

Online Appendix for

Increasing Intergroup Trust: Endorsements and Voting in Divided Societies

A Treatment Script

News Presenter: This is the news in brief. I am Beatrice Kisima. Today, aspiring candidate for County Governor in Nakuru County, **[Steven Koech/Steven Mwangi]**, addressed a large rally in preparation for upcoming elections. During the rally, he spoke of his political qualifications and his plans for the county.

Candidate: I am a proud member of this community, but I have had enough of our elected politicians not doing enough. Our current leaders have repeatedly failed to deliver on their promises. This is why, today, we must take action together. If you elect me as governor, I will bring the change this community needs. [Background noise of rally crowd clapping and cheering]

News Presenter: We listened to reactions from **[William Korir/William Njoroge]**, who attended the rally.

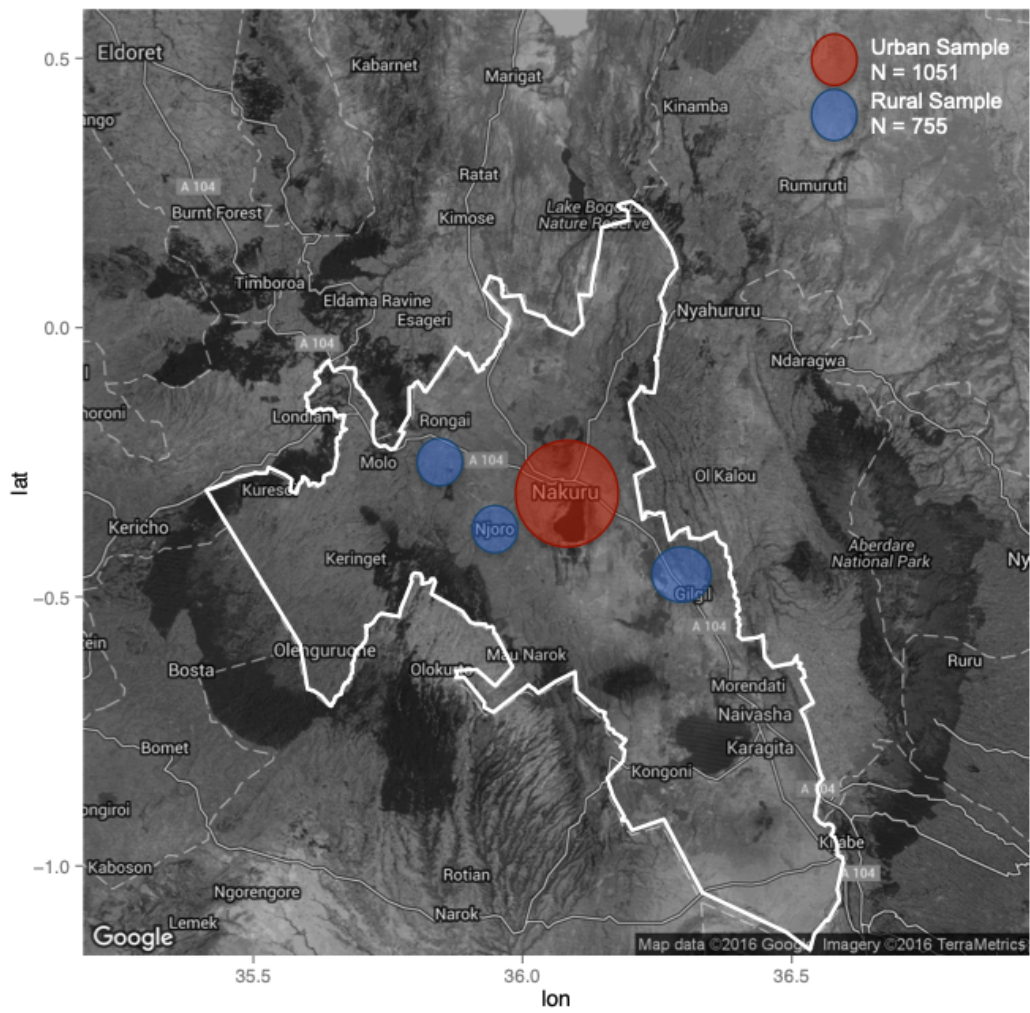
Endorser: My name is **[William Korir/William Njoroge]**, and I am an MCA of the Nakuru County Assembly. I am very happy that the candidate came to speak about issues that affect us all deeply in this county. I especially like **[Steven Koech/Steven Mwangi]**'s **[promise to bring development like new roads, better schools, and better access to water because these things will help our community to live better / promise to help you and me with our children's school fees, our medical bills, and our expenses for weddings and funerals because these things will help our families]**. I hope this county will come together and vote for **[Steven Koech/Steven Mwangi]** because he is a true leader. We do not want any other candidate. [Background noise of rally crowd.]

News Presenter: The early announcement of **[Steven Koech/Steven Mwangi]** for the governor's race highlights how competitive the next elections are expected to be.

* A sample of the audio file for the simulated news segments can be accessed [here](#).

B Study Sites

Figure A1: Map of study sites in Nakuru County



C Descriptive Statistics on Experimental Outcomes

Table A1: Descriptive statistics on outcomes

| Statistic | N | Mean | St. Dev. | Min | Max |
|--|-------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| <i>General Evaluations</i> | | | | | |
| Voting Intention | 1,805 | 4.575 | 1.510 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Trustworthiness | 1,805 | 4.455 | 1.471 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| <i>Anticipated Job Performance</i> | | | | | |
| Cares About people Like Me | 1,805 | 4.248 | 1.663 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Will Do a Good Job | 1,805 | 4.493 | 1.537 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Solve My Personal Problem | 1,805 | 3.417 | 1.732 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| <i>Assessment of Politics</i> | | | | | |
| Assessment of Leaders | 1,805 | 5.233 | 1.405 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Assessment of County's Problems | 1,805 | 5.350 | 1.395 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| <i>Ethnic Favoritism</i> | | | | | |
| Take Care of My Tribe | 1,805 | 4.045 | 1.606 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Favor His Own Tribe | 1,805 | 4.457 | 1.536 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Serve the Whole County | 1,805 | 4.611 | 1.382 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Serve his Own Tribe | 1,805 | 4.363 | 1.516 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| <i>Endorser Evaluations</i> | | | | | |
| Trustworthiness | 1,504 | 4.558 | 1.391 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Qualified to Make an Assessment of Candidate | 1,518 | 4.134 | 1.606 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Daily Life Experience Similar | 1,523 | 3.382 | 1.819 | 1.000 | 7.000 |
| Economic Situation Similar | 1,518 | 2.599 | 1.664 | 1.000 | 7.000 |

D Manipulation Checks

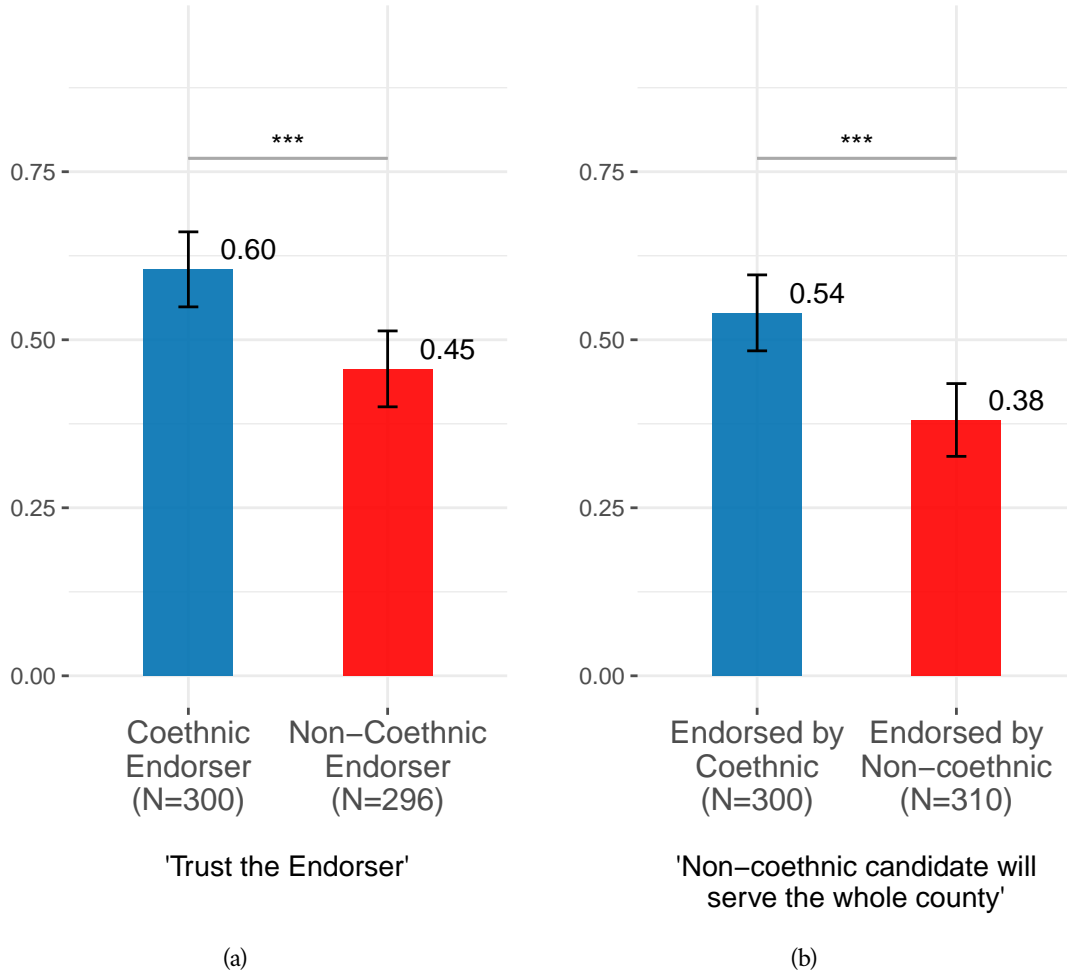
Table A2: Manipulation check: Rate of correct ethnicity and name identification

| | Correctly identified ethnicity | Correctly identified name |
|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Candidate | 97.4% | 97.0% |
| Endorser | 97.5% | 97.1% |

We take two approaches to conduct the manipulation checks to assess whether the respondents were successfully treated through our simulated radio news segments. Following the treatment, we asked respondent to identify the ethnicity of both the candidate and the endorser, and 2) identify their names from a list of five names. We present the proportion of individuals who correctly identified the ethnicity and the name in Table A2. As is clear, the radio news segments are likely to have successfully manipulated respondent’s perception of coethnicity between them, the candidate, and the endorser. 97% of respondents correctly identified the ethnicity and name of the candidate in the vignette, and 97% of respondents correctly identified the ethnicity and name of the endorser. Given the high rate of compliance, it should be unsurprising that the complier average causal effects (CACE)—estimated using a two stage least squares regression regressing the treatment conditions against the endogenous compliance variable—do not substantively differ any of the results reported in the main text of the paper.

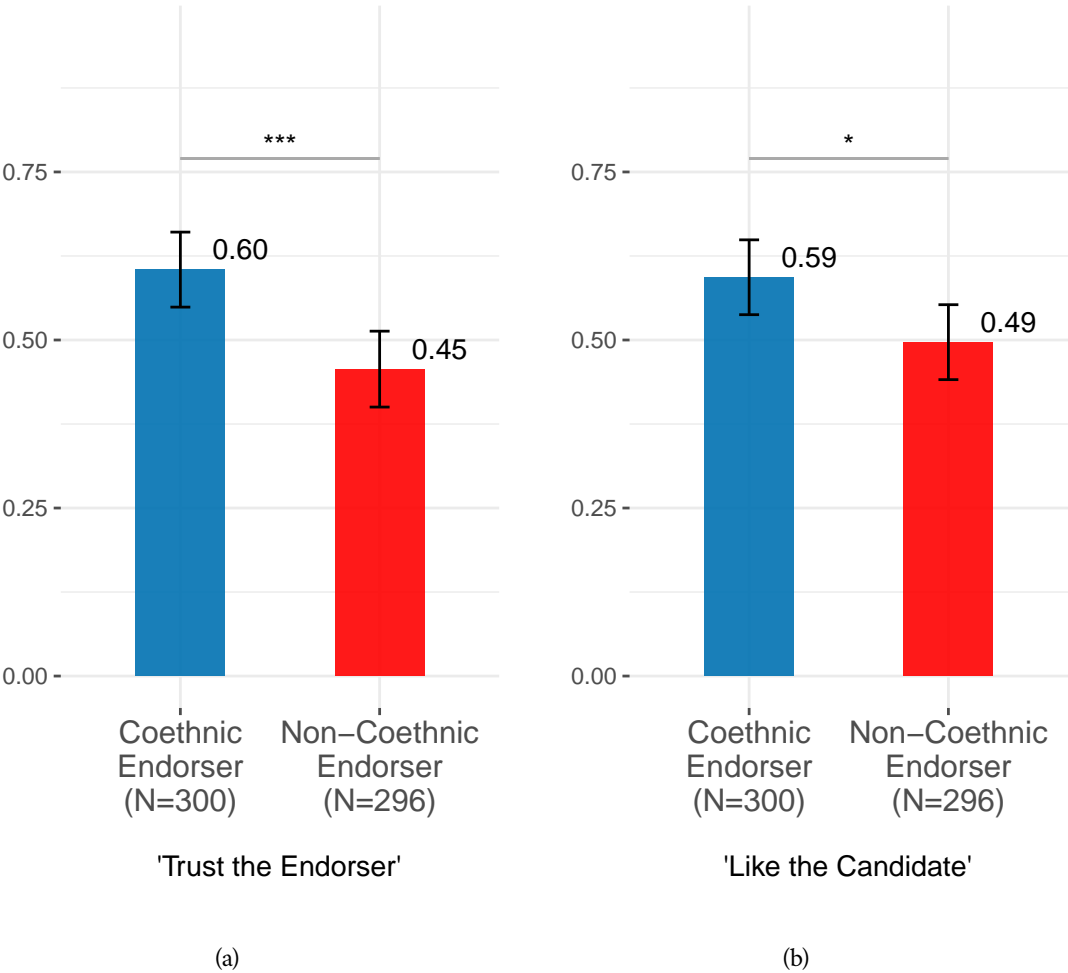
E Additional Endorsement Effects

Figure A2: Trust transference causes changes to instrumental assessments of candidates



Notes: The bar graphs represent the proportion of respondents who replied “somewhat,” “very,” or “completely” for each outcome. The left panel’s outcome is the extent to which a respondent finds the *endorser* trustworthy. The right panel’s outcome is the extent to which respondents believe the *non-coethnic* candidate will serve the whole county rather than just his own group. The error bars are 95% confidence intervals for the means. The difference in means is derived from a standard two-tailed t-test. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Figure A3: Trust transference causes changes to affective assessments of candidates



Notes: The bar graphs represent the proportion of respondents who replied “somewhat,” “very,” or “completely” for each outcome. The left panel’s outcome is the extent to which a respondent finds the *endorser* trustworthy. The right panel’s outcome is the extent to which respondents find the *non-coethnic* candidate likable. The error bars are 95% confidence intervals for the means. The difference in means is derived from a standard two-tailed t-test. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

F Offsetting Effects of Endorsements

Table A3: Comparison of other treatment conditions to the non-coethnic candidate, coethnic endorser condition

| Comparison Condition | Diff.in.means | Survives FDR | Wilcoxon Test | KS Test |
|--|---------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1. Coethnic candidate, coethnic endorser | 0.37** | Yes | p < 0.001 | p = 0.008 |
| 2. Coethnic candidate, non-coethnic endorser | 0.34** | Yes | p = 0.006 | p = 0.114 |
| 3. Coethnic candidate, no endorsement | 0.12 | - | p = 0.290 | p = 0.837 |
| 4. Coethnic candidate, no endorser ethnicity | 0.25 | No | p = 0.053 | p = 0.147 |

Notes: Differences-in-means are assessed using a standard two-tailed t test with estimated standard errors reported in parentheses. ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05. For the multiple testing adjustment, we use the Benjamini-Hochberg correction at an FDR of 0.05. We also report p-values from the non-parametric Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney rank sum test and the two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. All tests in this table are specified in the pre-analysis plan registered with EGAP under ID 20151116AA.

G Candidate Ethnicity Effects

Table A4: Candidate ethnicity effects

| | Pure control | Endorser unknown | Coethnic endorser | Non-coethnic endorser | Endorser pooled |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Coethnic candidate | 4.67 (0.14) | 4.84 (0.12) | 4.92 (0.08) | 4.89 (0.07) | 4.90 (0.06) |
| (2) Non-coethnic candidate | 4.02 (0.14) | 4.38 (0.11) | 4.55 (0.08) | 4.06 (0.09) | 4.31 (0.06) |
| Difference in means : (1)-(2) | 0.65*** (0.19) | 0.46*** (0.16) | 0.37*** (0.12) | 0.82*** (0.12) | 0.60*** (0.08) |
| Wilcoxon test | p < 0.001 | p < 0.001 | p < 0.001 | p < 0.001 | p < 0.001 |
| KS test | p = 0.007 | p = 0.004 | p = 0.008 | p < 0.001 | p < 0.001 |

Notes: Cells report average answers to the question, “On a scale from 1 to 7 ... how likely are you to vote for the candidate?” Differences-in-means are assessed using a standard two-tailed t test with estimated standard errors reported in parentheses. ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05. We also report p-values from the non-parametric Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney rank sum test and the two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test. Shaded columns denote statistical tests specified in the pre-analysis plan registered with EGAP under ID 20151116AA.

H Mediation Analysis

Table A5: Mediation analysis of mechanisms: non-coethnic candidate

| Outcome Mediator | Causal Mechanisms | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|----------------------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| | Vote intention Endorser trust | Candidate trust Endorser trust | Loyalty to county Endorser trust | Take care of my group Endorser trust | Candidate Likability Endorser trust | Cares about me Endorser trust |
| ACME | 0.305 (0.173, 0.450) | 0.304 (0.174, 0.440) | 0.205 (0.114, 0.310) | 0.263 (0.148, 0.390) | 0.279 (0.159, 0.410) | 0.309 (0.176, 0.450) |
| ADE | 0.182 (-0.041, 0.400) | 0.030 (-0.178, 0.240) | 0.300 (0.080, 0.510) | 0.003 (-0.240, 0.240) | 0.149 (-0.055, 0.350) | 0.057 (-0.199, 0.310) |
| Total Effect | 0.487 (0.239, 0.730) | 0.334 (0.097, 0.570) | 0.505 (0.280, 0.730) | 0.266 (0.005, 0.520) | 0.428 (0.200, 0.650) | 0.365 (0.090, 0.630) |
| Proportion Mediated | 0.627 | 0.908 | 0.406 | 0.965 | 0.652 | 0.844 |

Notes: Cells report the average causal mediation effect (ACME), average direct effect (ADE), and average treatment effect (ATE) from causal mediation analysis, as presented by Imai, Tingley, and Yamamoto (2010). The first row of each cell corresponds to the point estimate, while the second row of each cell reports the 95% confidence interval for the point estimate.

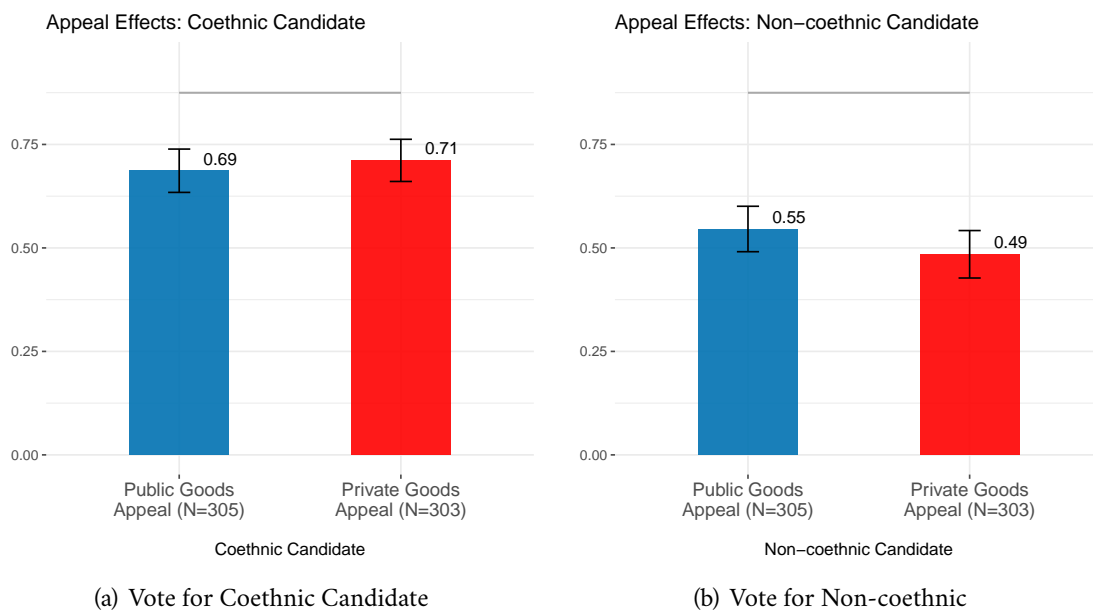
I Appeal Effects

Table A6: Appeal effects on candidate evaluations, disaggregated by candidate ethnicity

| | Coethnic candidate (N=608) | Non-coethnic candidate (N=610) |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) Public goods appeal | 4.87 (0.09) | 4.36 (0.08) |
| (2) Private goods appeal | 4.94 (0.08) | 4.24 (0.09) |
| Difference in means : (1)-(2) | -0.06 (0.11) | 0.12 (0.12) |
| Wilcoxon Test (P-value) | p = 0.490 | p = 0.345 |
| KS Test (P-value) | p = 0.965 | p = 0.621 |

Notes: Cells report average answers to the question, “On a scale from 1 to 7... how likely are you to vote for the candidate?” Differences-in-means are assessed using a standard two-tailed t-test with estimated standard errors reported in parentheses. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$. We report p-values from the non-parametric Wilcoxon-Mann-Whitney rank sum test and the two-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test.

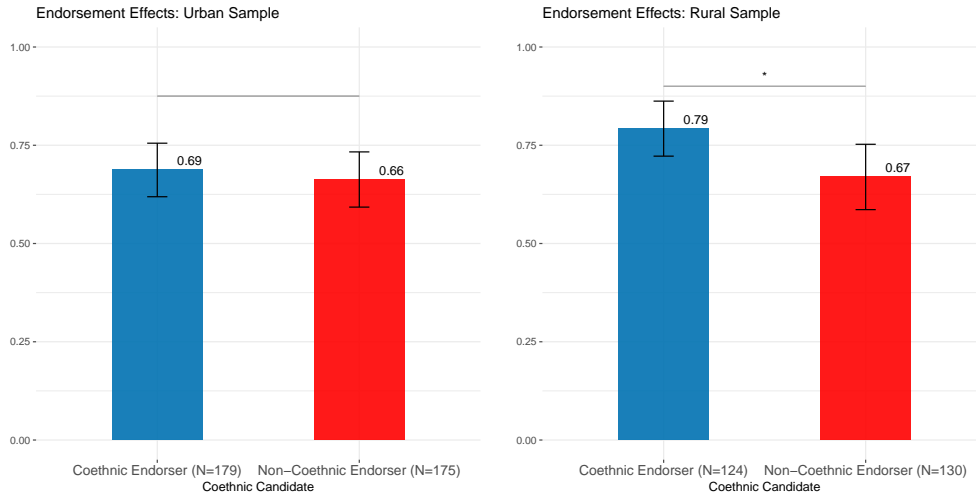
Figure A4: Appeal effects on candidate evaluations, disaggregated by candidate ethnicity



Notes: The bar graphs represent the proportion of respondents who replied that they were “somewhat,” “very,” or “completely” likely to vote for a candidate for each treatment condition. The error bars are 95% confidence intervals for the means. The difference in means is derived from a standard two-tailed t-test. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

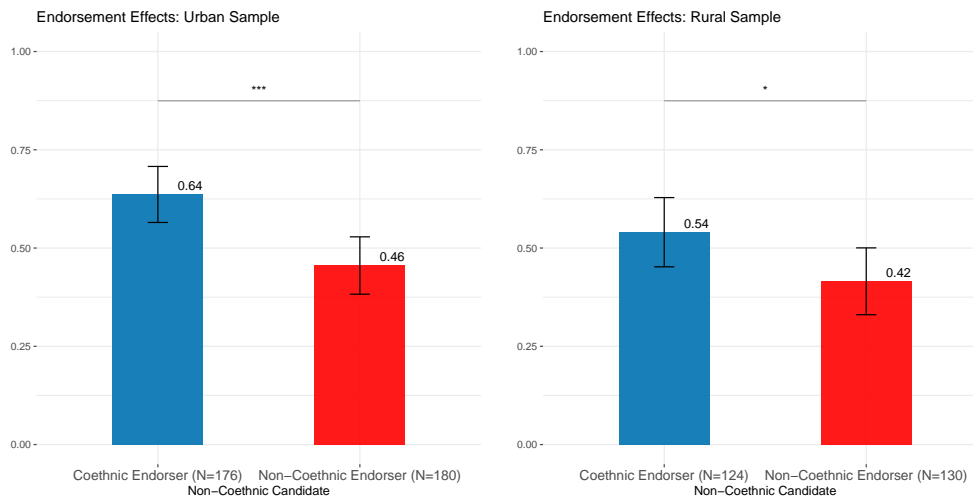
J Heterogeneous effects: Urban vs rural

Figure A5: Endorsement effects on coethnic candidate: Urban/rural sample



(a) Vote for Coethnic Candidate: Urban Sample (b) Vote for Coethnic Candidate: Rural Sample

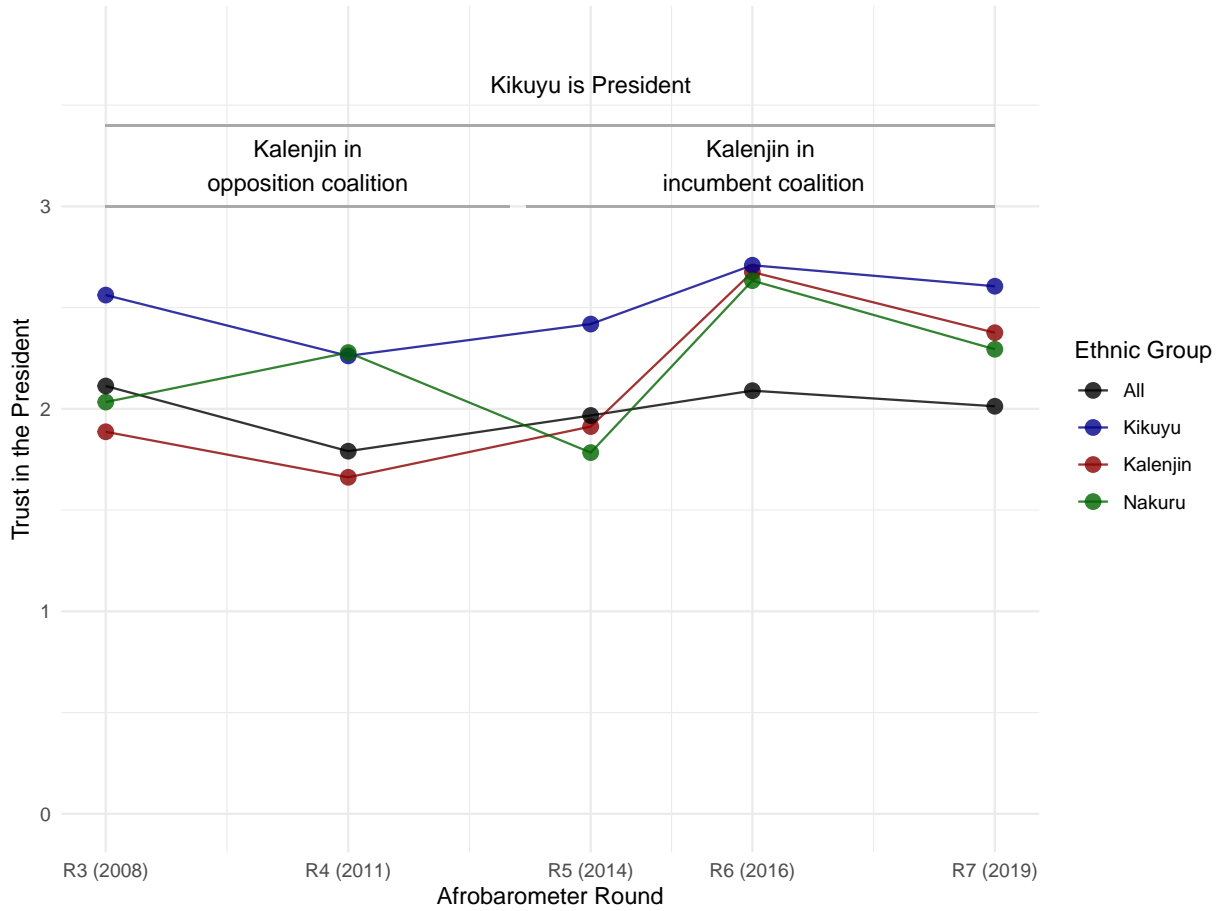
Figure A6: Endorsement effects on non-coethnic candidate: Urban/rural sample



(a) Vote for Non-coethnic Candidate: Urban Sample (b) Vote for Non-coethnic Candidate: Rural Sample

Notes: The bar graphs represent the proportion of respondents who replied that they were “some-what,” “very,” or “completely” likely to vote for a candidate for each treatment condition. The error bars are 95% confidence intervals for the means. The difference in means is derived from a standard two-tailed t-test. *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$.

Figure A7: Trust towards Kikuyu Presidents: Afrobarometer Rounds 3–7



Notes: Plots the mean values of the “Trust in the President” items across Rounds 3–7 of the Afrobarometer, disaggregated by ethnic group. The dark blue, blue, dark red, and red lines denote the means for Kikuyus, Kikuyus who are Nakuru residents, Kalenjins, and Kalenjins who are Nakuru residents respectively.