kids',
                              'sec_perception_neighborhood'='Sec. perception',
                              'victim_del'='Victim del.',
                              'news_cons_d'='Media consumption',
                              'media_exposure'='Media exposure',
                              'trust_congress'='Trust Cong.',
                              'nationalization'='Ideology',
                              'interest_pol'='Interest in pol.',
                              'political_machismo'='Machismo'),
       float.pos = "H",
       digits = 3,
       caption.above = T,
       longtable=T,
       booktabs = T,
       include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
       include.ci = F,
       threeparttable = TRUE,
       stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
       custom.note = "\\item%stars. Standard errors clustered at the municipal level."
)
```

Table 19: Regression Results - Left-Wing Candidate

	Fear of Petro	Fear of Petro	Fear of Duque
(Intercept)	0.146*	0.219**	0.226**
	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.083)
Petro Left	0.104***		
	(0.021)		
Petro Right		−0.097***	
		(0.030)	

	Fear of Petro	Fear of Petro	Fear of Duque
Duque Left			0.158***
			(0.036)
Low income	0.007	0.007	0.065*
	(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.035)
Stable income	−0.026	−0.030	−0.034
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.024)
Pop. size	0.007	0.001	0.007
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.035)
Urban	−0.026	−0.022	−0.024
	(0.034)	(0.035)	(0.033)
Big city	0.023	0.030	−0.002
	(0.035)	(0.036)	(0.033)
Female	−0.009	−0.010	−0.053**
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.020)
Age	0.002*	0.002*	0.002*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Education	−0.011**	−0.010**	−0.007**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Catholic	0.026	0.025	−0.073*
	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.036)
Religiosity	0.017	0.017	−0.050*
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.024)
Employed	−0.006	−0.009	0.018
	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.030)
Married	0.059**	0.065**	−0.041
	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.041)
Race	−0.008	−0.009	0.010
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Num. kids	0.022**	0.023**	−0.001
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Sec. perception	0.029	0.032	−0.017
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.032)
Victim del.	0.011	0.013	0.012
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.024)
Media consumption	0.025	0.026	0.012
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.027)
Media exposure	0.025**	0.025**	0.034**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Trust Cong.	0.082*	0.075*	−0.005
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.045)
Ideology	−0.034	−0.032	0.042
	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.033)
Interest in pol.	0.001	0.006	0.018
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.021)
Machismo	0.020	0.016	0.001
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.013)
R^2	0.085	0.079	0.065
Adj. R^2	0.069	0.063	0.048
Num. obs.	1320	1320	1334
RMSE	0.410	0.412	0.395
N Clusters	47	47	47

***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Standard errors clustered at the municipal level.

Table S18

```
out = lm_robust(progressive_redist ~ consumpd*right_gov_dummy +
                        size_population+urban+big_city+women+age+education+
                        catholic+sec_perception_neighborhood+religiosity+
                        employed+married+color+news_cons_d+victim_del+
                        stable_income+trust_congress+trust_parties+
                        trust_president+gov_assistance+stable_cnt_econ+
                        stable_ind_econ+voted_pdt,
                data = dt,
                clusters = municipio, fixed_effects = country)

# without country FE
out2 = lm_robust(progressive_redist ~ consumpd*right_gov_dummy +
                        size_population+urban+big_city+women+age+education+
                        catholic+sec_perception_neighborhood+religiosity+
                        employed+married+color+news_cons_d+victim_del+
                        stable_income+trust_congress+trust_parties+
                        trust_president+gov_assistance+stable_cnt_econ+
                        stable_ind_econ+voted_pdt,
                data = dt,
                clusters = municipio)
```

```
texreg(list(out,out2),
       caption = 'Regression Results - Cross-country Analyses',
       use.packages = FALSE,
       label = "table:countries",
       #custom.model.names = 'Support for Redistribution',
       custom.coef.map = list('consumpd2'='Decile 2',
                              'consumpd3'='Decile 3',
                              'consumpd4'='Decile 4',
                              'consumpd5'='Decile 5',
                              'consumpd6'='Decile 6',
                              'consumpd7'='Decile 7',
                              'consumpd8'='Decile 8',
                              'consumpd9'='Decile 9',
                              'consumpd10'='Decile 10',
                              'size_population'='Pop. size',
                              'urban'='Urban',
                              'big_city'='Big city',
                              'women'='Female',
                              'age'='Age',
                              'education'='Education',
                              'catholic'='Catholic',
                              'sec_perception_neighborhood'='Sec. perception',
                              'religiosity'='Religiosity',
                              'employed'='Employed',
                              'married'='Married',
                              'color'='Race',
                              'news_cons_d'='Media consumption',
                              'victim_del'='Victim del.',
                              'stable_income'='Stable income',
                              'trust_congress'='Trust Cong.',
```

```
                            'trust_parties'='Trust parties',
                            'trust_president'='Trust president',
                            'gov_assistance'='Gov. assistance',
                            'stable_cnt_econ'='Stable cnt econ',
                            'stable_ind_econ'='Stable ind econ',
                            'voted_pdt'='Voted',
                            'consumpd2:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 2 X Right',
                            'consumpd3:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 3 X Right',
                            'consumpd4:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 4 X Right',
                            'consumpd5:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 5 X Right',
                            'consumpd6:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 6 X Right',
                            'consumpd7:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 7 X Right',
                            'consumpd8:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 8 X Right',
                            'consumpd9:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 9 X Right',
                            'consumpd10:right_gov_dummy1'='Decile 10 X Right'),
      float.pos = "H",
      digits = 3,
      caption.above = T,
      longtable=T,
      booktabs = T,
      include.rsquared = T, include.adjrs = T, include.groups = T,
      include.ci = F,
      threeparttable = TRUE,
      stars = c(0.01, 0.05, 0.1),
      custom.gof.rows = list("Country FE"=c("Yes","No")),
      custom.note = "\\item%stars. Standard errors clustered at the municipal level."
)
```

Table 20: Regression Results - Cross-country Analyses

	Model 1	Model 2
Decile 2	0.015	0.018
	(0.023)	(0.022)
Decile 3	0.012	0.013
	(0.028)	(0.028)
Decile 4	−0.000	0.002
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Decile 5	0.011	0.015
	(0.026)	(0.026)
Decile 6	−0.001	0.003
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Decile 7	0.005	0.006
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Decile 8	0.021	0.023
	(0.027)	(0.027)
Decile 9	−0.000	0.003
	(0.024)	(0.024)
Decile 10	−0.068***	−0.066**
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Pop. size	0.003	0.009
	(0.009)	(0.011)
Urban	0.004	−0.012

	Model 1	Model 2
	(0.010)	(0.011)
Big city	−0.002	−0.006
	(0.011)	(0.012)
Female	−0.019**	−0.018**
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Age	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	−0.003***	−0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)
Catholic	−0.004	−0.006
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Sec. perception	0.021**	0.029***
	(0.010)	(0.010)
Religiosity	0.018**	0.027***
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Employed	0.007	0.009
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Married	0.001	0.003
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Race	0.009***	0.005*
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Media consumption	0.014*	0.008
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Victim del.	0.008	0.006
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Stable income	−0.010	−0.004
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Trust Cong.	0.012	0.011
	(0.013)	(0.013)
Trust parties	0.056***	0.057***
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Trust president	0.018	0.005
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Gov. assistance	0.004	−0.025***
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Stable cnt econ	−0.026***	−0.021**
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Stable ind econ	−0.008	−0.011
	(0.008)	(0.008)
Voted	0.012	−0.005
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Decile 2 X Right	−0.013	−0.015
	(0.031)	(0.031)
Decile 3 X Right	−0.018	−0.017
	(0.034)	(0.035)
Decile 4 X Right	0.005	0.006
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Decile 5 X Right	0.019	0.019
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Decile 6 X Right	0.029	0.029
	(0.033)	(0.033)
Decile 7 X Right	0.015	0.017

	Model 1	Model 2
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Decile 8 X Right	−0.010	−0.006
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Decile 9 X Right	0.048	0.049
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Decile 10 X Right	0.084**	0.089***
	(0.034)	(0.034)
Country FE	Yes	No
R^2	0.032	0.013
Adj. R^2	0.028	0.010
Num. obs.	16415	16415
RMSE	0.454	0.458
N Clusters	963	963

$^{***}p < 0.01$; $^{**}p < 0.05$; $^{*}p < 0.1$. Standard errors clustered at the municipal level.