Information, Globalization and Policy Preferences In the Digital Era: Evidence from Randomized Online Survey Experiments

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Backdrop

- Anti-globalization sentiment has been on the rise, fueled by recent political events and actors
  - Brexit, Trump, COVID, ...

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- The underlying economic conditions associated with this globalization backlash have been present at least since the mid-2000s:
  - Decline in manufacturing employment in developed countries; weak labor market outcomes for low-skill workers; the rise in inequality across top and bottom earners.

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- Lately: Political actors have succeeded in giving voice to this set of economic grievances

  $\Rightarrow$ The rise of political platforms, that have pinned the blame on openness to imports and immigration.

  $\Rightarrow$ Public increasingly exposed to information and rhetoric that is explicitly anti-global

  $\Rightarrow$ Online information, quick fast, not always research-methods-based

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  - Treatments: Baseline information + A narrative on the relationship between openness to trade and U.S. labor market outcomes (each drawing on recent economics research)

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- Then solicit respondents' views on their preferred economic policies.

This project: Alfaro, Chen and Chor (2021), (cont.)

More on the information treatments:

- "Trade Hurts": Based on Autor, Dorn, Hanson 2013.

  Import competition from China weakened manufacturing employment and low-skill wages in the U.S.

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  Imports from China lowered goods prices in the U.S.

- "It's Not Trade, It's Technology": Based on Acemoglu and Restrepo 2017.

  A leading alternative hypothesis, that technological change (automation, robotics) was the main force displacing low-end manufacturing jobs.

Summary of Findings

Several rounds of $\approx$ 15,000 respondents, conducted on: (i) MTurk; and (ii) stratified samples commissioned from Qualtrics (close 12,500 respondents).

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  ... relative to "Improving education and worker training", "Higher taxes on top income earners" or "Higher minimum wage" ($\approx$ 50-70%)

  (Note: Pick three most preferred out of eight policy options.)

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- Treatment: "Trade Hurts" narrative significantly raises the likelihood of selecting "More limits on imports" as a most preferred policy.

  By contrast, all "Trade Helps" variants and "It's Technology" treatments did not yield significant effects in our survey samples.)

  Stressing Gains in Services Jobs does not change main results

Summary of Findings, cont

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  (Time in survey)

- Other events, information shocks play a role (Covid, BLM)

  (Focus more important issue)

- Mechanism: Effects appear to be driven by "Trade Hurts" reinforcing respondents' prior beliefs/positions on the left-right spectrum.

  Follow-up survey on MTurk broadly corroborates this mechanism.

  Follow-up survey explain responses: China, jobs.

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  - "Trade Hurts" narrative appears to have particular traction in drawing support for more protectionist policies (unlike other information treatments)
  - Stressing gains in services jobs does not seem to help (heterogeneous sector)
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  - Stressing gains in services jobs does not seem to help (heterogeneous sector)
  - Reaffirms the difficulty of communicating research to the general public in a fast quick mannet
- But some hope: they can be effective/are still necessary to blunt the protectionist tendency that arises from "Trade Hurts" type information
  - "Trade Helps" information seems to mute or nullifying protectionist tendencies when both pieces of information are presented simultaneously

Summary (cont.)

Takeaway message:

- "Trade Hurts" narrative has particular traction in drawing support for more protectionist policies (unlike other information treatments)
- Reaffirms the difficulty of communicating the benefits of openness to trade to the general public in brief statements
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Potential caveats:

- External validity (of internet-based surveys)
- Persistence of the effects (briefly explored in a follow-up on MTurk)

Summary (cont.)

- Prior work on trade policy preferences has relied on off-the-shelf datasets
  - E.g.: Mayda and Rodrik (2005): World Values Survey; Scheve and Slaughter (2001), Blonigen (2011): American National Election Studies
  - But... these remain open to concerns about selection driven by unobserved differences across individuals
- Instead: Randomization offers the potential to identify causal effects related to information provision
- Methodologically: Draws on recent work exploring how the information made salient to individuals affects their preferences over policies wrt...
  - taxes and redistribution: Norton and Ariely (2011); Chow and Galak (2012); Kuziemko et al. (2015); Fisman et al. (2017); Alesina et al. (2018)
  - tariffs and trade: Nguyen (2017); Pho and Tomz (2017); Di Tella and Rodrik (2019)
  - immigration: Grigorieff et al. (2016)

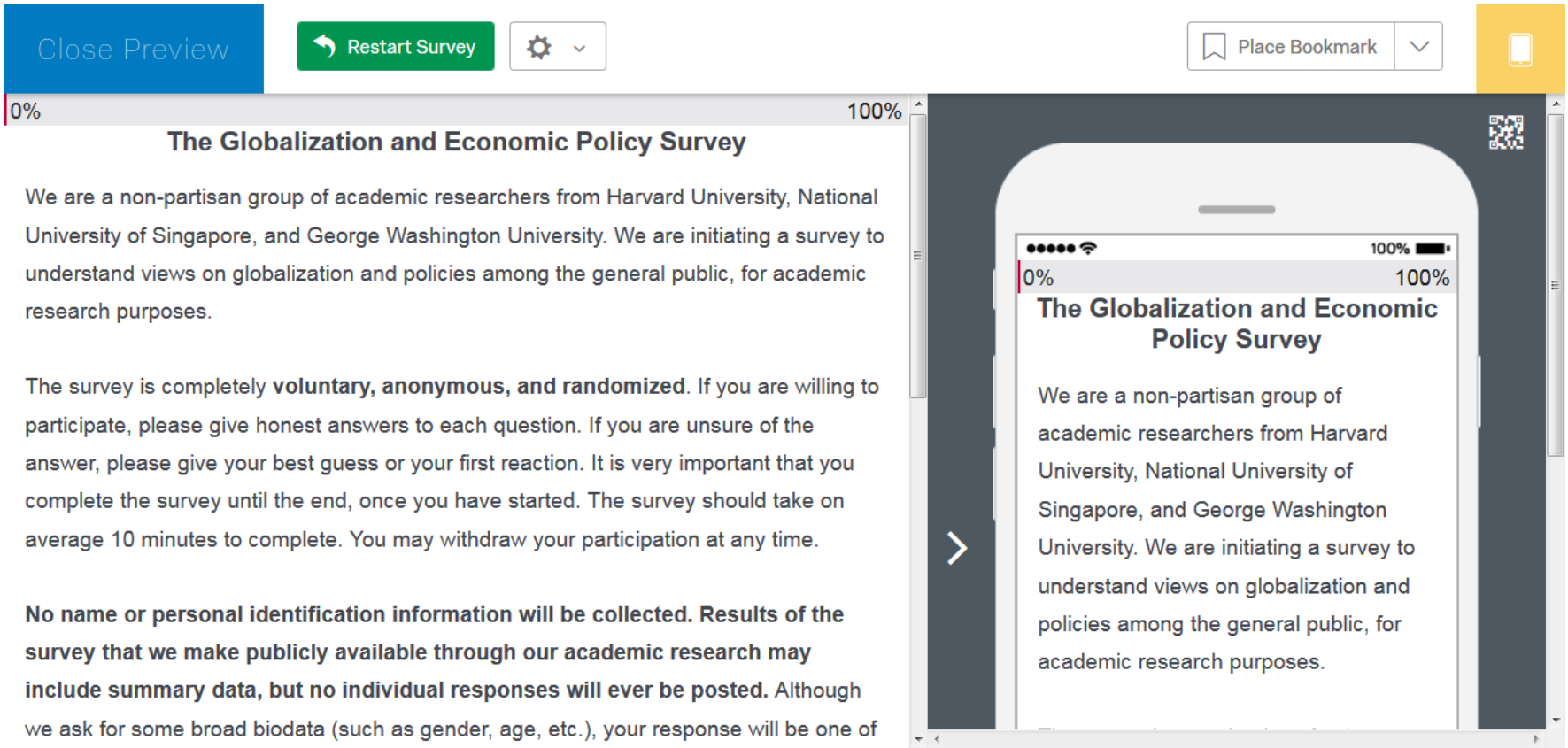
Roadmap for this talk

1. Motivation and Introduction
2. Survey Design
3. Findings: Which information treatments mattered?
4. Concluding remarks

Survey Design

Survey Interface

- Mounted on Qualtrics
- User-friendly and relatively short, to be completed in 5 – 10 minutes.



Survey Instrument

First part: Respondent background

- Basic biodata questions on:
  - gender, age, race, country of birth, state of residence, education, employment status, household income
- Background beliefs/positions:
  - self-placement on liberal vs conservative spectrum on economic policy; which party's candidate did you support in the last presidential election
  - how big a problem is inequality in the U.S. today; how much can you trust government to do what is right; satisfaction with health of U.S. job market; what impact did NAFTA have on you and your family; etc.
- News Sources:
  - how often do you follow the news; main news sources (both TV, newspaper; internet)

Survey Instrument (cont.)

Second part: Information treatment.

Nine possible survey formats, drawn at random.

1. No information.
2. Treatment 1: Baseline + "Trade hurts manufacturing jobs" Go
3. Treatment 2: Baseline + "Trade helps services jobs" Go
4. Treatment 3: Baseline + "Trade helps services jobs (simpl.)" Go
5. Treatment 4: Baseline + "Trade helps prices" Go
6. Treatment 5: Baseline + "Trade has little link to jobs. It's technology." Go

Survey Instrument (cont.)

Second part: Information treatment.

Nine possible survey formats, drawn at random.

6. Baseline + "Trade Hurts" + "Trade Helps"
7. Baseline + "Trade Helps" + "Trade Hurts"

Survey Instrument (cont.)

Second part: Information treatment.

Nine possible survey formats, drawn at random.

6. Baseline + "Trade Hurts" + "Trade Helps"
7. Baseline + "Trade Helps" + "Trade Hurts"
8. Baseline Information: On inequality trends only. Go

To be clear:

- These are relatively "scientific" narratives.

  No misinformation transmitted. **(NOT fake news)**!

Survey Instrument (cont.)

Third part: Solicit preferred policies.

- "Most preferred (MP)"; pick 3 of 8, presented in randomized order:
  1. Higher taxes on top income earners
  2. Higher minimum wage
  3. More benefits for the unemployed (e.g., unemployment insurance)
  4. Improving education and worker training
  5. More limits on imports from foreign countries (e.g., higher tariffs on imports)
  6. Weakening the U.S. dollar, so that U.S. exports are more competitive
  7. Exiting from existing free trade agreements
  8. More limits on immigration

- Separately, also ask for three "least preferred (LP)" policies.

Survey Instrument (cont.)

Third part: Solicit preferred policies.

- Support placing more limits on imports? Yes/No

  If yes: On which countries?

- Support an increase in import tariffs? Yes/No

  If yes: What would you like the tariff rate to be?

- Should the tariff rate be increased for specific industries? Yes/No

  If yes: On which industries?

- Support a minimum wage? Yes/No

- Of the following two policies, which do you prefer?

  More progressive taxes (higher tax rates on the top-income group); Higher tariff rates on foreign countries; Both policies; Neither

- Support signing free trade agreements with more countries? Yes/No

Implementation

- Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk):
  - Late Feb to mid-March 2018; Sample size: 2,510
  - (Follow-up survey in late April to mid-May 2018; 1,758 responses)
  - Ready pool of respondents; but with inherent limitations; follow-ups

    (Younger; higher educational attainment; more likely to be employed; more likely to have supported Dem. in 2016)
  - Similar results

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- General-population samples (run by Qualtrics, internet-based): Main Analysis
  - Stratified by gender, age, race, education, region
  - Mid-July to early August 2018; Sample size: 2,582
  - April 2019; original treatments; also, augment with "Trade Helps Simpl." and "Trade Helps Prices". Sample size: 2,950
  - June 2020; "Tariffs Hurts Prices" (Evidence Trump Tariffs) Covid questions; Sample size: 5,926
  - June 2021; Validation and Covid questions; Sample size: 4,058

Comparing Respondent Pools

SURVEY:	Round 1, 2018-2019 (N=2,277)	Round 2, 2020 (N=5,926)	Round 3, 2021 (N=4,058)
Biodata			
Gender: Male	0.49 [0.50]	0.47 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]
Gender: Female	0.51 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]
Age: Average (approx.)	47.55 [16.78]	45.43 [16.58]	46.55 [16.69]
Race: White	0.61 [0.49]	0.67 [0.47]	0.62 [0.48]
Race: African-American	0.11 [0.32]	0.13 [0.33]	0.12 [0.32]
Race: Hispanic	0.17 [0.37]	0.13 [0.34]	0.18 [0.38]
Born in US?	0.92 [0.27]	0.92 [0.27]	0.91 [0.28]
Socio-Economic Characteristics			
Household Income: Average $ (approx.)	58,196.35 [47,585.01]	64,942.02 [54,165.25]	62,009.68 [49,462.06]
Education: Average years (approx.)	11.81 [4.91]	11.56 [4.86]	11.71 [4.87]
Employment Status: Not in Labor Force	0.40 [0.49]	0.39 [0.49]	0.39 [0.49]
Employment Status: Unemployed	0.10 [0.30]	0.11 [0.31]	0.10 [0.30]
Employment Status: Employed	0.50 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]
Employment Sector: Manufacturing	0.08 [0.26]	0.09 [0.28]	0.07 [0.26]
Employment Sector: Services	0.39 [0.49]	0.36 [0.48]	0.39 [0.49]
Student?	0.03 [0.17]	0.04 [0.20]	0.04 [0.20]
Baseline Socio-Political Attributes			
Presidential election 2016: Supported Der	0.41 [0.49]	0.41 [0.49]	0.43 [0.49]
Presidential election 2016: Supported Rep	0.34 [0.47]	0.36 [0.48]	0.33 [0.47]
Trust in government? (Scale: 1 to 5)	2.50 [1.05]	2.79 [1.13]	2.69 [1.11]
Inequality in US a problem? (Scale: 1 to 4	2.01 [0.96]	1.96 [0.95]	1.97 [0.96]
Impact of NAFTA on family (Scale: 1 to 5)	3.16 [0.90]	3.35 [0.90]	3.31 [0.87]
Willing to pay more for US brand?	0.59 [0.49]	0.65 [0.48]	0.63 [0.48]
Loss aversion (Scale: 1 to 5)	---	3.12 [1.47]	3.07 [1.50]

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SURVEY:	Round 1, 2018-2019 (N=2,277)	Round 2, 2020 (N=5,926)	Round 3, 2021 (N=4,058)
News consumption patterns			
Number of days per week (approx.)	5.02 [2.47]	5.29 [2.34]	5.01 [2.43]
Main tv source: Broadcast tv	0.29 [0.45]	0.26 [0.44]	0.25 [0.43]
Main tv source: CNN, MSNBC	0.17 [0.37]	0.21 [0.41]	0.20 [0.40]
Main tv source: Fox News	0.16 [0.36]	0.17 [0.38]	0.15 [0.36]
Location Characteristics			
Share with college education (age>=25)	0.30 [0.11]	0.31 [0.12]	0.31 [0.11]
Autor-Dorn-Hanson measure for 2000	2.56 [1.82]	2.57 [2.05]	2.54 [1.77]
Share of manufacturing in employment	0.16 [0.11]	0.16 [0.11]	0.16 [0.11]
Urban?	0.86 [0.35]	0.87 [0.33]	0.86 [0.35]
Survey Characteristics			
Duration to complete (secs.)	726.81 [1,513.00]	912.00 [2,307.13]	887.60 [1,015.33]
Treatment duration	47.41 [65.92]	27.51 [84.76]	28.42 [58.29]
Mobile device?	0.61 [0.49]	0.70 [0.46]	0.58 [0.49]

Survey Findings

Preferred policies: Summary Statistics

Start with unconditional means. Consistently across survey runs:

- Most preferred policies: Education and worker training; Unemployment benefits; More progressive taxation
- By comparison: "More limits on imports" and "More limits on immigration" receive less support ($\approx$ 20-30%)

Expressed Policy Preferences (Unconditional Means)

SURVEY:	Round 1, 2018-2019 (N=2,277)	Round 2, 2020 (N=5,926)	Round 3, 2021 (N=4,058)
Do you support placing more limits on imports?	0.57 [0.49]	0.62 [0.49]	0.59 [0.49]
Would you support an increase in the US tariff ra	0.28 [0.45]	0.25 [0.43]	0.25 [0.43]
Prefer: Higher tariff rates on foreign countries?	0.44 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.47 [0.50]
Prefer: More progressive taxes?	**0.68 [0.46]**	**0.65 [0.48]**	**0.68 [0.47]**
Would you support signing more FTAs?	0.68 [0.47]	0.65 [0.48]	0.65 [0.48]
Would you support a minimum wage?	0.78 [0.41]	0.80 [0.40]	0.74 [0.44]
Most Preferred Policies (pick 3 out of 8)			
More limits on foreign imports	0.23 [0.42]	0.27 [0.44]	0.28 [0.45]
Exiting from FTAs	0.13 [0.34]	0.12 [0.33]	0.13 [0.34]
More limits on immigration	0.34 [0.47]	0.31 [0.46]	0.37 [0.48]
Weaken the USD	0.07 [0.26]	0.09 [0.29]	0.09 [0.28]
More progressive taxes	**0.51 [0.50]**	**0.46 [0.50]**	**0.50 [0.50]**
Higher minimum wage	**0.61 [0.49]**	**0.60 [0.49]**	**0.56 [0.50]**
More unemployment benefits	0.30 [0.46]	0.34 [0.47]	0.29 [0.45]
Improvement on education	**0.59 [0.49]**	**0.49 [0.50]**	**0.52 [0.50]**

Preferred policies: Summary Statistics

Start with unconditional means. Consistently across survey runs:

- Higher share express a preference for protectionist policies when this is posed as a binary question (instead of the "eight choose three" format).

In other words: Trade falls down the pecking order when respondents need to prioritize among policies.

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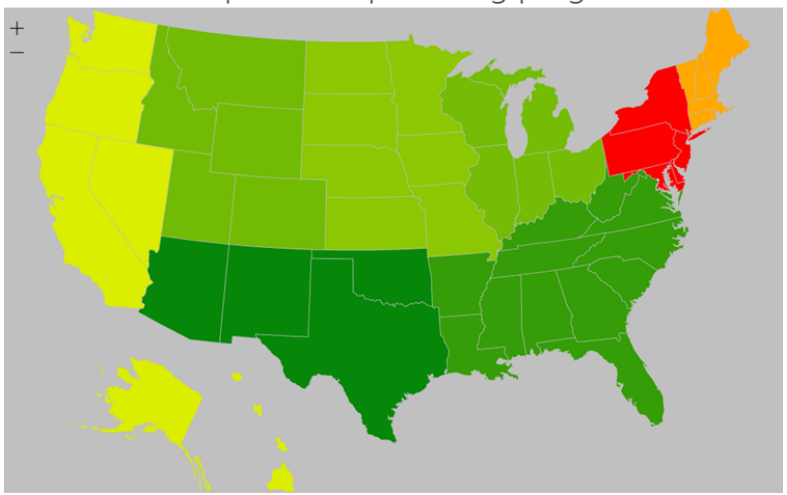
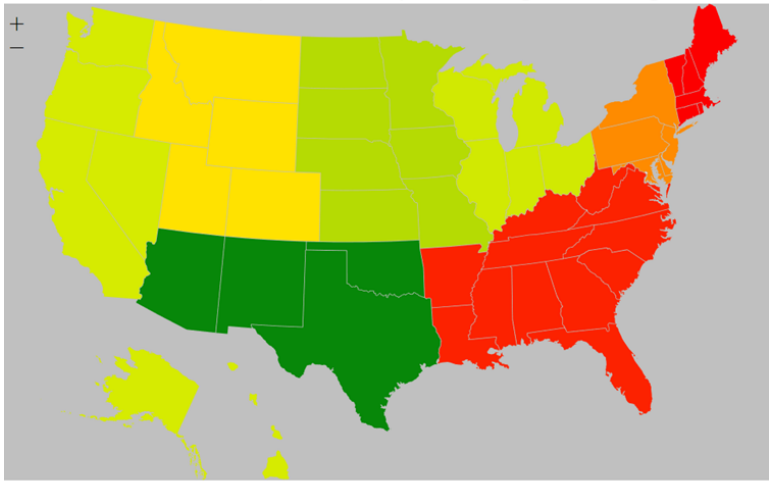
Preferred policies: Geographic Variation

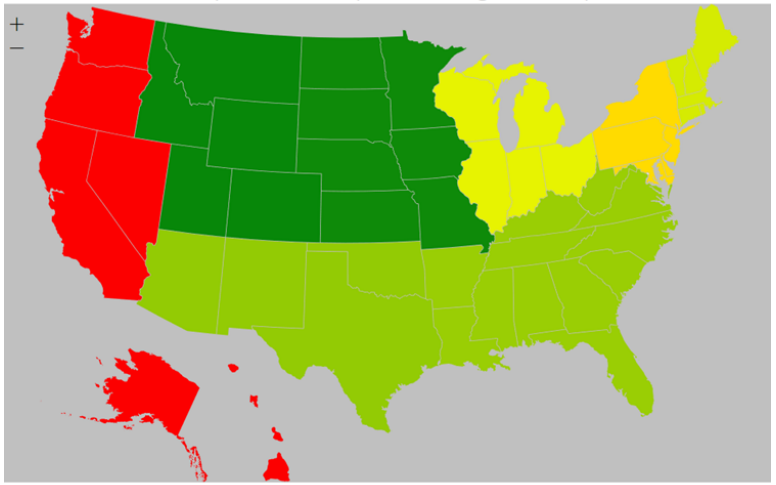
Share of respondents preferring progressive tax



Share of respondents preferring min wage

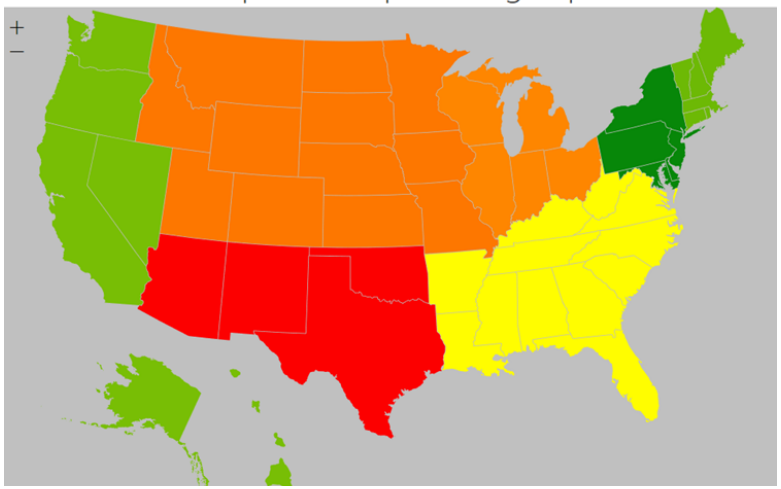


Share of respondents preferring unemp. benefits

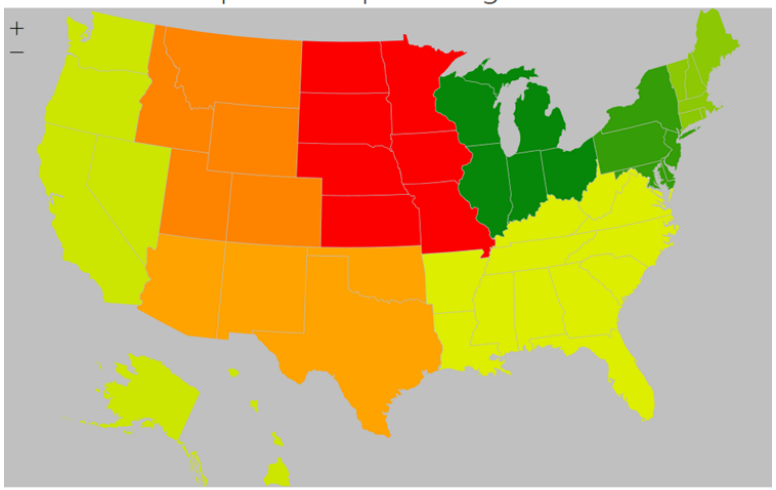


Preferred policies: Geographic Variation

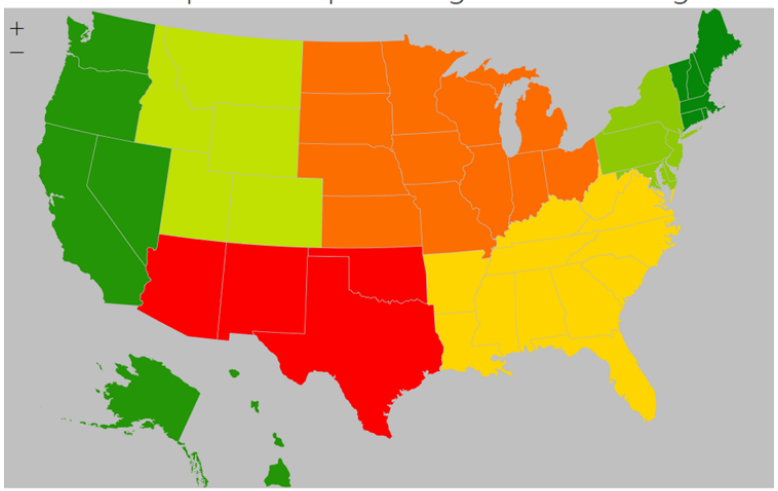
Share of respondents preferring import limits



Share of respondents preferring exits from FTAs



Share of respondents preferring limits on immigrants



Regression specifications

$$\mathbf{1}(Policy_i) = \sum_{b=1}^{B} \beta_b \mathbf{1}(Treatment_i = b) + X_i + \epsilon_i$$

- $\mathbf{1}(Policy_i)$: Dummy variable for whether respondent i expressed preference for the policy in question
- $\mathbf{1}(Treatment_i = b)$: Dummy for whether respondent i received treatment b

  (Omitted category: Pure control with no information)
- β_b: Effect of treatment relative to the pure control subsample
- With randomization, respondent characteristics are balanced across treatment subsamples Go

Regression specifications

$$\mathbf{1}(Policy_i) = \sum_{b=1}^{B} \beta_b \mathbf{1}(Treatment_i = b) + X_i + \epsilon_i$$

- X_i: Auxiliary controls
  - Biodata: Dummies for gender, age group, race, born in US, employment status, sector of employment, household income bins, BEA region of residence
  - Prior political position: Party supported in 2016 presidential election, conservative vs liberal on economic policy matters.
  - Current affairs: Frequency; Main tv and internet sources
  - County characteristics: Successfully merged for >95% of respondents.

    Demographics (population shares by gender, age group, race, foreign-born status).

    Economic conditions (sectoral employment, college-educated share, log median household income, Gini, unemployment rate, urban dummy, ADH China import shock).
  - Survey date dummies

Regression specifications

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- Run as probit regressions, with standard errors two-way clustered by county of residence and by date of survey
- Cleaning: Drop respondents...
  - with IP addresses outside the US
  - in the tail 1% survey completion time (separately by treatment group)
  - who selected the same policy as both "Most preferred" and "Least preferred"
  - who selected the first three policies by randomization order as "Most preferred" or "Least preferred"

Effects of Information Treatments: Qualtrics pooled-Pre Covid

- "Trade Hurts" treatment raises propensity to select "More limits on imports"

Effect of Information Treatments on Preferences Towards Trade Policy
(Round 1, 2018-2019)

Trade Policy Questions:	(1) More limits on imports	(2) US tariff rate increase	(3) Support higher tariff	(4) Support more FTAs	(5) Most Pref.: More limits on Imports	(6) First principal component
	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	OLS
Treatment dummies:						
Trade Hurts Jobs	0.060*	0.045*	0.083***	-0.046	0.080***	0.282***
	[0.032]	[0.026]	[0.032]	[0.030]	[0.024]	[0.076]
Trade Helps Jobs	0.007	0.033	0.064	0.017	0.040	0.135
	[0.035]	[0.034]	[0.041]	[0.032]	[0.027]	[0.098]
Trade Helps Prices	0.057*	0.018	0.071*	-0.007	0.069**	0.211**
	[0.034]	[0.030]	[0.039]	[0.032]	[0.028]	[0.089]
Most Pref., Randomization Order					-0.003	0.003
					[0.003]	[0.011]
Pres. Election 2016:	-0.042	-0.043*	-0.043	0.091***	-0.064***	-0.259***
Supported Democrat	[0.029]	[0.022]	[0.026]	[0.027]	[0.019]	[0.075]
Pres. Election 2016:	**0.224*** **	**0.147*** **	**0.219*** **	-0.034	**0.092*** **	**0.728*** **
Supported Republican	[0.030]	[0.028]	[0.029]	[0.029]	[0.023]	[0.081]
Individual, county, week controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2,277	2,277	2,277	2,277	2,277	2,277
(Pseudo) R-squared	0.0970	0.103	0.0742	0.0746	0.0783	0.183
Log Likelihood	-1403	-1214	-1448	-1318	-1138	---

Effects of Information Treatments: Post Covid

- "Trade Hurts" treatment raises propensity to select "More limits on imports"

Exploring the "Trade Hurts Jobs" and "Trade Helps Jobs" Treatments
(Pooled: Round 2, 2020; Round 3, 2021)

Trade Policy Questions:	(1) Did information affect views?	(2) More limits on imports	(3) US tariff rate increase	(4) Support higher tariff	(5) Support more FTAs	(6) Most Pref.: More limits on Imports	(7) First principal component
	Ordered logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	OLS
Treatment dummies:							
Trade Hurts Jobs	0.040**	0.076***	0.071***	0.051**	-0.042**	0.029	0.245***
	[0.018]	[0.020]	[0.016]	[0.021]	[0.020]	[0.018]	[0.049]
Trade Helps Jobs	0.025	-0.003	0.019	0.033	-0.000	-0.001	0.047
	[0.018]	[0.022]	[0.016]	[0.022]	[0.021]	[0.018]	[0.053]
Trade Hurts Helps Jobs	0.039**	0.025	0.030*	0.030	-0.016	0.033*	0.123**
	[0.020]	[0.024]	[0.017]	[0.024]	[0.022]	[0.020]	[0.060]
Trade Helps Hurts Jobs	0.046**	0.099***	0.067***	0.029	-0.046**	0.024	0.243***
	[0.020]	[0.021]	[0.018]	[0.026]	[0.022]	[0.019]	[0.050]
Most Pref., Randomization Order						-0.012***	-0.025***
						[0.002]	[0.007]
Pres. Election 2016:	0.090***	0.010	0.026**	-0.025	0.094***	-0.021	-0.054
Supported Democrat	[0.015]	[0.018]	[0.011]	[0.020]	[0.016]	[0.013]	[0.044]
Pres. Election 2016:	0.105***	0.232***	0.128***	0.148***	-0.028	0.162***	0.709***
Supported Republican	[0.015]	[0.020]	[0.015]	[0.019]	[0.019]	[0.018]	[0.049]
Individual, county, week controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558
(Pseudo) R-squared	0.0542	0.0855	0.0956	0.0511	0.0662	0.0809	0.163
Log Likelihood	-6356	-3403	-2804	-3654	-3387	-2959	---

Effects of Information Treatments: Further Remarks

- "Trade Hurts" treatment has particular traction in inducing a preference for more protection
  - Both with the MP and the binary questions Go
  - With LP as the dependent variable: Obtain mirror-image results Go

- Marginal effect of receiving the "Trade Hurts" treatment on support for "more limits on imports": 0.059 in MTurk, 0.069 in Qualtrics pooled
  (holding other covariates at their sample means)

  (Same ballpark magnitude as the marginal effect of self-identifying as a Dem. or Rep. presidential candidate supporter / cons. or lib. in economic policy leaning.)

Effects of Information Treatments: Further Remarks

- Other covariates that correlate significantly with support for limits on imports: Go
  - Randomization order
  - Middle-aged (35-44)
  - Candidate supported in 2016 presidential election; conservative vs liberal leaning on economic policy matters
  - Media consumption patterns (think: Fox News)
  - Exposure to the ADH China import shock

A Role for "Trade Helps"? Simplifying-Gains in Services Jobs

- No discernible difference in the treatment effect of "Trade Helps" vs "Trade Helps Simplified": Services Jobs Gains

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Qualtrics:								
Baseline Info	-0.116	-0.076	0.036	0.037	0.041	-0.000	-0.115	-0.092
	[0.086]	[0.112]	[0.069]	[0.076]	[0.079]	[0.157]	[0.111]	[0.081]
Trade Hurts	-0.172*	-0.160**	-0.113	0.115	0.257***	-0.188	0.001	-0.009
	[0.091]	[0.071]	[0.128]	[0.108]	[0.087]	[0.142]	[0.144]	[0.099]
Trade Helps	-0.189*	-0.044	0.056	0.132	0.025	-0.215**	-0.176	-0.072
	[0.109]	[0.086]	[0.074]	[0.095]	[0.085]	[0.109]	[0.177]	[0.093]
Trade Helps Simplified	-0.114	0.012	0.014	0.049	0.004	-0.089	-0.063	0.109
	[0.098]	[0.150]	[0.132]	[0.131]	[0.166]	[0.176]	[0.147]	[0.093]
Trade Helps Prices	-0.328***	-0.094	0.009	0.060	0.198	-0.012	0.035	-0.066
	[0.069]	[0.127]	[0.105]	[0.086]	[0.122]	[0.099]	[0.133]	[0.098]
It's Technology	-0.218***	0.025	0.048	0.007	0.055	-0.151	-0.049	-0.114
	[0.080]	[0.086]	[0.097]	[0.082]	[0.091]	[0.171]	[0.104]	[0.098]
p-value: Trade Helps = Trade Helps Simplified	[0.485]	[0.735]	[0.761]	[0.485]	[0.898]	[0.451]	[0.455]	[0.022]
	Controls included: Respondent characteristics, county characteristics, survey date dummies, policy randomization order.							
Observations	3,062	3,062	3,062	3,062	3,062	2,983	3,045	3,058
Pseudo R-squared	0.145	0.158	0.0802	0.0486	0.122	0.108	0.155	0.298
Log Likelihood	-1808	-1698	-1698	-1935	-1352	-546.1	-877.2	-1343

Further Results: Manufacturing vs. Services Employment

- Interactions with Manufacturing, Service Employment: Similar Results

Interaction Effects of Individual Characteristics and Job Treatments
(Round 2, 2020; Round 3, 2021)

Dependent variable:	(1)		(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Protectionist Tendency								
Treatment interaction variable:	Employed in Manufacturing	Employed in services	ADH China Shock Exposure	Education: Less than College	Republican Support 2016	Democrat Support 2016	Frequency of catching with current affairs	Trust in Government	Loss Aversion: No Fees vs. Discount
Model:					**OLS**				
Round:					**2&3**				
Trade Hurts Jobs	0.252***	0.166**	0.180**	0.241***	0.221***	0.344***	0.067	0.558***	0.176
	[0.051]	[0.067]	[0.080]	[0.081]	[0.060]	[0.066]	[0.170]	[0.140]	[0.133]
Trade Helps Jobs	0.04	-0.035	0.009	0.116	-0.018	0.104	-0.304*	0.182	-0.084
	[0.056]	[0.068]	[0.082]	[0.078]	[0.064]	[0.069]	[0.157]	[0.144]	[0.134]
Trade Hurts Helps Jobs	0.111*	0.100	0.056	0.126	0.052	0.188**	0.027	0.350**	0.076
	[0.064]	[0.079]	[0.095]	[0.101]	[0.067]	[0.079]	[0.183]	[0.159]	[0.138]
Trade Helps Hurts Jobs	0.237***	0.232***	0.188**	0.292***	0.145**	0.324***	0.232	0.307**	0.235*
	[0.053]	[0.067]	[0.084]	[0.086]	[0.062]	[0.073]	[0.192]	[0.134]	[0.136]
Interaction Variable	0.135	-0.024	-0.009	0.053	0.568***	0.092	0.03	0.097***	0.013
	[0.131]	[0.092]	[0.017]	[0.080]	[0.087]	[0.073]	[0.040]	[0.034]	[0.029]
Trade Hurts Jobs	-0.068	0.216**	0.026	0.004	0.067	-0.233**	0.054	-0.114**	0.022
x Interaction Variable	[0.190]	[0.106]	[0.025]	[0.105]	[0.113]	[0.094]	[0.050]	[0.047]	[0.039]
Trade Helps Jobs	0.09	0.221	0.015	-0.11	0.186	-0.135	0.109**	-0.05	0.041
x Interaction Variable	[0.174]	[0.104]	[0.023]	[0.097]	[0.113]	[0.100]	[0.048]	[0.045]	[0.040]
Trade Hurts Helps Jobs	0.146	0.061	0.026	-0.008	0.199	-0.158	0.029	-0.084	0.016
x Interaction Variable	[0.209]	[0.130]	[0.028]	[0.127]	[0.119]	[0.106]	[0.055]	[0.052]	[0.040]
Trade Helps Hurts Jobs	0.096	0.036	0.022	-0.08	0.288**	-0.194*	0.004	-0.025	0.003
x Interaction Variable	[0.196]	[0.114]	[0.025]	[0.110]	[0.116]	[0.105]	[0.057]	[0.043]	[0.040]
Observations	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558	5,558
R-squared	0.164	0.165	0.164	0.164	0.165	0.164	0.164	0.166	0.165

A Role for "Trade Helps Prices"?

Exploring the "Trade Helps Prices" Treatments
(Pooled: Round 2, 2020; Round 3, 2021)

Trade Policy Questions:	(1) Did information affect views?	(2) More limits on imports	(3) US tariff rate increase	(4) Support higher tariff	(5) Support more FTAs	(6) Most Pref.: More limits on Imports	(7) First principal component
	Ordered logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit	OLS
Treatment dummies:							
Trade Helps Prices	0.037**	0.037*	0.032**	-0.008	-0.009	0.031*	0.101**
	[0.018]	[0.021]	[0.015]	[0.021]	[0.020]	[0.016]	[0.050]
Trade Helps Prices China	0.006	0.059**	0.042**	0.042*	-0.029	0.048**	0.199***
	[0.022]	[0.024]	[0.019]	[0.024]	[0.022]	[0.021]	[0.057]
Trade Helps Prices Cheaper	-0.006	0.034	0.046***	-0.001	-0.031	0.035*	0.132**
	[0.019]	[0.023]	[0.018]	[0.025]	[0.022]	[0.021]	[0.059]
Tariff Hurts Prices	0.042**	0.025	0.030*	0.030	-0.007	0.021	0.109**
	[0.019]	[0.020]	[0.016]	[0.020]	[0.019]	[0.018]	[0.050]
Most Pref., Randomization Order						-0.009***	-0.017**
						[0.002]	[0.008]
Pres. Election 2016:	0.100***	-0.000	0.012	-0.029	0.098***	-0.042***	-0.111**
Supported Democrat	[0.014]	[0.018]	[0.014]	[0.018]	[0.017]	[0.015]	[0.048]
Pres. Election 2016:	0.086***	0.177***	0.079***	0.139***	-0.031*	0.124***	0.552***
Supported Republican	[0.015]	[0.019]	[0.016]	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.017]	[0.054]
Individual, county, week controls?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	5,562	5,562	5,562	5,562	5,562	5,562	5,562
(Pseudo) R-squared	0.0584	0.0707	0.0743	0.044	0.0742	0.0783	0.138
Log Likelihood	-6424	-3476	-2823	-3680	-3319	-2988	---

A Role for "Trade Helps"? Multiple Treatments

- "Trade Helps" treatment appears to offset "Trade Hurts", particularly when "Trade Helps" appears last

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
MTurk:								
β_1: Received Trade Hurts?	-0.063	0.142	-0.158*	-0.172	0.183	0.029	-0.026	0.230**
	[0.099]	[0.091]	[0.081]	[0.138]	[0.124]	[0.208]	[0.110]	[0.109]
β_2: Received Trade Helps?	0.095	0.032	-0.162**	-0.103	0.095	-0.133	0.045	0.168
	[0.149]	[0.134]	[0.075]	[0.103]	[0.150]	[0.238]	[0.183]	[0.140]
β_3: Received Trade Hurts then Trade Helps?	0.131	-0.016	0.185**	0.287**	-0.359*	-0.207	-0.357*	-0.328
	[0.127]	[0.197]	[0.074]	[0.131]	[0.202]	[0.284]	[0.204]	[0.206]
β_4: Received Trade Helps then Trade Hurts?	-0.014	-0.052	-0.011	0.150	-0.081	0.142	-0.032	-0.325**
	[0.132]	[0.179]	[0.099]	[0.180]	[0.202]	[0.281]	[0.163]	[0.134]
p-value: $\beta_1 + \beta_3 = 0$	[0.482]	[0.298]	[0.751]	[0.262]	[0.240]	[0.347]	[0.040]	[0.539]
p-value: $\beta_1 + \beta_4 = 0$	[0.441]	[0.382]	[0.022]	[0.859]	[0.446]	[0.347]	[0.709]	[0.380]
Observations	1,515	1,511	1,509	1,520	1,500	1,500	1,453	1,515
Pseudo R-squared	0.233	0.248	0.125	0.073	0.181	0.237	0.337	0.403
Log Likelihood	-723.6	-699.1	-701.6	-819.3	-632.2	-164.6	-321.5	-544.3
Qualtrics:								
β_1: Received Trade Hurts?	-0.194*	-0.146**	-0.111	0.115	0.255***	-0.184	0.024	-0.024
	[0.100]	[0.067]	[0.120]	[0.105]	[0.092]	[0.146]	[0.131]	[0.092]
β_2: Received Trade Helps?	-0.217**	-0.038	0.076	0.139	0.004	-0.245**	-0.188	-0.074
	[0.110]	[0.083]	[0.076]	[0.098]	[0.082]	[0.108]	[0.166]	[0.097]
β_3: Received Trade Hurts then Trade Helps?	0.147	0.092	0.081	-0.207	-0.281**	0.595***	0.041	0.213
	[0.135]	[0.115]	[0.113]	[0.127]	[0.123]	[0.162]	[0.210]	[0.145]
β_4: Received Trade Helps then Trade Hurts?	0.242	0.092	-0.030	-0.195	-0.099	0.331	0.271	0.026
	[0.151]	[0.100]	[0.154]	[0.132]	[0.127]	[0.215]	[0.186]	[0.126]
p-value: $\beta_1 + \beta_3 = 0$	[0.513]	[0.601]	[0.737]	[0.284]	[0.824]	[0.000]	[0.596]	[0.128]
p-value: $\beta_1 + \beta_4 = 0$	[0.628]	[0.596]	[0.178]	[0.230]	[0.165]	[0.343]	[0.021]	[0.986]
Observations	2,217	2,217	2,217	2,217	2,217	2,109	2,217	2,217
Pseudo R-squared	0.138	0.160	0.095	0.066	0.125	0.139	0.166	0.309
Log Likelihood	-1317	-1235	-1180	-1370	-1002	-379.4	-641.0	-969.6

Recalling the Treatment

SURVEY:	Round 2, 2020 (N=5,926)	Round 3, 2021 (N=4,058)
Information "attention" questions		
Share of respondents who said information was about jobs	0.64 [0.47]	0.66 [0.48]
Share of respondents who said information was about prices	0.52 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]
Share of respondents who said no information received	0.14 [0.35]	0.14 [0.35]
Correctly identified nature of information treatment (about jobs, about prices, or none)	0.47 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]
Conditional on receiving a treatment about jobs, correctly identified as such	0.42 [0.49]	0.49 [0.50]
Conditional on receiving a treatment about prices, correctly identified as such	0.59 [0.49]	0.63 [0.48]
Conditional on receiving no information treatment, correctly identified as such	0.19 [0.39]	0.25 [0.43]

Exploring underlying mechanisms

Why does the "Trade Hurts" treatment carry so much traction?

- To shed light on this: Augment previous regressions with interaction terms between "Trade Hurts" dummy and underlying respondent characteristics

- Various avenues explored:
  1. Personal exposure (industry of employment, location, unemployment experience)
  2. Respondent education
  3. Prior exposure to information (through news)
  4. Trust in government
  5. Loss aversion
  6. Reinforcing prior political positions

1. Exposure through employment

- Workers in the manufacturing sector, or in areas exposed to manufacturing decline, might be more responsive to the "Trade Hurts" treatment (think: Stolper-Samuelson)

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Employed in manufacturing?	ADH China import shock, 2000-07	Unemployed?	College-educated?	Frequency follow current affairs	FoxNews as main tv news?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.259**	0.376**	0.239**	0.066	0.606	0.189*
	[0.127]	[0.154]	[0.099]	[0.152]	[0.637]	[0.109]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.226	-0.052	0.061	0.308	-0.112	0.617
	[0.623]	[0.044]	[0.669]	[0.201]	[0.195]	[0.451]
Resp. variable	0.116	0.008	-0.510***	-0.212**	multiple coeffs.	0.171
	[0.199]	[0.015]	[0.167]	[0.097]		[0.154]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.177	0.177	0.176	0.178	0.177	0.178
Log Likelihood	-621.5	-621	-621.6	-620.6	-621.2	-620.4
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.272***	0.120	0.266***	0.202**	0.086	0.239*
	[0.090]	[0.163]	[0.090]	[0.100]	[0.295]	[0.123]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.179	0.056	-0.090	0.142	0.054	0.130
	[0.251]	[0.042]	[0.283]	[0.187]	[0.069]	[0.240]
Resp. variable	-0.058	0.024*	-0.188	0.043	multiple coeffs.	0.126
	[0.136]	[0.013]	[0.140]	[0.098]		[0.098]
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
Log Likelihood	-1184	-1183	-1184	-1183	-1183	-1183

1. Exposure through employment

- **But**... don't find evidence for this when interacting with a dummy for whether the respondent is in the manufacturing sector
- Nor when using an interaction involving the ADH shock

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Employed in manufacturing?	ADH China import shock, 2000-07	Unemployed?	College-educated?	Frequency follow current affairs	FoxNews as main tv news?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.259**	0.376**	0.239**	0.066	0.606	0.189*
	[0.127]	[0.154]	[0.099]	[0.152]	[0.637]	[0.109]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.226	-0.052	0.061	0.308	-0.112	0.617
	[0.623]	[0.044]	[0.669]	[0.201]	[0.195]	[0.451]
Resp. variable	0.116	0.008	-0.510***	-0.212**	multiple coeffs.	0.171
	[0.199]	[0.015]	[0.167]	[0.097]		[0.154]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.177	0.177	0.176	0.178	0.177	0.178
Log Likelihood	-621.5	-621	-621.6	-620.6	-621.2	-620.4
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.272***	0.120	0.266***	0.202**	0.086	0.239*
	[0.090]	[0.163]	[0.090]	[0.100]	[0.295]	[0.123]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.179	0.056	-0.090	0.142	0.054	0.130
	[0.251]	[0.042]	[0.283]	[0.187]	[0.069]	[0.240]
Resp. variable	-0.058	0.024*	-0.188	0.043	multiple coeffs.	0.126
	[0.136]	[0.013]	[0.140]	[0.098]		[0.098]
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
Log Likelihood	-1184	-1183	-1184	-1183	-1183	-1183

2. Respondent education

- Might education temper the "Trade Hurts" treatment?

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Employed in manufacturing?	ADH China import shock, 2000-07	Unemployed?	College-educated?	Frequency follow current affairs	FoxNews as main tv news?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.259**	0.376**	0.239**	0.066	0.606	0.189*
	[0.127]	[0.154]	[0.099]	[0.152]	[0.637]	[0.109]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.226	-0.052	0.061	0.308	-0.112	0.617
	[0.623]	[0.044]	[0.669]	[0.201]	[0.195]	[0.451]
Resp. variable	0.116	0.008	-0.510***	-0.212**	multiple coeffs.	0.171
	[0.199]	[0.015]	[0.167]	[0.097]		[0.154]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.177	0.177	0.176	0.178	0.177	0.178
Log Likelihood	-621.5	-621	-621.6	-620.6	-621.2	-620.4
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.272***	0.120	0.266***	0.202**	0.086	0.239*
	[0.090]	[0.163]	[0.090]	[0.100]	[0.295]	[0.123]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.179	0.056	-0.090	0.142	0.054	0.130
	[0.251]	[0.042]	[0.283]	[0.187]	[0.069]	[0.240]
Resp. variable	-0.058	0.024*	-0.188	0.043	multiple coeffs.	0.126
	[0.136]	[0.013]	[0.140]	[0.098]		[0.098]
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
Log Likelihood	-1184	-1183	-1184	-1183	-1183	-1183

2. Respondent education

- Might education temper the "Trade Hurts" treatment?
- **But**... no evidence of a significant interaction with being college-educated.

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Employed in manufacturing?	ADH China import shock, 2000-07	Unemployed?	College-educated?	Frequency follow current affairs	FoxNews as main tv news?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.259**	0.376**	0.239**	0.066	0.606	0.189*
	[0.127]	[0.154]	[0.099]	[0.152]	[0.637]	[0.109]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.226	-0.052	0.061	0.308	-0.112	0.617
	[0.623]	[0.044]	[0.669]	[0.201]	[0.195]	[0.451]
Resp. variable	0.116	0.008	-0.510***	-0.212**	multiple coeffs.	0.171
	[0.199]	[0.015]	[0.167]	[0.097]		[0.154]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.177	0.177	0.176	0.178	0.177	0.178
Log Likelihood	-621.5	-621	-621.6	-620.6	-621.2	-620.4
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.272***	0.120	0.266***	0.202**	0.086	0.239*
	[0.090]	[0.163]	[0.090]	[0.100]	[0.295]	[0.123]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.179	0.056	-0.090	0.142	0.054	0.130
	[0.251]	[0.042]	[0.283]	[0.187]	[0.069]	[0.240]
Resp. variable	-0.058	0.024*	-0.188	0.043	multiple coeffs.	0.126
	[0.136]	[0.013]	[0.140]	[0.098]		[0.098]
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
Log Likelihood	-1184	-1183	-1184	-1183	-1183	-1183

3. Prior exposure to information

- Does the effect of "Trade Hurts" vary by respondents' prior exposure to news?

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Employed in manufacturing?	ADH China import shock, 2000-07	Unemployed?	College-educated?	Frequency follow current affairs	FoxNews as main tv news?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.259**	0.376**	0.239**	0.066	0.606	0.189*
	[0.127]	[0.154]	[0.099]	[0.152]	[0.637]	[0.109]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.226	-0.052	0.061	0.308	-0.112	0.617
	[0.623]	[0.044]	[0.669]	[0.201]	[0.195]	[0.451]
Resp. variable	0.116	0.008	-0.510***	-0.212**	multiple coeffs.	0.171
	[0.199]	[0.015]	[0.167]	[0.097]		[0.154]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.177	0.177	0.176	0.178	0.177	0.178
Log Likelihood	-621.5	-621	-621.6	-620.6	-621.2	-620.4
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.272***	0.120	0.266***	0.202**	0.086	0.239*
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Resp. variable	-0.058	0.024*	-0.188	0.043	multiple coeffs.	0.126
	[0.136]	[0.013]	[0.140]	[0.098]		[0.098]
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
Log Likelihood	-1184	-1183	-1184	-1183	-1183	-1183

3. Prior exposure to information

- Does the effect of "Trade Hurts" vary by respondents' prior exposure to news?
- **But**... no consistent effects from interactions with frequency of following current affairs, or with Fox News dummy.

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Employed in manufacturing?	ADH China import shock, 2000-07	Unemployed?	College-educated?	Frequency follow current affairs	FoxNews as main tv news?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.259**	0.376**	0.239**	0.066	0.606	0.189*
	[0.127]	[0.154]	[0.099]	[0.152]	[0.637]	[0.109]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.226	-0.052	0.061	0.308	-0.112	0.617
	[0.623]	[0.044]	[0.669]	[0.201]	[0.195]	[0.451]
Resp. variable	0.116	0.008	-0.510***	-0.212**	multiple coeffs.	0.171
	[0.199]	[0.015]	[0.167]	[0.097]		[0.154]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.177	0.177	0.176	0.178	0.177	0.178
Log Likelihood	-621.5	-621	-621.6	-620.6	-621.2	-620.4
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.272***	0.120	0.266***	0.202**	0.086	0.239*
	[0.090]	[0.163]	[0.090]	[0.100]	[0.295]	[0.123]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.179	0.056	-0.090	0.142	0.054	0.130
	[0.251]	[0.042]	[0.283]	[0.187]	[0.069]	[0.240]
Resp. variable	-0.058	0.024*	-0.188	0.043	multiple coeffs.	0.126
	[0.136]	[0.013]	[0.140]	[0.098]		[0.098]
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131	0.131
Log Likelihood	-1184	-1183	-1184	-1183	-1183	-1183

4. Trust in government

- Does distrust feed into more protectionist tendencies (or vice versa)?

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Household income	Loss aversion proxy	Trust in government	Trust in foreigners	Impact of NAFTA on family	Inequality a problem in the US?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.061	---	-0.489*	---	0.929***	0.450**
	[0.225]		[0.273]		[0.329]	[0.204]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	0.111	---	0.301***	---	-0.225*	-0.103
	[0.111]		[0.095]		[0.117]	[0.098]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	---	-0.073	---	-0.216***	-0.181***
			[0.062]		[0.054]	[0.057]
Observations	1,523	---	1,532	---	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.176	---	0.180	---	0.193	0.186
Log Likelihood	-618	---	-618.7	---	-609.3	-614.2
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.348**	0.382	0.275	0.375	0.254	0.329*
	[0.165]	[0.433]	[0.257]	[0.353]	[0.241]	[0.195]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.046	0.018	-0.007	0.024	0.001	-0.044
	[0.089]	[0.094]	[0.109]	[0.153]	[0.090]	[0.071]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	0.038	0.055**	-0.045	-0.035	-0.097*
		[0.034]	[0.024]	[0.061]	[0.036]	[0.050]
Observations	2,558	1,302	2,663	1,302	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.133	0.150	0.132	0.150	0.131	0.134
Log Likelihood	-1136	-547.2	-1182	-547.7	-1183	-1179

4. Trust in government

- Does distrust feed into more protectionist tendencies (or vice versa)?
- **But**... interaction effect of trust in government differs across dependent variables and across survey samples

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Household income	Loss aversion proxy	Trust in government	Trust in foreigners	Impact of NAFTA on family	Inequality a problem in the US?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.061	---	-0.489*	---	0.929***	0.450**
	[0.225]		[0.273]		[0.329]	[0.204]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	0.111	---	0.301***	---	-0.225*	-0.103
	[0.111]		[0.095]		[0.117]	[0.098]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	---	-0.073	---	-0.216***	-0.181***
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Pseudo R-squared	0.176	---	0.180	---	0.193	0.186
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	[0.089]	[0.094]	[0.109]	[0.153]	[0.090]	[0.071]
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Pseudo R-squared	0.133	0.150	0.132	0.150	0.131	0.134
Log Likelihood	-1136	-547.2	-1182	-547.7	-1183	-1179

5. Loss aversion

- Does "Trade Hurts" treatment effect reflect loss aversion?

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Household income	Loss aversion proxy	Trust in government	Trust in foreigners	Impact of NAFTA on family	Inequality a problem in the US?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.061	---	-0.489*	---	0.929***	0.450**
	[0.225]		[0.273]		[0.329]	[0.204]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	0.111	---	0.301***	---	-0.225*	-0.103
	[0.111]		[0.095]		[0.117]	[0.098]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	---	-0.073	---	-0.216***	-0.181***
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Observations	1,523	---	1,532	---	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.176	---	0.180	---	0.193	0.186
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	[0.165]	[0.433]	[0.257]	[0.353]	[0.241]	[0.195]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.046	0.018	-0.007	0.024	0.001	-0.044
	[0.089]	[0.094]	[0.109]	[0.153]	[0.090]	[0.071]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	0.038	0.055**	-0.045	-0.035	-0.097*
		[0.034]	[0.024]	[0.061]	[0.036]	[0.050]
Observations	2,558	1,302	2,663	1,302	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.133	0.150	0.132	0.150	0.131	0.134
Log Likelihood	-1136	-547.2	-1182	-547.7	-1183	-1179

5. Loss aversion

- Does "Trade Hurts" treatment effect reflect loss aversion?
- **But**... no evidence of this (albeit with more limited sample size)

Dependent variable:	"Limits on imports" selected as one of up to three "Most Preferred" policies?					
Respondent variable in interaction term:	Household income	Loss aversion proxy	Trust in government	Trust in foreigners	Impact of NAFTA on family	Inequality a problem in the US?
MTurk:						
Trade Hurts	0.061	---	-0.489*	---	0.929***	0.450**
	[0.225]		[0.273]		[0.329]	[0.204]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	0.111	---	0.301***	---	-0.225*	-0.103
	[0.111]		[0.095]		[0.117]	[0.098]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	---	-0.073	---	-0.216***	-0.181***
			[0.062]		[0.054]	[0.057]
Observations	1,523	---	1,532	---	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.176	---	0.180	---	0.193	0.186
Log Likelihood	-618	---	-618.7	---	-609.3	-614.2
Qualtrics:						
Trade Hurts	0.348**	0.382	0.275	0.375	0.254	0.329*
	[0.165]	[0.433]	[0.257]	[0.353]	[0.241]	[0.195]
Trade Hurts × Resp. variable	-0.046	0.018	-0.007	0.024	0.001	-0.044
	[0.089]	[0.094]	[0.109]	[0.153]	[0.090]	[0.071]
Resp. variable	multiple coeffs.	0.038	0.055**	-0.045	-0.035	-0.097*
		[0.034]	[0.024]	[0.061]	[0.036]	[0.050]
Observations	2,558	1,302	2,663	1,302	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.133	0.150	0.132	0.150	0.131	0.134
Log Likelihood	-1136	-547.2	-1182	-547.7	-1183	-1179

What then? Reinforcing prior political positions

- "Trade Hurts" treatment amplifies the protectionist tendencies of respondents with a prior right-leaning position on economic policy matters

  . . . while lowering their support for policies – unemployment benefits, minimum wage – that would be identified with the left.

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
MTurk:								
β_1: Trade Hurts	0.102	0.183*	-0.092	-0.243*	0.290*	0.293	0.068	-0.042
× Econ. Liberal	[0.142]	[0.098]	[0.132]	[0.130]	[0.176]	[0.356]	[0.253]	[0.184]
β_2: Trade Hurts	-0.122	0.245	-0.305	0.028	-0.026	-0.293	-0.642**	0.540***
× Econ. Moderate	[0.168]	[0.223]	[0.259]	[0.245]	[0.167]	[0.407]	[0.273]	[0.139]
β_3: Trade Hurts	-0.266	-0.047	-0.389***	-0.248	0.354***	-0.163	0.257	0.333***
× Econ. Conservative	[0.167]	[0.142]	[0.125]	[0.296]	[0.113]	[0.206]	[0.218]	[0.123]
Econ. Liberal	0.323***	0.546***	0.218***	-0.025	-0.481***	-0.444*	-0.676**	-0.570***
	[0.125]	[0.123]	[0.044]	[0.053]	[0.162]	[0.251]	[0.276]	[0.198]
Econ. Conservative	-0.503***	-0.284**	-0.083	0.052	0.176	0.443***	0.131	0.474***
	[0.126]	[0.138]	[0.113]	[0.072]	[0.129]	[0.070]	[0.163]	[0.126]
p-value: $\beta_1 = \beta_2$	[0.182]	[0.821]	[0.519]	[0.126]	[0.209]	[0.245]	[0.144]	[0.036]
p-value: $\beta_3 = \beta_2$	[0.545]	[0.345]	[0.765]	[0.310]	[0.031]	[0.737]	[0.037]	[0.223]
	Controls included: Respondent characteristics, county characteristics, survey date dummies, policy randomization order.							
Observations	1,532	1,538	1,538	1,538	1,532	1,526	1,484	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.207	0.242	0.095	0.079	0.178	0.265	0.305	0.394
Log Likelihood	-754.4	-709.4	-773.1	-840.7	-620.7	-161.8	-334.5	-551.9

What then? Reinforcing prior political positions

- "Trade Hurts" treatment amplifies the protectionist tendencies of respondents with a prior right-leaning position on economic policy matters

  . . . while lowering their support for policies – unemployment benefits, minimum wage – that would be identified with the left.

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Qualtrics:								
Trade Hurts	-0.370***	-0.071	-0.131	0.064	0.220	-0.321	0.100	-0.034
× Econ. Liberal	[0.129]	[0.094]	[0.183]	[0.152]	[0.151]	[0.345]	[0.191]	[0.185]
Trade Hurts	-0.026	0.041	-0.089	0.088	0.111	-0.059	-0.270	-0.067
× Econ. Moderate	[0.134]	[0.124]	[0.139]	[0.177]	[0.160]	[0.227]	[0.213]	[0.178]
Trade Hurts	-0.198	-0.454***	-0.142	0.160	0.421***	-0.246	0.141	0.053
× Econ. Conservative	[0.122]	[0.095]	[0.150]	[0.124]	[0.090]	[0.258]	[0.159]	[0.145]
Econ. Liberal	0.208***	0.034	0.056	-0.081	-0.050	-0.156	-0.050	-0.200**
	[0.080]	[0.071]	[0.059]	[0.079]	[0.096]	[0.161]	[0.091]	[0.088]
Econ. Conservative	-0.220***	-0.287***	-0.141*	-0.162**	0.110	0.027	0.229**	0.447***
	[0.062]	[0.063]	[0.079]	[0.077]	[0.070]	[0.126]	[0.092]	[0.084]
p-value: $\beta_1 = \beta_2$	[0.025]	[0.470]	[0.766]	[0.919]	[0.551]	[0.571]	[0.108]	[0.902]
p-value: $\beta_3 = \beta_2$	[0.364]	[0.000]	[0.714]	[0.625]	[0.052]	[0.598]	[0.028]	[0.578]
	Controls included: Respondent characteristics, county characteristics, survey date dummies, policy randomization order.							
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,515	2,646	2,659
Pseudo R-squared	0.155	0.161	0.084	0.050	0.132	0.112	0.168	0.306
Log Likelihood	-1554	-1474	-1464	-1677	-1182	-467.1	-757.1	-1148

Why Limits Imports?

Reasons for picking more limits on imports (Round 4)

TREATMENT RECEIVED:	Trade Helps Prices, "China" only	Trade Helps Prices, "cheaper" only
Reasons for picking more limits on imports (5=Strongly agree, 1=Strongly disagree)		
Not persuaded by the information treatment	3.22 [1.14]	3.42 [1.05]
Imports are often of lower quality	3.69 [1.08]	3.76 [1.08]
Imports often compete for jobs with US workers	3.94 [1.21]	3.99 [1.02]
Imports are a potential threat to US national security	3.37 [1.22]	3.68 [1.08]
Concerned about US imports from countries such as China	3.99 [1.14]	4.06 [1.02]
There are other more important concerns	3.71 [1.09]	3.81 [0.97]

Role of Covid

Expressed Policy Preferences (Unconditional Means)

	SURVEY:	Round 2, 2020 (N=5,926)	Round 3, 2021 (N=4,058)
COVID related questions			
Has covid-19 affected your views on trade policy?		0.51 [0.50]	0.36 [0.48]
In view of the covid-19 pandemic, countries should…			
Be able to restrict the export of medical products and health equipment		0.22 [0.41]	0.19 [0.39]
Avoid imposing tariffs on imports of medical products and health equipment		0.38 [0.49]	0.37 [0.48]
Avoid imposing tariffs on imports of goods needed in supply chains		0.28 [0.45]	0.28 [0.45]
Keep the manufacture of goods needed in supply chains at home and avoid moving production abro		0.37 [0.48]	0.36 [0.48]
Be able to restrict the movement of people across borders		0.46 [0.50]	0.46 [0.50]
None of the above		0.14 [0.35]	0.14 [0.35]

Concluding Remarks

Concluding remarks

- As an information treatment, "Trade Hurts" narrative shifts policy preferences towards being more protectionist
- Randomization allows for a causal interpretation, while consistent finding across different survey samples lends credence to broader validity
- Driven by participants who recall the treatment
- Underlying mechanism: "Trade Hurts" narrative appears related to jobs, China; Mentioning Services job gains does not seem to help.
- Underlying mechanism: Reinforce the protectionist tendencies of respondents who identify with the (current) economic platform of the party

Concluding remarks

- As an information treatment, "Trade Hurts" narrative shifts policy preferences towards being more protectionist
- Randomization allows for a causal interpretation, while consistent finding across different survey samples lends credence to broader validity
- Driven by participants who recall the treatment
- Underlying mechanism: "Trade Hurts" narrative appears related to jobs, China; Mentioning Services job gains does not seem to help.
- Underlying mechanism: Reinforce the protectionist tendencies of respondents who identify with the (current) economic platform of the party

Broader picture:

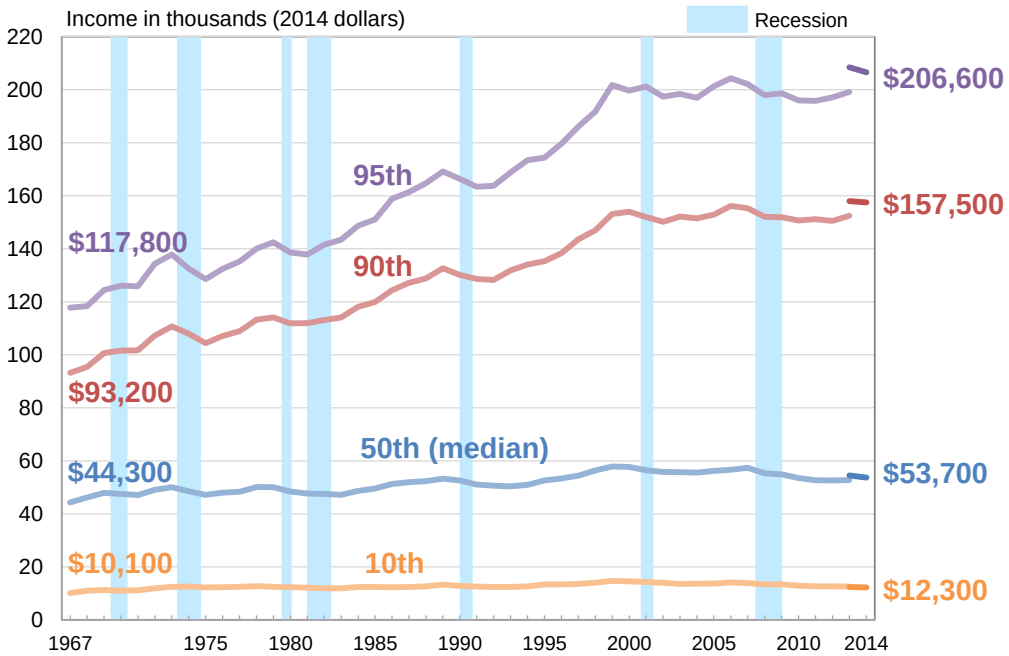
- Policy implications: What does this imply for public education and messaging with regard to the benefits and costs of globalization?
  - One response: Pessimism about "quick/online" communication/messaging efforts on the benefits of trade liberalization research
  - A role still for such efforts? If only to counter the "Trade Hurts" narratives that have become more prevalent.

Supplementary Slides

Baseline: Information on inequality trends

In the last 30 years, income inequality has increased substantially in many countries. This rise in inequality is shown below for the case of the United States. Since 1980, the earnings of workers at the top of the income distribution **has risen much faster** *than the earnings of workers near the bottom.*

Real Household Income at Selected Percentiles:
1967 to 2014



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 1968 to 2015 Annual Social and Economic Supplements.

Baseline: Information on inequality trends (cont.)

The table below shows household income in the United States in 2012. Households in the top 1% have an annual income that is **more than 30 times** *the household income in the bottom 10%.*

Percentile	Household Income
Top 1%	$383,001
Top 5%	$188,001
Top 10%	$140,001
Top 25%	$89,125
Top 50%	$50,742
Bottom 25%	$25,411
Bottom 10%	$12,154

Source: U.S. Census

Treatments 1-3: Preamble

Preamble:

> *Economics researchers have studied this recent rise in inequality, including whether or not globalization and competition from imports have hurt low-skill workers.*

▸ Go: Treatment 1 ▸ Go: Treatment 2 ▸ Go: Treatment 3 ▸ Go: Treatment 4 ▸ Go: Treatment 5

Treatment 1: Information + "Trade Hurts"

Back

Based on Autor, Dorn and Hanson (AER 2013):

> *A line of recent research has shown that the United States substantially increased its imports from China, after China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. This was a major force behind the fall in U.S. employment in the manufacturing sector, as the figure below shows. This led to weak wage growth for the middle- and low-income workers who used to hold these manufacturing jobs.*

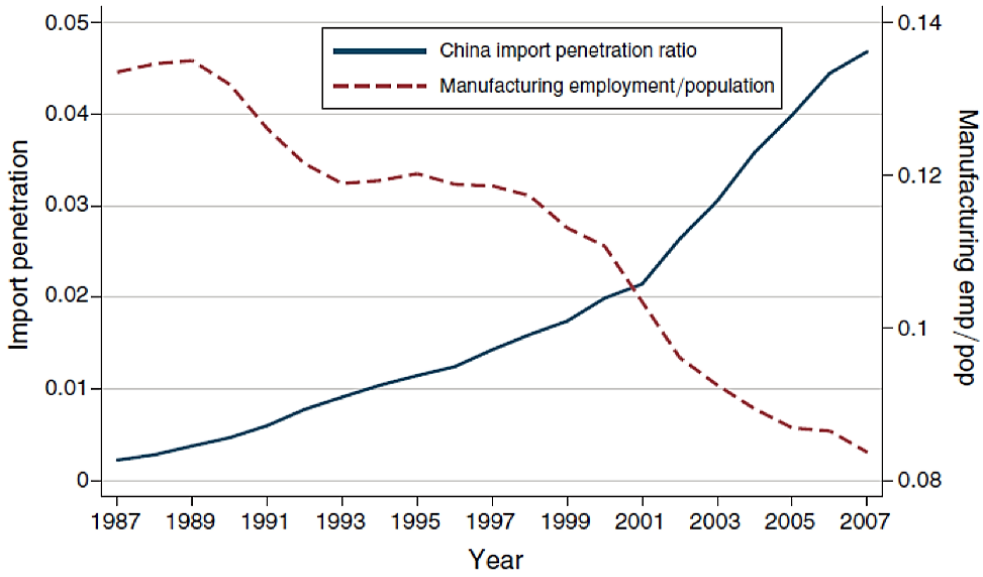
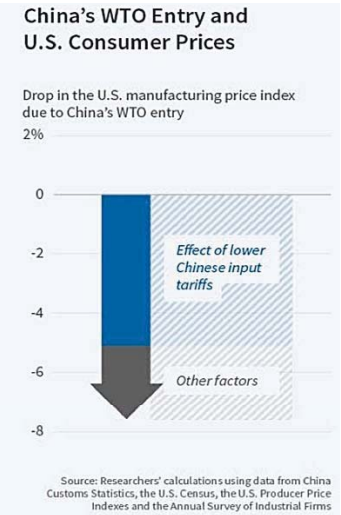


FIGURE 1. IMPORT PENETRATION RATIO FOR US IMPORTS FROM CHINA (*left scale*), AND SHARE OF US WORKING-AGE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING (*right scale*)

Treatment 2: Information + "Trade Helps"

Based on Amiti, Dai, Feenstra, Romalis (2017); Caliendo, Dvorkin, Parro (2019):

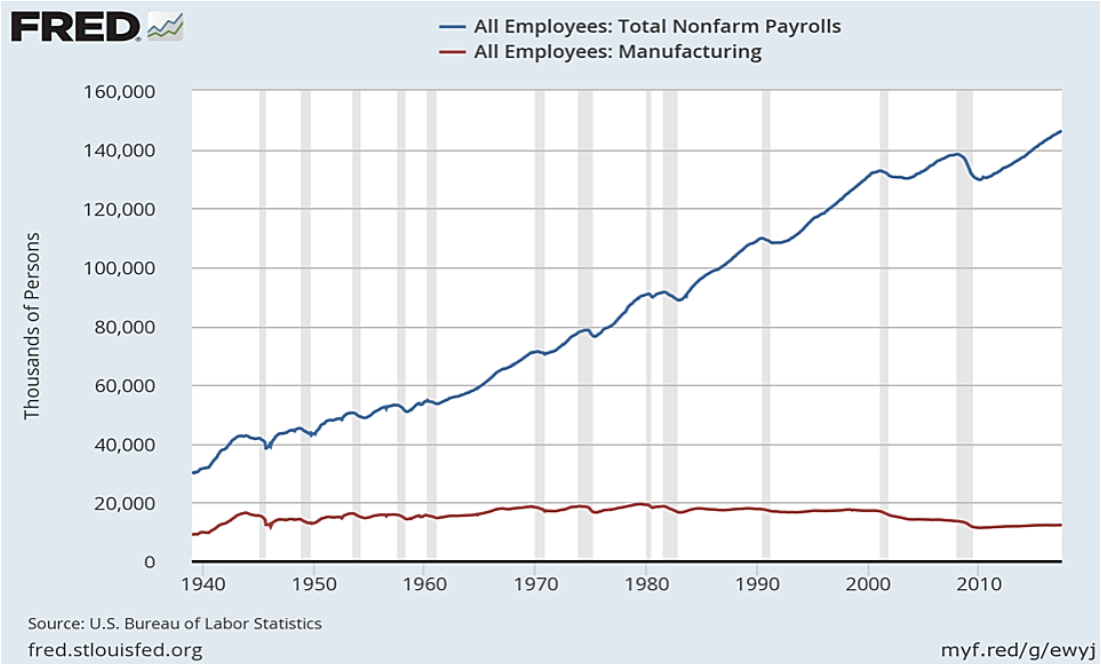
> *A line of recent research has shown that the United States substantially increased its imports from China, after China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. This resulted in a fall in the prices of manufacturing inputs – such as parts and components – imported into the U.S. This lowered production costs, which made U.S. manufacturing firms more cost-competitive. As the figure below shows, the prices of U.S. manufactured goods fell as a result. Researchers have found that up to two-thirds of this fall in prices was due to China's entry into the WTO.*



Treatment 2: Information + "Trade Helps" (cont.)

Back

As U.S. firms became more competitive, this helped to increase the number of nonmanufacturing jobs in the U.S. economy. The figure below shows that the rise in total jobs over the last decades was substantial. This more than exceeded the fall in manufacturing jobs.



Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, based on U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Treatment 3: Information + "It's technology"

Based on Acemoglu (2003):

> *A line of recent research has found that technological progress was the main reason for the rise in income inequality in the United States, and not globalization. Technological advances, such as the spread of computers and automation, have favored skilled workers. Some jobs that used to be performed by unskilled workers were also replaced by new technologies.*

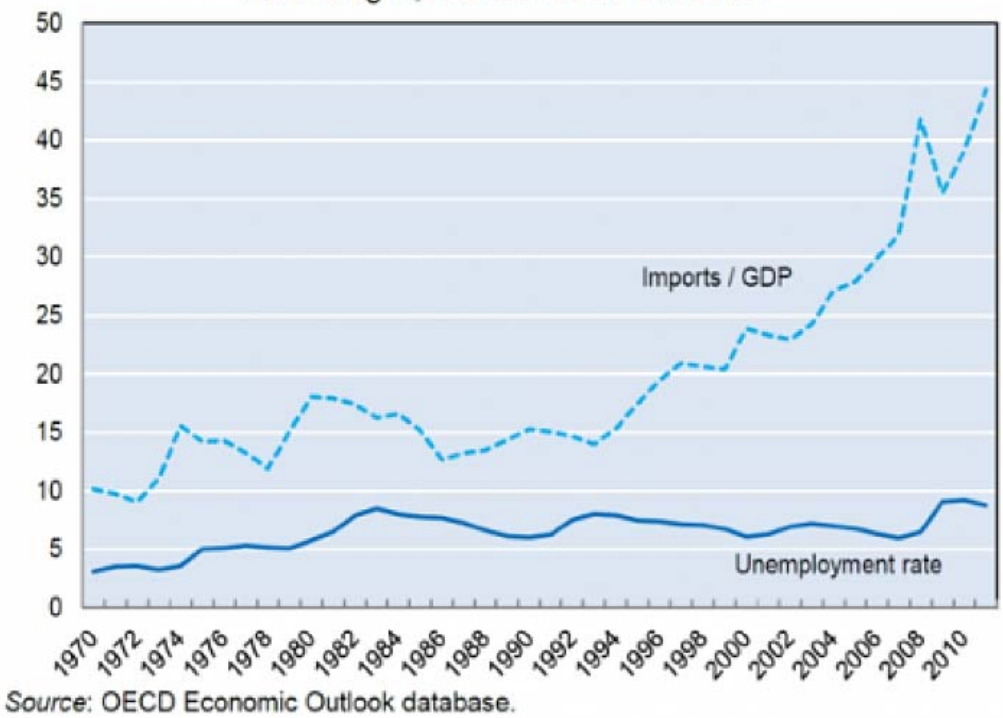
Treatment 3: Information + "It's technology" (cont.)

Back

Further, as the figure below shows, there is little apparent relationship between rising imports and unemployment in the long run among developed countries.

Figure 1 Rising imports are uncorrelated with unemployment in the long run

Percentages, selected OECD countries



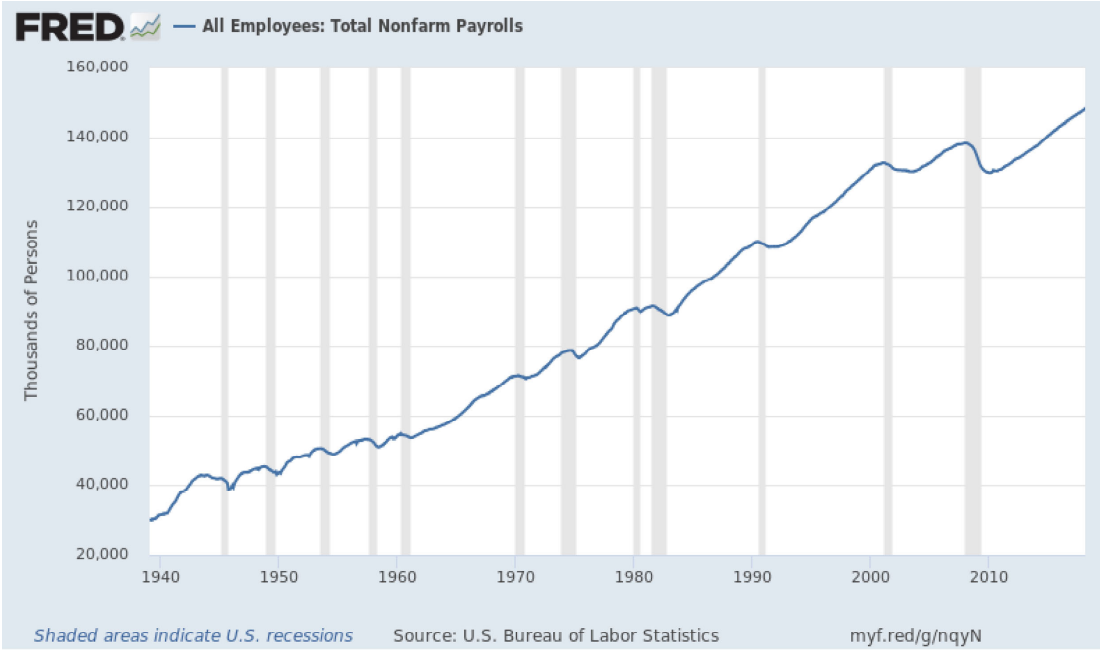
Source: OECD Economic Outlook database.

Source: OECD (2012), Policy Priorities for International Trade and Jobs.

Treatment 4: Information + "Trade Helps Simplified"

Back

A line of recent research has shown that the United States substantially increased its imports from China, after China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. This enabled the U.S. to specialize more in the service sectors in which it is particularly productive, helping to increase the number of jobs in the U.S. economy. The figure below shows that the rise in total jobs over the last decades was substantial.

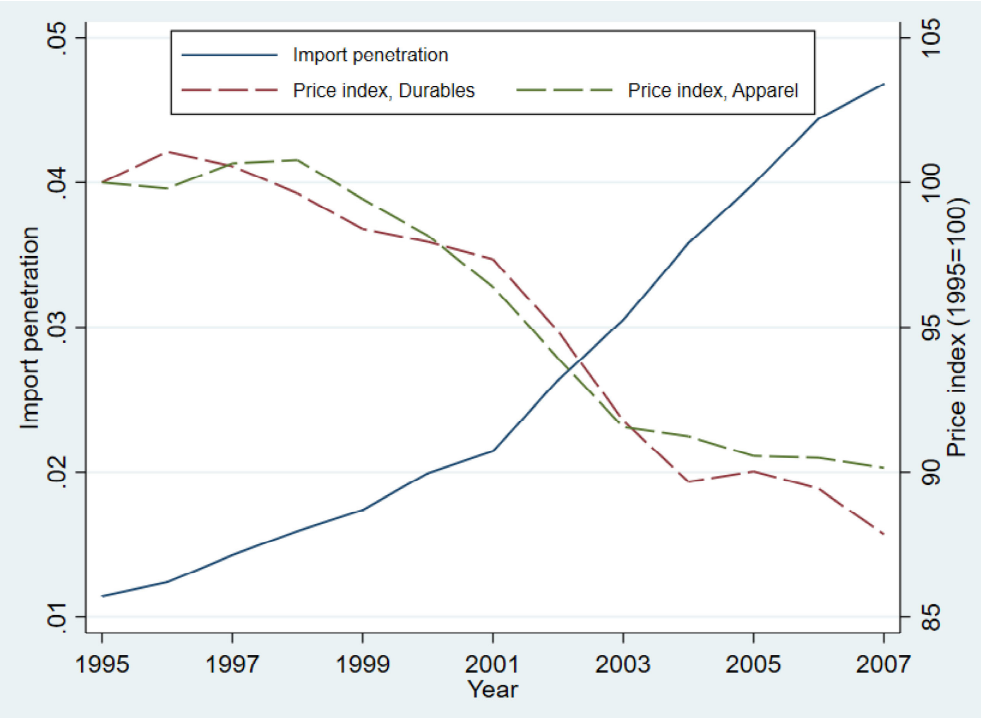


Source: Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, based on U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Treatment 5: Information + "Trade Helps Prices"

Back

A line of recent research has shown that the United States substantially increased its imports from China, after China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. This was a major force behind the availability of cheaper goods, which benefited Americans. As imports from China increased, the prices of durable goods (computers, electrical products, furniture etc) and of nondurable goods such as apparel all saw declines, as the figure below shows.



Treatment balance: Details (MTurk, selected variables)

Return

TREATMENT:	Control (N = 326)	Baseline Info (N = 314)	Trade Hurts (N = 301)	Trade Helps (N = 304)	Its Tech (N = 318)	Trade Hurts Helps (N = 304)	Trade Helps Hurts (N = 308)
Biodata							
Gender: Male	0.47 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.48 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]
Gender: Female	0.52 [0.50]	0.48 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.48 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]
Age: Average (approx.)	35.52 [10.56]	36.62 [11.91]	35.81 [11.27]	36.41 [12.72]	36.35 [12.07]	36.64 [11.63]	36.88 [11.44]
Race: White	0.80 [0.40]	0.77 [0.42]	0.80 [0.40]	0.79 [0.41]	0.77 [0.42]	0.77 [0.42]	0.82 [0.38]
Race: African-American	0.09 [0.29]	0.11 [0.31]	0.08 [0.27]	0.08 [0.26]	0.09 [0.29]	0.07 [0.25]	0.07 [0.25]
Race: Hispanic	0.05 [0.21]	0.05 [0.21]	0.05 [0.22]	0.06 [0.24]	0.06 [0.24]	0.06 [0.24]	0.03 [0.17]
Born in US?	0.96 [0.20]	0.97 [0.17]	0.98 [0.14]	0.96 [0.20]	0.97 [0.17]	0.96 [0.19]	0.98 [0.14]
Socio-Economic Characteristics							
Household Income: Average $ (approx.)	58,488 [40,475]	59,776 [40,503]	61,410 [44,285]	58,278 [42,083]	55,284 [40,537]	61,755 [39,809]	65,656 [47,672]
Education: Average years (approx.)	14.53 [3.31]	14.50 [3.26]	14.49 [3.23]	13.98 [3.61]	14.42 [3.39]	14.59 [3.16]	14.15 [3.55]
Employment Status: Not in Labor Force	0.10 [0.31]	0.11 [0.32]	0.14 [0.35]	0.18 [0.39]	0.12 [0.33]	0.12 [0.33]	0.13 [0.33]
Employment Status: Unemployed	0.05 [0.21]	0.02 [0.14]	0.05 [0.22]	0.04 [0.20]	0.05 [0.22]	0.05 [0.22]	0.05 [0.22]
Employment Status: Employed	0.85 [0.36]	0.87 [0.34]	0.81 [0.39]	0.78 [0.42]	0.83 [0.38]	0.82 [0.38]	0.82 [0.38]
Employment Sector: Manufacturing	0.08 [0.27]	0.09 [0.29]	0.07 [0.26]	0.06 [0.24]	0.07 [0.26]	0.09 [0.29]	0.06 [0.25]
Employment Sector: Services	0.75 [0.43]	0.76 [0.43]	0.73 [0.45]	0.70 [0.46]	0.74 [0.44]	0.72 [0.45]	0.74 [0.44]
Student?	0.02 [0.15]	0.03 [0.18]	0.03 [0.18]	0.05 [0.21]	0.03 [0.16]	0.01 [0.11]	0.03 [0.17]
Baseline Socio-Political Attributes							
Presidential election: Supported Dem.	0.54 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.55 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.46 [0.50]	0.47 [0.50]
Presidential election: Supported Rep.	0.23 [0.42]	0.27 [0.44]	0.22 [0.42]	0.27 [0.44]	0.28 [0.45]	0.27 [0.44]	0.29 [0.46]
Economic Policy: Liberal	0.53 [0.50]	0.44 [0.50]	0.58 [0.49]	0.51 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.45 [0.50]	0.42 [0.49]
Economic Policy: Conservative	0.27 [0.45]	0.36 [0.48]	0.23 [0.42]	0.28 [0.45]	0.30 [0.46]	0.31 [0.46]	0.32 [0.47]
Trust in government? (Scale: 1 to 5)	2.42 [0.87]	2.50 [0.86]	2.41 [0.84]	2.40 [0.85]	2.48 [0.87]	2.40 [0.79]	2.44 [0.90]
Location (County) Variables							
Share age >=25 with college degree	0.33 [0.11]	0.32 [0.11]	0.33 [0.11]	0.32 [0.11]	0.32 [0.11]	0.32 [0.11]	0.32 [0.11]
ADH China import shock, 1990s	1.14 [0.92]	1.17 [0.95]	1.14 [0.87]	1.14 [0.80]	1.13 [0.82]	1.12 [0.95]	1.16 [0.83]
ADH China import shock, 2000s	2.57 [2.10]	2.76 [1.99]	2.75 [2.73]	2.74 [2.13]	2.64 [1.97]	2.61 [1.90]	2.66 [2.16]
Household median income, 2013-17	59,270 [15,633]	57,916 [13,484]	59,312 [14,496]	58,656 [14,731]	58,406 [13,763]	57,675 [14,927]	58,930 [15,286]
Gini index, 2013-17	0.47 [0.04]	0.46 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]
Unemployment rate, 2017	4.35 [1.03]	4.37 [1.04]	4.38 [1.09]	4.39 [0.95]	4.40 [1.10]	4.45 [1.04]	4.40 [1.09]
Survey Characteristics							
Duration to complete (secs.)	396 [184]	469 [247]	457 [207]	514 [237]	477 [244]	500 [256]	530 [275]

Treatment balance: Details (Qualtrics pooled, selected variables)

Return

TREATMENT:	Control (N = 471)	Baseline Info (N = 467)	Trade Hurts (N = 449)	Trade Helps (N = 453)	Its Tech (N = 463)	Trade Hurts Helps (N = 465)	Trade Helps Hurts (N = 456)	Trade Helps Prices (N = 449)	Trade Helps Simpl. (N = 417)
Biodata									
Gender: Male	0.46 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]	0.47 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]	0.46 [0.50]	0.47 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.49 [0.50]
Gender: Female	0.54 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.53 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.54 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]	0.50 [0.50]
Age: Average (approx.)	46.6 [17.6]	45.9 [16.6]	48.4 [17.1]	47.4 [16.6]	46.3 [16.5]	46.5 [16.4]	47.1 [16.5]	47.2 [16.5]	46.7 [17.6]
Race: White	0.58 [0.49]	0.59 [0.49]	0.61 [0.49]	0.61 [0.49]	0.60 [0.49]	0.57 [0.50]	0.60 [0.49]	0.61 [0.49]	0.62 [0.49]
Race: African-American	0.13 [0.33]	0.13 [0.33]	0.10 [0.30]	0.09 [0.29]	0.12 [0.32]	0.12 [0.33]	0.11 [0.32]	0.11 [0.32]	0.12 [0.33]
Race: Hispanic	0.15 [0.36]	0.17 [0.38]	0.18 [0.38]	0.18 [0.38]	0.17 [0.38]	0.19 [0.39]	0.17 [0.38]	0.16 [0.37]	0.18 [0.38]
Born in US?	0.92 [0.28]	0.91 [0.28]	0.93 [0.26]	0.92 [0.27]	0.92 [0.27]	0.92 [0.27]	0.93 [0.26]	0.92 [0.26]	0.93 [0.25]
Socio-Economic Characteristics									
Household Income: Average $ (approx.)	57,183 [45,988]	62,417 [46,760]	56,977 [45,875]	58,065 [45,159]	56,377 [44,081]	54,825 [41,915]	55,892 [43,577]	57,102 [44,326]	61,783 [50,620]
Education: Average years (approx.)	12.14 [4.87]	12.09 [4.84]	12.09 [4.82]	12.00 [4.83]	11.78 [4.85]	11.85 [4.89]	11.96 [4.75]	11.98 [4.83]	11.88 [4.97]
Employment Status: Not in Labor Force	0.43 [0.50]	0.38 [0.49]	0.41 [0.49]	0.40 [0.49]	0.40 [0.49]	0.39 [0.49]	0.40 [0.49]	0.41 [0.49]	0.38 [0.49]
Employment Status: Unemployed	0.10 [0.31]	0.08 [0.27]	0.08 [0.26]	0.08 [0.27]	0.08 [0.27]	0.10 [0.30]	0.08 [0.28]	0.08 [0.28]	0.09 [0.29]
Employment Status: Employed	0.47 [0.50]	0.54 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.52 [0.50]	0.51 [0.50]	0.53 [0.50]
Employment Sector: Manufacturing	0.05 [0.22]	0.06 [0.24]	0.08 [0.26]	0.06 [0.25]	0.07 [0.25]	0.06 [0.23]	0.08 [0.27]	0.06 [0.24]	0.09 [0.29]
Employment Sector: Services	0.38 [0.49]	0.44 [0.50]	0.41 [0.49]	0.43 [0.50]	0.42 [0.49]	0.43 [0.50]	0.39 [0.49]	0.41 [0.49]	0.41 [0.49]
Student?	0.05 [0.22]	0.04 [0.20]	0.03 [0.17]	0.04 [0.20]	0.06 [0.23]	0.04 [0.20]	0.03 [0.17]	0.04 [0.19]	0.03 [0.17]
Baseline Socio-Political Attributes									
Presidential election: Supported Dem.	0.44 [0.50]	0.47 [0.50]	0.42 [0.49]	0.42 [0.49]	0.44 [0.50]	0.44 [0.50]	0.43 [0.49]	0.41 [0.49]	0.44 [0.50]
Presidential election: Supported Rep.	0.34 [0.47]	0.30 [0.46]	0.32 [0.47]	0.32 [0.47]	0.31 [0.46]	0.33 [0.47]	0.37 [0.48]	0.33 [0.47]	0.31 [0.46]
Economic Policy: Liberal	0.29 [0.46]	0.30 [0.46]	0.32 [0.47]	0.29 [0.46]	0.32 [0.47]	0.31 [0.46]	0.26 [0.44]	0.31 [0.46]	0.33 [0.47]
Economic Policy: Conservative	0.34 [0.47]	0.32 [0.47]	0.32 [0.47]	0.36 [0.48]	0.30 [0.46]	0.31 [0.46]	0.36 [0.48]	0.35 [0.48]	0.32 [0.47]
Trust in government? (Scale: 1 to 5)	2.36 [1.03]	2.44 [0.98]	2.37 [1.04]	2.46 [1.03]	2.52 [1.05]	2.53 [1.00]	2.55 [1.08]	2.49 [1.02]	2.59 [0.99]
Location (County) Variables									
Share age >=25 with college degree	0.31 [0.11]	0.31 [0.11]	0.30 [0.10]	0.31 [0.11]	0.30 [0.11]	0.30 [0.10]	0.30 [0.11]	0.29 [0.11]	0.30 [0.10]
ADH China import shock, 1990s	1.08 [0.80]	1.08 [0.85]	1.11 [0.93]	1.14 [1.03]	1.07 [0.72]	1.11 [0.84]	1.03 [0.68]	1.16 [1.42]	1.08 [0.87]
ADH China import shock, 2000s	2.61 [1.89]	2.58 [1.96]	2.51 [1.68]	2.62 [1.88]	2.64 [2.16]	2.58 [1.72]	2.52 [2.00]	2.60 [2.13]	2.59 [1.88]
Household median income, 2013-17	58,344 [14,490]	59,184 [14,773]	57,984 [14,662]	59,116 [16,555]	57,555 [15,212]	58,287 [13,943]	58,509 [14,931]	57,561 [14,432]	58,265 [13,988]
Gini index, 2013-17	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.46 [0.04]	0.46 [0.03]	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.47 [0.04]	0.46 [0.04]	0.46 [0.04]
Unemployment rate, 2017	4.52 [1.13]	4.56 [1.15]	4.50 [1.19]	4.48 [1.15]	4.52 [1.12]	4.56 [1.11]	4.44 [1.07]	4.59 [1.19]	4.53 [1.20]
Survey Characteristics									
Duration to complete (secs.)	539 [358]	584 [407]	575 [285]	623 [451]	620 [490]	611 [422]	620 [378]	661 [405]	679 [530]

Binary Questions

Return

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) More limits on imports	(2) Favor tariff rate increase	(3) Support min wage	(4) Support prog tax	(5) Support higher tariff	(6) Support more FTAs	(7) Support exiting FTAs
MTurk:							
Baseline Info	0.0322	0.0223	0.0647	0.1223	-0.0838	0.0440	0.0937
	[0.1290]	[0.1254]	[0.1012]	[0.0768]	[0.1198]	[0.1109]	[0.0728]
Trade Hurts	0.4409***	0.2809**	0.3005***	0.0162	0.3165***	-0.1740*	0.0253
	[0.1256]	[0.1326]	[0.1074]	[0.0993]	[0.1095]	[0.1032]	[0.1457]
Trade Helps	0.2087**	0.0791	-0.1984	-0.0020	-0.0448	-0.0311	-0.1229
	[0.0930]	[0.1662]	[0.1488]	[0.1132]	[0.1300]	[0.1174]	[0.1290]
It's Technology	-0.1620	-0.0443	0.1032	-0.0041	-0.0678	0.1072	-0.1183
	[0.1015]	[0.0802]	[0.1602]	[0.1517]	[0.1190]	[0.1203]	[0.1376]
	Controls included: Respondent characteristics, county characteristics, survey date dummies.						
Observations	1,538	1,529	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,538	1,526
Pseudo R-squared	0.130	0.101	0.299	0.264	0.180	0.122	0.109
Log Likelihood	-917.6	-592.7	-519.1	-612.1	-771.7	-878.3	-858.4
Qualtrics:							
Baseline Info	0.1317	0.2349***	-0.1176	-0.0418	0.3065***	-0.0386	-0.0076
	[0.0853]	[0.0691]	[0.1132]	[0.0947]	[0.0667]	[0.1006]	[0.0657]
Trade Hurts	0.1412*	0.1622	-0.2528***	0.0653	0.2478***	-0.1267	-0.0508
	[0.0851]	[0.1067]	[0.0822]	[0.0864]	[0.0901]	[0.0927]	[0.0651]
Trade Helps	0.1600*	0.0137	-0.0721	0.0181	0.2426***	-0.1023	-0.0869
	[0.0824]	[0.0632]	[0.1002]	[0.1007]	[0.0692]	[0.1234]	[0.0709]
It's Technology	0.1100	0.0415	0.0138	-0.0235	0.2140***	-0.0634	0.0369
	[0.1013]	[0.0775]	[0.1064]	[0.0855]	[0.0573]	[0.1125]	[0.0826]
Trade Helps Prices	0.1911**	0.0642	-0.1780	-0.1498	0.2990***	-0.0992	0.0337
	[0.0766]	[0.1045]	[0.1394]	[0.0923]	[0.0844]	[0.0918]	[0.0818]
	Controls included: Respondent characteristics, county characteristics, survey date dummies.						
Observations	2,663	2,659	2,663	2,663	2,659	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.118	0.0926	0.186	0.123	0.0928	0.0851	0.0839
Log Likelihood	-1619	-1377	-1126	-1420	-1642	-1484	-1669

"Least Preferred" Policy (MTurk)

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Treament dummies:								
Baseline Info	0.185	-0.153**	0.049	0.051	0.059	0.029	-0.021	-0.038
	[0.140]	[0.077]	[0.048]	[0.198]	[0.101]	[0.097]	[0.086]	[0.108]
Trade Hurts	0.220**	-0.278***	0.242**	0.209	-0.239**	0.203**	-0.045	-0.078
	[0.102]	[0.066]	[0.097]	[0.185]	[0.104]	[0.097]	[0.139]	[0.122]
Trade Helps	0.028	0.066	0.198***	-0.131	-0.101	0.031	0.011	-0.050
	[0.090]	[0.114]	[0.065]	[0.234]	[0.070]	[0.109]	[0.132]	[0.092]
It's Technology	0.092	-0.189	0.035	-0.032	-0.021	-0.001	0.010	0.066
	[0.132]	[0.129]	[0.096]	[0.151]	[0.104]	[0.137]	[0.119]	[0.148]
Randomization order:	0.028	-0.012	0.011	-0.001	0.011	0.014	0.008	-0.020
	[0.021]	[0.019]	[0.028]	[0.035]	[0.017]	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.017]
Observations	1,532	1,532	1,532	1,412	1,532	1,538	1,532	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.278	0.289	0.188	0.221	0.107	0.0750	0.125	0.269
Log Likelihood	-484.9	-468.1	-786.8	-217.1	-929	-732.5	-923.6	-774.8

"Least Preferred" Policy (Qualtrics pooled) ▶ Return

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Treament dummies:								
Baseline Info	-0.031	-0.010	0.016	-0.155	-0.051	0.019	-0.123	0.065
	[0.086]	[0.134]	[0.087]	[0.128]	[0.125]	[0.104]	[0.084]	[0.077]
Trade Hurts	0.086	0.055	0.009	-0.062	-0.185*	0.087	-0.085	-0.019
	[0.090]	[0.127]	[0.106]	[0.120]	[0.104]	[0.071]	[0.085]	[0.076]
Trade Helps	0.066	0.012	-0.007	-0.210**	-0.030	0.065	-0.067	-0.001
	[0.100]	[0.089]	[0.097]	[0.105]	[0.099]	[0.095]	[0.100]	[0.059]
Trade Helps Prices	0.106	0.063	-0.079	0.131	-0.075	-0.054	-0.086	0.037
	[0.082]	[0.149]	[0.078]	[0.112]	[0.096]	[0.060]	[0.109]	[0.117]
It's Technology	0.183*	-0.039	-0.117	-0.136	-0.074	0.006	-0.092	0.056
	[0.110]	[0.120]	[0.103]	[0.115]	[0.090]	[0.084]	[0.071]	[0.106]
Randomization order:	0.005	-0.002	-0.001	-0.018	0.034***	-0.001	-0.006	0.019**
	[0.010]	[0.012]	[0.014]	[0.016]	[0.010]	[0.016]	[0.011]	[0.008]
Observations	2,659	2,659	2,659	2,659	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663
Pseudo R-squared	0.126	0.186	0.126	0.102	0.0663	0.0678	0.0812	0.195
Log Likelihood	-1171	-1056	-1419	-641.8	-1676	-1531	-1696	-1456

Other Covariates (MTurk, selected variables)

Return

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Respondent controls:								
Gender: Female	0.012	0.240**	-0.033	0.077	-0.016	-0.495***	-0.029	0.042
	[0.063]	[0.105]	[0.068]	[0.070]	[0.101]	[0.116]	[0.073]	[0.103]
Education: College	0.001	-0.159	-0.091	0.125	-0.151	0.267*	0.034	0.130
	[0.074]	[0.100]	[0.068]	[0.091]	[0.097]	[0.144]	[0.119]	[0.105]
Last pres. election:	0.340***	0.431***	-0.205	0.200***	-0.139	0.088	-1.026***	-0.465***
Supported Democrat	[0.100]	[0.073]	[0.153]	[0.052]	[0.157]	[0.191]	[0.115]	[0.129]
Last pres. election:	-0.154	-0.263**	-0.478***	-0.326***	0.359***	0.035	-0.020	0.800***
Supported Republican	[0.164]	[0.116]	[0.085]	[0.111]	[0.074]	[0.161]	[0.150]	[0.136]
Economic policy:	0.372***	0.539***	0.257***	-0.077	-0.419***	-0.298	-0.557**	-0.695***
Liberal	[0.112]	[0.099]	[0.082]	[0.066]	[0.143]	[0.247]	[0.222]	[0.167]
Economic policy:	-0.522***	-0.334***	-0.093	0.000	0.247**	0.471***	0.285	0.428***
Conservative	[0.108]	[0.098]	[0.127]	[0.077]	[0.112]	[0.090]	[0.175]	[0.110]
Main tv source:	0.142	-0.123	0.124	-0.058	-0.150	0.130	0.010	0.060
CNN, MSNBC	[0.098]	[0.112]	[0.082]	[0.147]	[0.099]	[0.270]	[0.220]	[0.142]
Main tv source:	-0.457***	-0.493***	-0.013	0.001	0.253	0.318	0.464***	0.475**
Fox News	[0.093]	[0.097]	[0.169]	[0.163]	[0.156]	[0.274]	[0.136]	[0.186]
	Unreported: Dummies for age group, race, born in US, household income bins, employment status, sector, BEA region, survey date, frequency following current affairs, tv news sources, social media as a news source.							
County controls:								
Manuf. Employment share	-0.315	0.641	3.068***	-4.554***	1.887	8.663**	-1.321	-1.089
	[1.251]	[0.781]	[1.154]	[1.749]	[1.277]	[3.891]	[1.705]	[2.154]
ADH China shock 1990s	-0.047	0.030	-0.007	0.011	0.171***	0.120	-0.030	-0.113**
	[0.052]	[0.048]	[0.082]	[0.040]	[0.043]	[0.078]	[0.045]	[0.047]
ADH China shock 2000s	-0.018	-0.030	0.000	0.013	-0.008	-0.141***	0.057***	0.041**
	[0.018]	[0.027]	[0.024]	[0.016]	[0.014]	[0.046]	[0.016]	[0.016]
	Unreported: Population share of females, of age groups, of race, of foreign-born; sectoral employment shares; college-educated share; log household median income; Gini index; unemployment rate; urban dummy.							
Observations	1,532	1,538	1,538	1,538	1,532	1,526	1,484	1,532
Pseudo R-squared	0.205	0.241	0.0941	0.0786	0.176	0.261	0.299	0.392
Log Likelihood	-755.7	-710	-773.9	-841.4	-621.6	-162.6	-337.4	-554.1

Other Covariates (Qualtrics pooled, select variables)

Return

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Respondent controls:								
Gender: Female	0.067	0.270***	0.034	0.064	-0.057	-0.325***	-0.172*	-0.069
	[0.045]	[0.050]	[0.041]	[0.065]	[0.048]	[0.108]	[0.098]	[0.073]
Education: College	0.027	-0.130**	-0.110	0.213**	0.069	0.006	0.209***	-0.079
	[0.048]	[0.056]	[0.078]	[0.098]	[0.077]	[0.073]	[0.080]	[0.077]
Last pres. election:	0.172**	0.319***	0.156***	0.122**	-0.445***	0.029	-0.285**	-0.574***
Supported Democrat	[0.076]	[0.075]	[0.059]	[0.061]	[0.080]	[0.123]	[0.124]	[0.089]
Last pres. election:	-0.451***	-0.405***	-0.264***	-0.061	0.314***	0.039	0.265**	0.547***
Supported Republican	[0.076]	[0.069]	[0.060]	[0.073]	[0.085]	[0.101]	[0.112]	[0.094]
Economic policy:	0.153**	0.015	0.050	-0.085	-0.031	-0.194	0.009	-0.195***
Liberal	[0.070]	[0.062]	[0.062]	[0.067]	[0.087]	[0.129]	[0.094]	[0.072]
Economic policy:	-0.248***	-0.367***	-0.149**	-0.151**	0.166**	-0.002	0.299***	0.467***
Conservative	[0.066]	[0.059]	[0.074]	[0.075]	[0.069]	[0.113]	[0.083]	[0.076]
Main tv source:	0.040	-0.090	-0.108	-0.043	-0.130	-0.059	0.091	0.023
CNN, MSNBC	[0.076]	[0.083]	[0.067]	[0.063]	[0.087]	[0.121]	[0.189]	[0.109]
Main tv source:	-0.651***	-0.455***	-0.172**	-0.044	0.146	-0.100	0.739***	0.672***
Fox News	[0.101]	[0.108]	[0.088]	[0.060]	[0.091]	[0.114]	[0.136]	[0.084]
	Unreported: Dummies for age group, race, born in US, household income bins, employment status, sector, BEA region, survey date, frequency following current affairs, tv news sources, social media as a news source.							
County controls:								
Manuf. Employment share	1.786***	-0.099	-1.053	-0.404	-0.407	2.480	0.180	0.083
	[0.457]	[0.888]	[0.949]	[0.712]	[0.741]	[2.164]	[0.995]	[1.083]
ADH China shock 1990s	-0.116**	0.040	0.059*	0.010	-0.007	0.024	0.023	-0.014
	[0.045]	[0.034]	[0.031]	[0.031]	[0.033]	[0.059]	[0.042]	[0.033]
ADH China shock 2000s	0.025**	-0.009	-0.027	-0.025*	0.030**	-0.006	-0.016	0.039*
	[0.013]	[0.018]	[0.022]	[0.013]	[0.014]	[0.032]	[0.032]	[0.020]
	Unreported: Population share of females, of age groups, of race, of foreign-born; sectoral employment shares; college-educated share; log household median income; Gini index; unemployment rate; urban dummy.							
Observations	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,663	2,515	2,646	2,659
Pseudo R-squared	0.154	0.159	0.0844	0.0502	0.131	0.112	0.167	0.306
Log Likelihood	-1555	-1479	-1464	-1677	-1184	-467.5	-758.8	-1148

Some findings from the MTurk follow-up

- Conducted about 2-3 months after baseline; 1,758 out of 2,510 responses
- $\mathbf{1}(Policy_i)$ in the baseline survey is a significant predictor of whether respondent selects it as an MP policy in the follow-up
- **But**... evidence that this can be attributed to the treatment from the baseline survey is mixed

POLICY OPTIONS:	(1) Progressive tax	(2) Minimum wage	(3) Unemploy. Benefits	(4) Improve education	(5) Limits on imports	(6) Weaken US Dollar	(7) Exit existing FTAs	(8) Limits on immigration
Mturk follow-up:								
Pure Info	-0.0520***	-0.1412	0.0770	-0.0413	-0.2036	0.2072	-0.1078	0.1652***
	[0.0122]	[0.0904]	[0.0640]	[0.1008]	[0.1572]	[0.1454]	[0.0777]	[0.0402]
_Trade_Hurts	-0.1429**	-0.0817	0.1217	-0.0477	0.0079	0.3130***	-0.2404**	0.0653
	[0.0561]	[0.0854]	[0.1003]	[0.1221]	[0.1625]	[0.1184]	[0.1211]	[0.1108]
_Trade_Helps	-0.0161	-0.1532	0.0772	-0.0010	-0.0645	0.4153**	-0.0865	-0.0149
	[0.0970]	[0.1111]	[0.0987]	[0.0218]	[0.1577]	[0.1626]	[0.0995]	[0.1524]
_Its_Technology	-0.0080	0.0486	0.2384***	-0.0866	-0.1284	0.4878***	-0.1700	-0.0071
	[0.1198]	[0.1140]	[0.0571]	[0.0738]	[0.1866]	[0.1548]	[0.2117]	[0.0739]
Observations	1,219	1,212	1,219	1,219	1,219	1,208	1,219	1,206
Pseudo R-squared	0.170	0.220	0.0976	0.0973	0.188	0.226	0.263	0.336
Log Likelihood	-658.5	-581.5	-610.8	-653.1	-479.1	-184.6	-317.4	-476