ONLINE APPENDIX for

"Understanding of Trade" by Stefanie Stantcheva

Contents

A Additional Tables and Figures

TABLE A-1: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE AND TRADE POLICY

	US imports most from China (1)	US exports most to Canada (2)	Knows what quota is (3)	Knows what an import tariff is (4)	Believe prices abroad ↑ if export tax ↑ (5)	Believe US prices ↑ if import tariff ↑ (6)	Even if US can produce goods at lower cost, may still make sense to import (7)
Panel A: Personal characteristics							
Female	0.11***	-0.06***	-0.16***	-0.11***	0.05*	-0.01	-0.14***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age 30-49	-0.01	-0.08***	-0.00	0.04	0.04	0.05	-0.05*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age 50-69	0.09***	-0.01	0.05	0.14***	0.16***	0.20***	-0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
College	-0.04	0.08***	0.18***	0.13***	0.03	0.06**	0.09***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Republican	-0.02	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04*	-0.07**	-0.06**	-0.05*
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Middle-income	0.07**	-0.03	-0.02	0.03	-0.01	0.02	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
High-income	0.03	-0.01	0.08**	0.06**	0.03	0.02	0.05*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Panel B: Exposure							
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	0.11**	-0.06*	-0.12	-0.12***	-0.02	0.03	-0.19***
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Routine occupation	0.07***	-0.09***	-0.18***	-0.05***	0.01	0.01	-0.10***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Routine & offshorable occupation	0.08***	-0.05*	-0.12***	-0.01	0.06**	0.06**	-0.04
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Local labor market	0.06*	-0.06**	-0.04	0.01	0.08***	0.00	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Tradable sector	-0.02	-0.05**	-0.09	-0.07	-0.03	-0.06	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)
Comparative advantage occupation	-0.01	0.01	0.04**	0.02**	-0.01	-0.02**	0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel C: Descriptive statistics							
Control mean	0.71	0.19	0.48	0.80	0.65	0.66	0.71
Democrat control mean	0.72	0.20	0.48	0.84	0.66	0.68	0.74
Observations (Panel A)	1761	1761	1564	1765	1763	1762	1760
Observations (Panel B - Perceived Exposure)	389	389	189	390	390	390	390
Observations (Panel B - Exposure by Occupation)	1707	1707	1515	1711	1709	1708	1706

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G. The sample is respondents from Survey 1 (since knowledge-related questions were asked in Survey 1 only). The regression in Panel A controls for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, income, number of children, employment status, race, political leaning), and treatment indicators. In Panel B, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation, Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel C provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for the different panels. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-2: PERSONAL IMPACTS FROM TRADE

	Trade ↓ prices of goods you buy (1)	Trade ↑ varieties of goods you buy (2)	Easy x you to find a job in a different sector (3)	Your wage has not grown as fast due to competition (4)	Trade ↑ unemployment in your sector (5)	Trade threat x future of your sector (6)	Your job likely to be offshored, outsourced or automated (7)	Automation had a negative impact on your job (8)	Trade had a negative impact on your job (9)	Immigration had a negative impact on your job (10)	You are worse off from trade (11)
Panel A: Personal characteristics											
Female	-0.26***	-0.05	-0.12**	-0.12***	-0.10*	-0.00	-0.08***	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.16***
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Age 30-49	-0.22***	0.02	-0.04	0.02	0.04	0.11**	0.00	-0.03	-0.03	-0.02	0.07
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.08)
Age 50-69	-0.29***	0.06	-0.13	-0.11**	-0.05	-0.02	-0.11***	0.01	0.08***	0.12***	0.13
	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.08)
College	0.08	0.11***	0.05	0.07	-0.12**	-0.02	0.03	-0.05***	-0.09***	-0.06**	-0.12**
	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Republican	-0.03	-0.05	0.14**	-0.03	-0.02	0.02	-0.01	-0.00	0.02	0.05*	-0.05
	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.06)
Middle-income	0.15**	0.10**	0.13*	0.01	-0.00	-0.05	-0.06	-0.04**	-0.02	-0.04	-0.11
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.07)
High-income	0.20***	0.04	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.07	0.01	-0.04*	-0.03	-0.07**	-0.00
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Panel B: Exposure											
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	-0.22***		-0.13**		0.10**						
	(0.05)		(0.05)		(0.05)						
Routine occupation	-0.17***	-0.10*	-0.06	-0.10***	0.06*	-0.00	-0.03*	0.09***	0.12***	0.12***	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.12***	-0.03	-0.05	-0.11***	-0.02	0.01	-0.02	0.04	0.06	0.07***	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Local labor market	-0.10	-0.00	-0.08	-0.00	0.06	-0.05	0.03	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	0.04
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Tradable sector	-0.17**	-0.01	0.04	0.14***	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.07***	0.06***	0.03	0.12***
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.04**	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02***	-0.02**	-0.02**	-0.02**	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel C: Descriptive statistics											
Control mean	0.46	0.66	0.57	0.46	0.60	0.29	0.19	0.15	0.25	0.32	0.39
Democrat control mean	0.45	0.70	0.52	0.55	0.63	0.32	0.23	0.13	0.20	0.27	0.42
Observations (Panels A and B)	390	720	390	708	390	708	707	2127	2120	2092	390
Observations (Panel C - Perceived Exposure)	390	0	390	0	390	0	0	0	0	0	390
Observations (Panel C - Exposure by Occupation)	380	718	380	704	380	704	703	2119	2113	2085	380

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G. Variables in columns (1), (3), (5) and (11) refer to questions asked in Survey 1; the other columns refer to questions asked in Survey 2. Regressions in Panel A control for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, income, employment status, race, political leaning), and treatment branch indicators. In Panel B, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation, Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel C provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for the different panels. Standard errors in parentheses. $* \ p < 0.1$, $** \ p < 0.05$, $*** \ p < 0.01$.

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	Trade ↑ competition in the U.S. (1)	Trade ↑ innovation in the U.S. (2)	Trade ↑ GDP growth of the U.S. (3)	If U.S. exports ↑ value of $ ↑ (4)	Both countries better off from trade (5)	Believes in efficiency gains (6)
Panel A: Personal characteristics						
Female	-0.14***	-0.11***	-0.10***	-0.17***	-0.09***	-0.36***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Age 30-49	-0.08**	-0.04	-0.07*	0.04	0.00	-0.17**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Age 50-69	-0.12***	-0.03	-0.12***	0.00	0.01	-0.28***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)
College	0.10***	0.11***	0.10***	0.10***	0.11***	0.31***
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Republican	0.01	0.05*	0.00	-0.01	-0.05*	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Middle-income	0.08***	0.02	0.03	-0.02	0.01	0.12**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
High-income	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.04	0.08
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Panel B: Treatment effects						
Efficiency Effects	0.06	-0.02	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Distributive Effects	0.04	-0.06	0.01	0.03	-0.10***	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)	0.09***	0.06**	0.04	0.03	-0.09***	0.20***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Panel C: Exposure						
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.32***	-0.07	-0.31***	-0.74***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.10)
Routine occupation	-0.12***	-0.11***	-0.07	-0.09***	-0.07***	-0.29***
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.07)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.08***	-0.07***	-0.05*	-0.07***	-0.01	-0.18**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Local labor market	-0.09***	-0.04	0.02	0.01	-0.03	-0.09
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.07)
Tradable sector	-0.04	-0.05**	-0.06*	-0.08**	-0.04	-0.16**
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.03**	0.01	0.02**	0.02**	0.00	0.05**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Panel D: Descriptive statistics						
Control mean	0.61	0.69	0.62	0.53	0.68	-0.00
Democrat control mean	0.60	0.66	0.61	0.52	0.72	-0.03
Observations (Panels A and B)	1762	1763	1763	1763	1761	1765
Observations (Panel C - Perceived Exposure)	390	390	390	390	390	390
Observations (Panel C - Exposure by Occupation)	1708	1709	1709	1709	1707	1711

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G and refer to questions asked in Survey 1 only. Regressions in Panels A and B control for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, number of children, income, employment status, race, political leaning) and treatment branch indicators. In Panel C, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation*, *Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel D provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for the different panels. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-4: PERCEIVED DISTRIBUTIONAL IMPACTS: DO THESE GROUPS GAIN FROM TRADE?

	Large Corporations (1)	Small Businesses (2)	High Incomes (3)	Middle Incomes (4)	Low Incomes (5)
Panel A: Personal characteristics					
Female	-0.05	-0.12***	-0.09***		
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)		
Age 30-49	0.12***	-0.02	-0.05*		
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Age 50-69	0.10**	-0.16***	-0.21***		
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
College	0.08***	0.07***	0.06**		
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)		
Republican	-0.11***	0.04	0.05**		
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Middle-income	-0.07**	-0.03	-0.05		
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
High-income	-0.06*	-0.03	-0.03		
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Panel B: Treatment effects					
Efficiency Effects	0.03	0.00	0.02		
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Distributive Effects	0.02	0.00	-0.02		
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)	0.00	0.02	0.05*		
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Panel C: Exposure					
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	-0.08	-0.19***			
	(0.05)	(0.04)			
Routine occupation	-0.07**	-0.14***	-0.04	-0.15***	-0.13***
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.04	-0.14***	-0.00	-0.13***	-0.13***
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Local labor market	-0.01	-0.07***	0.00	-0.06*	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Tradable sector	0.02	-0.02	-0.04	0.02	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.00	0.03**	0.01	0.03**	0.03**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel D: Descriptive statistics					
Control mean	0.67	0.19	0.61	0.23	0.20
Democrats control mean	0.72	0.17	0.64	0.21	0.17
Observations (Panel A)	1762	1762	1372	1372	1372
Observations (Panel C - Perceived Exposure)	390	390			
Observations (Panel C - Exposure by Occupation)	1708	1708	1328	1328	1328

Notes. The dependent variables are detailed in Appendix G and refer to questions asked in Survey 1 only. Regressions in Panels A and B control for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, number of children, income, employment status, race, political leaning) and treatment branch indicators. In Panel C, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation*, *Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel D provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for the different panels. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-5: PERCEIVED DISTRIBUTIONAL EFFECTS

	It's easy to change sector x low-skilled workers (1)	It's easy to change sector x high-skilled workers (2)	Trade is a major reason x unemployment and & decline of industries (3)	Major reason x job loss in manufacturing is: Automation (4)	Trade (5)	Immigration (6)	Overall trade helped U.S. workers (7)	Trade is a major reason for rise in inequality (8)	Trade ↓ prices of goods sold in the U.S. (9)	More trade can make all better off (10)	Believes Trade has adverse distributional impacts (11)
Panel A: Personal characteristics											
Female	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	-0.16*** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	0.27*** (0.06)
Age 30-49	0.01 (0.04)	-0.06* (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.03)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.17** (0.08)
Age 50-69	-0.10*** (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.07** (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.18*** (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	0.33*** (0.08)
College	0.02 (0.04)	0.08*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.04** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.10*** (0.03)	-0.12** (0.06)
Republican	0.16*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03** (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.32*** (0.07)
Middle-income	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.05* (0.03)	0.06** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.08 (0.07)
High-income	0.01 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.06** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.15** (0.07)
Panel B: Treatment effects											
Efficiency Effects	-0.01 (0.04)	0.08** (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)				-0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.08)
Distributive Effects	-0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)				-0.04 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.08)
Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.07** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)				0.05 (0.03)	0.05* (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.06)
Panel C: Exposure											
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)							-0.35*** (0.05)	0.14*** (0.05)		-0.21*** (0.05)	0.62*** (0.07)
Routine occupation	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.04* (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.12*** (0.03)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	0.14 (0.08)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.02)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.08** (0.02)	0.13** (0.05)
Local labor market	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.10 (0.09)
Tradable sector	0.01 (0.11)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.03)	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.09*** (0.03)	0.10 (0.15)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.03 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Panel D: Descriptive statistics											
Control mean	0.37	0.63	0.79	0.42	0.47	0.11	0.50	0.66	0.57	0.62	0.00
Democrat control mean	0.32	0.60	0.79	0.47	0.44	0.09	0.49	0.72	0.58	0.71	0.18
Observations (Panels A and B)	1373	1372	1372	2148	2148	2148	1373	1372	1372	1369	1374
Observations (Panel C - Perceived Exposure)	0	0	0	0	0	0	390	390	0	390	390
Observations (Panel C - Exposure by Occupation)	1329	1328	1328	2140	2140	2140	1329	1328	1328	1325	1330

Table A-6: Policy Views on Free Trade

	General trade restrictions		Targeted trade restrictions			
	Support for free trade (1)	Restrict imports best way to help U.S. workers (2)	The U.S. should restrict food imports to ensure food security (3)	The U.S. should protect their infant industries (4)	The U.S. should protect minerals and metals, petroleum, chemicals or machinery sectors (5)	The U.S. should protect from trade food and cars (6)
Panel A: Personal characteristics						
Female	-0.13***	-0.00	-0.05***	0.02	-0.09***	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Age 30-49	0.02	0.01	-0.05**	-0.03	0.02	0.04
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Age 50-69	-0.07***	0.09***	0.04	-0.07***	-0.04	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)
College	0.15***	-0.08***	-0.05***	-0.01	-0.05*	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Republican	-0.15***	0.15***	0.12***	0.07***	0.08***	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Middle-income	0.03	0.01	0.06***	0.00	-0.06*	0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
High-income	0.08***	-0.02	0.01	-0.00	-0.01	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Panel B: Beliefs						
Trade Increases Innovation, Competitiveness and GDP	0.08***	-0.01	-0.02	-0.00	-0.00	0.03**
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Trade decreases prices of consumer goods	0.03	-0.04	0.06**	0.03	-0.01	-0.05*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Companies won more than small ones	0.01	-0.00	-0.05	-0.02	-0.02	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
High-income HHs benefit more than low-income HHs	0.03	-0.08**	-0.03	-0.05*	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Sector switch easier if high skill	0.03	-0.05*	-0.10***	-0.02	-0.06**	0.03
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Trade major reason for rise in inequality	0.02	0.03	-0.03	0.07**	0.07**	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Trade major reason for unempl. and hurts US workers	-0.03**	0.03*	0.07***	0.05***	0.01	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Possible to compensate losers through policies	0.12***	-0.06**	-0.02	-0.02	-0.08***	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Supports government intervention	0.03***	-0.01	-0.06***	0.04**	-0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Is patriotic	0.02	0.07***	0.08***	0.06***	0.08***	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Panel C: Treatment effects						
Efficiency Effects	0.13***	-0.01	0.00	0.11***	-0.07*	-0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Distributive Effects	0.00	-0.03	-0.02	0.05	0.04	-0.00
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)	0.04	-0.04	0.05*	0.08**	0.03	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Own Job Risks	-0.07***	0.03	0.01	0.02		
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Own Consumption	0.03	0.01	-0.03	-0.03		
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)		
Panel D: Exposure						
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	-0.22***	0.11**	0.02	0.06	0.09*	0.05
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Routine occupation	-0.14***	0.03	-0.01	-0.02	-0.05	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.09**	0.00	-0.02***	-0.04*	-0.09***	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Local labor market	-0.03	-0.00	0.01	0.02	-0.01	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Tradable sector	-0.07**	0.02*	0.04	-0.01	0.06	0.07**
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.03***	-0.01	0.01**	-0.00	0.01	-0.01*
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel E: Descriptive statistics						
Control mean	0.63	0.36	0.39	0.54	0.49	0.78
Democrat control mean	0.72	0.28	0.33	0.52	0.46	0.77
Observations (Panels A and C)	3911	3912	3905	3908	1765	1674
Observations (Panel B)	1368	1368	1366	1368	1368	1303
Observations (Panel D - Perceived Exposure)	390	390	390	389	390	368
Observations (Panel D - Exposure by Occupation)	3849	3850	3843	3846	1711	1622

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G. Variables in columns (1)-(6) refer to questions asked in both surveys. Variables in columns (7)-(8) refer to questions asked in Survey 1 only. Regressions in Panels A and C include controls for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, number of children, income, employment status, race, political leaning) and treatment indicators. Regressions in panel B also include controls for all beliefs (depicted in the panel and as explained in Section **??**) and only include respondents from survey 1 (in which detailed beliefs about trade were elicited). Panel C shows the coefficients on treatment indicators from regressions which control for the full set of individual covariates. In Panel D, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation*, *Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel E provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for all the regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

TABLE A-7: POLICY VIEWS ON REDISTRIBUTION

|	General redistribution					Compensatory redistribution		
			The government should provide					
	Support for redistribution index	more transfers to those out of work	better schools for low income children	subsidies to pay health insurance	wage subsidies to working poor	income support for workers displaced by international trade	Subsidize production best way to help U.S. workers	Transfers & retraining best way to help U.S. workers
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Panel A: Personal characteristics								
Female	-0.00	-0.07***	0.04**	-0.03*	-0.00	-0.01	-0.02*	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Age 30-49	0.04	0.05**	-0.01	-0.02	0.05**	0.02	-0.00	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Age 50-69	-0.06	-0.03*	-0.04*	-0.03	0.00	-0.01	-0.04**	-0.05**
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
College	0.17***	0.08***	0.05**	0.05***	0.05***	0.03	0.03**	0.05***
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Republican	-0.56***	-0.14***	-0.15***	-0.13***	-0.24***	-0.18***	-0.03**	-0.12***
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Middle-income	-0.01	0.00	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
High-income	-0.06	0.00	-0.04	-0.01	-0.07***	-0.07***	0.02	-0.00
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Panel B: Beliefs								
Trade Increases Innovation, Competitiveness and GDP	0.09***	0.04***	0.04***	0.03**	0.04***	0.01	-0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Trade decreases prices of consumer goods	0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.03	-0.02	0.00	-0.02	0.06**
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Large Companies won more than small ones	0.08	-0.03	0.12***	0.11***	0.04	0.06*	0.00	-0.00
	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
High-income HHs benefit more than low-income HHs	0.13**	-0.01	0.09***	-0.00	0.07**	0.02	0.02	0.06*
	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Sector switch easier if high skill	0.17***	-0.01	0.08***	0.09***	0.03	0.04	-0.02	0.06**
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Trade major reason for rise in inequality	0.20***	0.12***	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.11***	0.00	-0.04
	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Trade major reason for unempl. and hurts US workers	0.04	0.01	-0.00	0.05***	0.01	0.04***	-0.00	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Possible to compensate losers through policies	0.27***	0.07***	0.00	0.06**	0.08***	0.09***	0.02	0.04
	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Is patriotic	-0.20***	-0.01	-0.10***	-0.03**	-0.07***	-0.06***	0.01	-0.07***
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Supports government intervention	0.26***	0.08***	0.07***	0.06***	0.10***	0.09***	0.01	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel C: Treatment effects								
Efficiency Effects	0.07	0.02	0.03	0.08**	0.08*	0.04	0.03	-0.03
	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Distributive Effects	0.30***	0.07*	0.05	0.15***	0.07*	0.07*	-0.02	0.05
	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)	0.18***	0.04	0.02	0.09***	0.05	0.04	-0.02	0.05*
	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Own Job Risks	-0.02	-0.00	0.04*	0.03	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	-0.02
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Own Consumption	-0.04	-0.02	0.03	0.00	-0.00	-0.02	0.03*	-0.05*
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Panel D: Exposure								
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	-0.05	0.03	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.12**	-0.06*	-0.05
	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Routine occupation	-0.06	-0.06***	0.03*	-0.03*	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.03	-0.05***	0.05***	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.03**	-0.01	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Local labor market	-0.02	-0.04*	-0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.02	-0.00	0.01
	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Tradable sector	-0.08	-0.04**	-0.01	-0.08***	0.00	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.01	0.02**	-0.01	0.01**	-0.00	0.00	0.01***	-0.01**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Panel E: Descriptive statistics								
Control mean	0.01	0.29	0.47	0.37	0.37	0.37	0.12	0.53
Democrat control mean	0.31	0.38	0.55	0.44	0.51	0.46	0.14	0.57
Observations (Panels A and C)	3913	3905	3903	3902	3905	3902	3912	3912
Observations (Panel B)	1368	1367	1365	1367	1367	1366	1368	1368
Observations (Panel D - Perceived Exposure)	390	390	390	388	390	389	390	390
Observations (Panel D - Exposure by Occupation)	3851	3843	3841	3840	3843	3840	3850	3850

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G and were asked in both surveys. Regressions in Panels A and C include controls for gender, age, ethnicity, income class, having children, education, political affiliation and employment status, as well as indicator variables for the treatments in both surveys. Regressions in Panels A and C include controls for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, number of children, income, employment status, race, political leaning) and treatment indicators. Regressions in panel B also include controls for all beliefs (depicted in the panel and as explained in Section **??**) and only include respondents from survey 1 (in which detailed beliefs about trade were elicited). Panel C shows the coefficients on treatment indicators from regressions which control for the full set of individual covariates. In Panel D, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation*, *Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel E provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for all the regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A-8: Scope of Government

Government should be responsible for:

	Reducing income differences (1)	Reducing wealth transmission (2)	Ensuring health care (3)	Reducing opportunity differences (4)	Regulating trade (5)	Stabilizing financial system (6)	Stabilizing dollar (7)	Providing minimum living (8)
Panel A: Personal characteristics								
Female	-0.05**	-0.10***	0.01	-0.04*	0.04*	-0.02	-0.01	-0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Age 30-49	0.02	-0.02	0.02	-0.05	0.03	0.00	0.03	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age 50-69	-0.17***	-0.19***	-0.05	-0.16***	0.02	0.07**	0.06*	-0.13***
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
College	0.02	0.05**	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.06**	0.04	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Republican	-0.31***	-0.15***	-0.34***	-0.31***	-0.06*	-0.12***	-0.07***	-0.32***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Middle-income	-0.07**	-0.05	-0.03	-0.10***	-0.09***	-0.04	-0.03	-0.04
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
High-income	-0.09***	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.06*	-0.02	0.00	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Panel B: Beliefs								
Trade Increases Innovation, Competitiveness and GDP	0.01	0.02*	0.03**	0.02*	0.01	0.03**	0.03**	0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Trade decreases prices of consumer goods	-0.05*	-0.01	-0.07***	-0.02	-0.09***	-0.03	-0.07***	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Large Companies won more than small ones	0.06*	-0.02	0.05*	0.02	0.12***	0.13***	0.16***	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
High-income HHs benefit more than low-income HHs	0.04	0.04	0.13***	0.07**	0.03	0.04	0.06**	0.06**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Sector switch easier if high skill	-0.04*	-0.07***	0.01	0.01	-0.03	0.05*	-0.00	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Trade major reason for rise in inequality	0.11***	0.14***	0.03	0.10***	0.03	-0.05*	-0.06**	0.09***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Trade major reason for unempl. and hurts US workers	0.03**	0.02	0.02*	0.03**	0.05***	0.04***	0.06***	0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Possible to compensate losers through policies	0.07***	0.04	0.07***	0.06**	-0.01	0.02	0.02	0.07**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Supports government intervention	0.15***	0.12***	0.16***	0.16***	0.12***	0.10***	0.09***	0.17***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Is patriotic	-0.03**	0.02	-0.06***	-0.05***	0.04***	-0.00	-0.00	-0.04***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel C: Treatment effects								
Efficiency Effects	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Distributive Effects	0.00	-0.00	-0.03	0.05	0.03	-0.03	-0.05	0.05
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	-0.04	-0.01	0.01	0.06**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Panel D: Exposure								
Perceived Exposure (Being worse off from trade)	0.06	-0.07	-0.03	-0.07	-0.03	-0.04	-0.01	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Routine occupation	-0.07**	-0.12***	-0.06**	-0.05**	-0.09**	-0.08***	-0.07**	-0.05*
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Routine & offshorable occupation	-0.08***	-0.11***	-0.04***	-0.06**	-0.08***	-0.08***	-0.05***	-0.06**
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Local labor market	-0.03	-0.08***	-0.04	-0.03	0.02	0.00	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Tradable sector	0.06*	-0.00	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.05
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Comparative advantage occupation	0.02*	0.01	-0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Panel E: Descriptive statistics								
Control mean	0.44	0.31	0.66	0.49	0.61	0.69	0.75	0.56
Democrat control mean	0.62	0.38	0.84	0.66	0.69	0.77	0.80	0.73
Observations (Panels A and C)	1761	1760	1761	1761	1760	1761	1760	1760
Observations (Panel B)	1367	1366	1367	1367	1366	1367	1367	1366
Observations (Panel D - Perceived Exposure)	390	390	390	390	390	390	389	390
Observations (Panel D - Exposure by Occupation)	1707	1706	1707	1707	1706	1707	1706	1706

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G and were asked in survey 1 only. Regressions in Panels A and C include controls for gender, age, ethnicity, income class, having children, education, political affiliation and employment status, as well as indicator variables for the treatments in both surveys. Regressions in Panels A and C include controls for the full set of individual covariates (age, gender, education, number of children, income, employment status, race, political leaning) and treatment indicators. Regressions in panel B also include controls for all beliefs (depicted in the panel and as explained in Section ??) and only include respondents from survey 1 (in which detailed beliefs about trade were elicited). Panel C shows the coefficients on treatment indicators from regressions which control for the full set of individual covariates. In Panel D, each row shows the estimates from a separate regression which controls for treatment indicators, age, and gender. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the regressions including the measures: *Routine occupation*, *Routine x Offshorable occupation* and *Comparative advantage occupation*; at the sector level for the measure *Tradable sector*; and at the Commuting Zone level for the measure *Local labor market*. Panel E provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for all the regressions. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

FIGURE A-1: PERCEIVED IMPACTS AS CONSUMERS VERSUS WORKERS WITHOUT CONTROLS
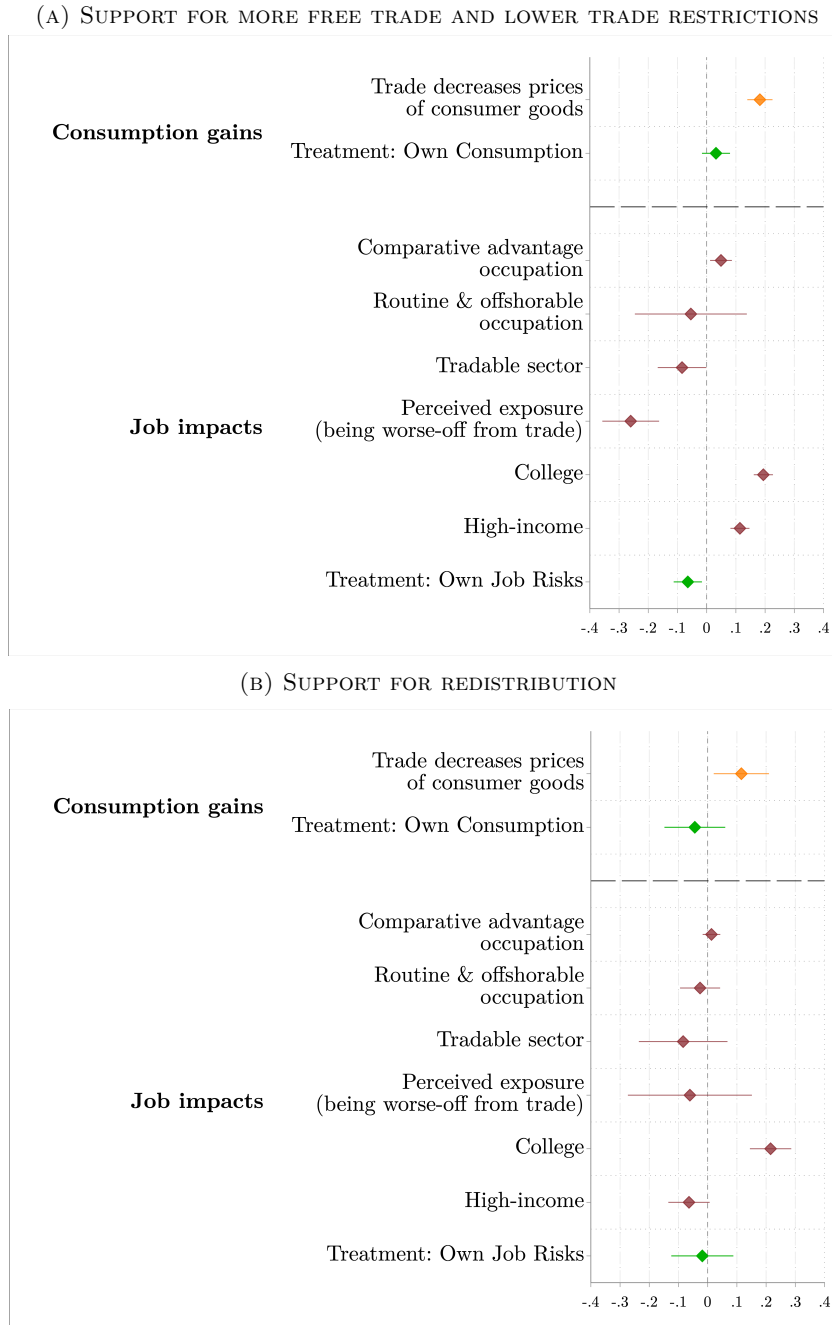
(A) SUPPORT FOR MORE FREE TRADE AND LOWER TRADE RESTRICTIONS

(B) SUPPORT FOR REDISTRIBUTION

Notes. The figure reports regression coefficients where the outcome variables are "Support for more free trade and lower trade restrictions" (in Panel A) and "Support for Redistribution" (in Panel B). The variables depicted are grouped by topic, related to either "Consumption gains" or "Job impacts." All variables are detailed in Appendix G. Coefficients associated to "Treatment: Own Job Risks", "High-income", "College" and "Treatment: Own Consumption" come from a single regression where also a control accounting for the different survey waves is included. All other coefficients come from regressions having as control only the relevant variable and one accounting for the different survey waves. Note also that brown dots show coefficients on perceived and objective exposure measures. For these regressions only, standard errors are clustered at the occupation level for the measures "Comparative advantage occupation" and "Routine x Offshorable occupation" and at the sector level for the measure "Tradable sector." 95% confidence intervals are depicted.

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FIGURE A-2: BROADER EFFICIENCY AND DISTRIBUTIONAL CONCERNS WITHOUT CONTROLS

(A) SUPPORT FOR MORE FREE TRADE AND LOWER TRADE RESTRICTIONS

(B) SUPPORT FOR REDISTRIBUTION
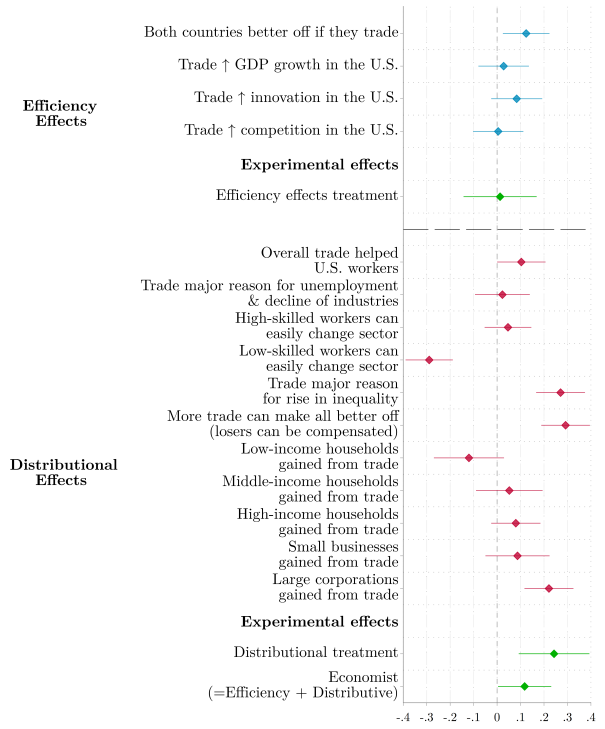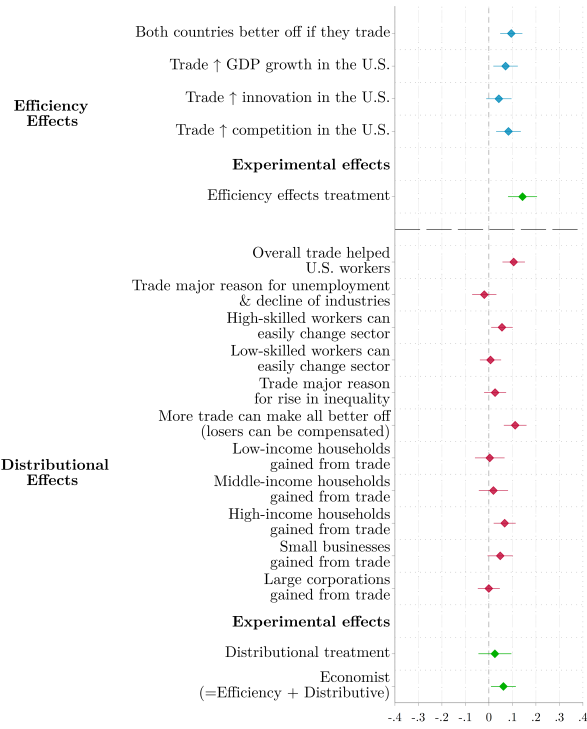
Notes. The figure reports regression coefficients where the outcome variables are "Support for more free trade and lower trade restrictions" (in Panel A) and "Support for Redistribution" (in Panel B). All variables are detailed in Appendix G. Coefficients associated to "Efficiency effects treatment", "Distributional treatment", "Economist (=Efficiency + Distributive)" and "Treatment: Own Consumption" come from a single regression where also a control accounting for the different survey waves is included. All other coefficients come from a single regression (that also has controls for treatments and one accounting for the different survey waves). 95% confidence intervals are depicted.

B People's First-Order Concerns and Narratives: Text Analysis of the Open-Ended Survey Questions

The answers to the open-ended questions can help shed light on people's first-order concerns and narratives without them being prompted to think about specific answer options (Ferrario and Stantcheva, 2022). This section provides the results from the topic analysis applied to the responses of several of the survey's open-ended questions (listed at the start of the paragraphs below). Figure A-6 shows word clouds to assess the frequency of different terms in the answers. More precisely, Panel A reports frequencies for the first question detailed below, Panel B asks about what a "good" trade policy would be and do, and Panel C asks about the shortcomings of current U.S. trade policy.

"When you think about trade policy and whether the U.S. should put some restrictions on trade with other countries, such as tariffs, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?"

There are six different topics that arise from the text analysis. The keywords for each topic are listed below Figure A-3. Words are defined by their "stems" i.e., words with the same root, such as "policy" and "policies" or "be" and "was" are treated identically. The topics are detailed below with some example answers.

1. **Prices:**

   "The effect on prices of goods and services I use."

   "The consumer has to pay for these through price hikes."

   "Concerns that some items will no longer be available or be priced to high for some americans to afford."

2. **Fair Trade & International Relations:**

   "I think it should be fair and equal going in both directions, our products to other countries and other country's products to us."

   "Retaliation from countries who are used to having no restrictions or tariffs."

   "I believe in equitable reciprocity as the guideline."

3. **Protectionism:**

   "I would like to see more products made in America."

   "I think we should support american made products and less reliant on foreign."

   "Generally believe in free trade but, at times such as with China, tariffs are necessary."

4. **Efficiency:**

   "Other countries shouldn't be able to dump cheaply made goods that make it impossible for domestic companies to compete."

   "Allow to US products being competitive on the market."

   "Of course we lose in stock market and other markets."

   "The economy will be hurt and we will end up in a recession."

5. **Labor:**

   "Tariffs should be put only on goods where it is economically responsible to create the jobs and economy in the US."

"How it affects employment and current wages. Also, what price restrictions will be placed upon us."

"I worked in manufacturing in the early 2000's and saw many jobs disappear overseas - tariffs are very important to even the playing field."

6. Distributive:

"How it will effect the businesses here."

"I don't want anybody to have to suffer like the farmers or any others with paying extra taxes for food and goods."

"This is a complex issue that I do not know very much about, but from what I've read and talked to others about, I'm worried that adding or raising tariffs will just past the cost onto the already struggling middle and lower classes in America. Inflation increases at a rate well above pay and we are not able to keep up."

"No consideration. Tariffs cause a lot of economic problems for lower classes and farmers."

7. Does Not Know:

"I don't know much about trade policy, so I have no opinion at the moment."

"I'm not sure."

"I am not knowledgeable to make an informed statement."

Figure A-3 shows the topic distribution that appears in the answers to this question, segmented by respondents' political leaning (Republican versus Democratic). *Prices* and *Distributive* concerns are more widespread among Democrats, while *Protectionism* and *Fair Trade & International Relations* concerns are more prevalent among Republicans. Worries about *Efficiency* and *Labor* (i.e., jobs and employment) are equally represented in both political groups, as are answers that express a lack of knowledge about the topic.

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FIGURE A-3: TOPIC ANALYSIS OF OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT TRADE POLICY AND WHETHER THE U.S. SHOULD PUT SOME RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, SUCH AS TARIFFS, WHAT ARE THE MAIN CONSIDERATIONS THAT COME TO YOUR MIND?
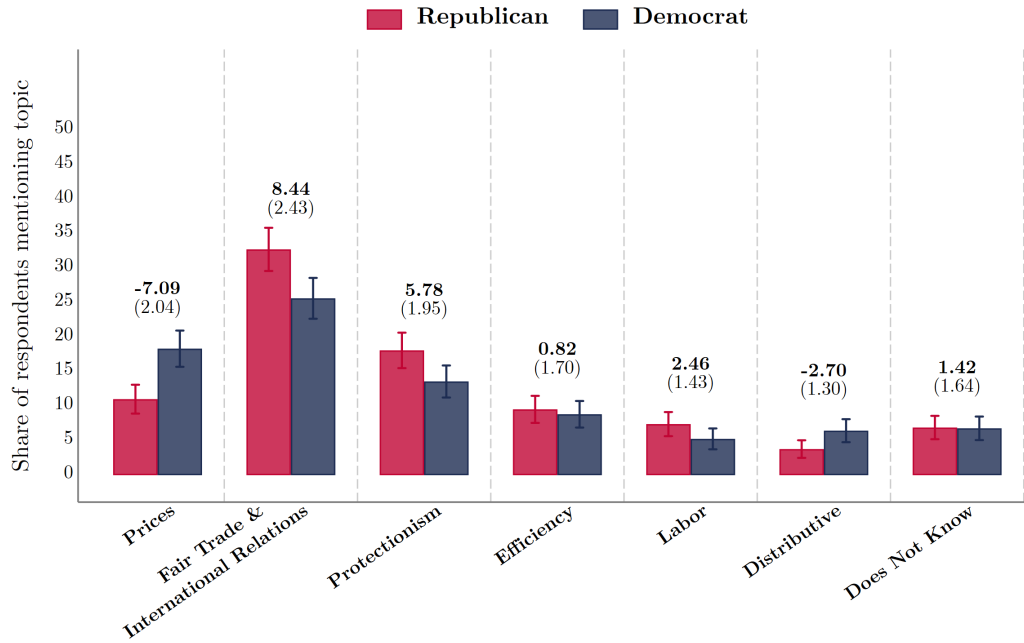
Keywords

Price:	*cost, price, afford, pay & more, inflationa, inflat, expens, (impact, suffer, affect, hurt, effect, hit, loos, lost, pay) & (consum, citizen, peopl, american, household);*
Fair Trade & Int. Relations:	*fair, unfair, imbal, balanc, justic, equal, even & (share, valu), reciproc, cooper, mutual & (benefit, benefici), equit, take & advantag play & field, china, retali, retaliatori, (other, foreign, those, relat, relationship, certain) & countri, mexico, intern & trade, negoti, rene-goti, advantag & us, trade & war, isol, isolation, isolationist, world & economi, pay & back, cheat;*
Protectionism:	*made & (usa, america, us), (buy, protect, support) & (usa, america, american, local), (restrict, tariff) & (fine, good, need, use, reason, some, necessari);*
Efficiency:	*effici, compet, competit, innov, technolog, ineffici, growth, gdp, tax, economi, more & varieti, stock & market;*
Labor:	*labor, job, unemploy, salari, union, wage, outsourc, worker, employe, employ, retrain;*
Distributive:	*(impact, suffer, affect, hurt, effect, hit, loos, lost, difficult, difficulti, problem, horribl) & (farmer, busi, busine, busin, firm, poor, poorer, middleclass, middl & class, industri, sector), winner, loos, corpor, workingclass, (expens, under) & (busi, busin, busine), lower & class, better & compani;*
Does Not Know:	*idk, unsur, know, know & enough, (dont, do & not, not) & (care, know, understand, knowledg), na, (not) & (sure, knowledg, opinion), no & (opinion, idea, comment), noth & say.*

Notes. The question is verbatim in the panel's title. Bars represent the share of respondents in each group using one or more of the keywords attributed to each topic, with associated 90% confidence intervals. The keywords for each topic are listed below the figure. Above each pair of bars, I also display the coefficient and standard error of an indicator variable for political affiliation in a regression that has as outcome a topic indicator (equal to 1 if the topic is mentioned), controlling also for the full set of individual covariates (gender, age, ethnicity, income, education, having children, political leaning) and length of the answer.

"*What would be the effects on the U.S. economy if barriers to trade, such as tariffs, were increased?*"

Responses can be classified based on the domain they mention (e.g., *Efficiency* or *Distributive* concerns, as described above) and the direction of the effect perceived (positive vs. negative). There are seven different topics that arise from the text analysis that are detailed below with some example answers.

1. **Negative Price:**

   "*More expensive goods for the citizens of the US.*"

   "*Prices of day to day products will rise.*"

   "*Increased prices on imported goods that we need.*"

2. **Negative Efficiency:**

   "*Everything would become more costly, it would be much harder to get outside products that we do not/cannot produce. It would wound our economy because we are not self sufficient and its not efficient to try to be. This would also make all of our products cost more so other countries would be less inclined to buy from us.*"

   "*The economy would suffer negatively.*"

   "*It would devastate the economy in the short term.*"

   "*The economy would go downhill, because without foreign competition, local prices will increase.*"

   "*Eventually a fair system needs to be worked out so US businesses can fairly compete at home and abroad.*"

3. **Negative Distributive:**

   "*It would cause a lot of small businesses that rely on exporting to fail. Sawmill rely on exporting lumber.*"

   "*The buying power of the population would decrease because the cost of goods would increase. The problem is that the effects of any tariffs could never be felt equally across the different areas of the population. In the current case, the farmers would be most affected since they would not be able the provide for their families. The question I would have, would be can they be able to withstand the pressure of the outstanding bills.*"

   "*Consumer goods will be more expensive, small businesses like mine will go bankrupt.*"

4. **Negative Labor:**

   "*We would lose jobs.*"

   "*Low wage and unemployment.*"

   "*Companies would go out of business because their product isn't being purchased which leads to layoffs/bankruptcies and therefore higher unemployment and eventually a recession.*"

5. **Positive Reallocation:**

   "*It might increase opportunities for businesses in our own country.*"

   "*I think it would be better for our economy. That way maybe it would encourage businesses not to take jobs & money to other countries.*"

   "*If we started to manufacture the products here that we are importing from elsewhere, it would strengthen our economy and create jobs.*"

6. **Positive Levelling of Trade Relations:**

   "If our trade agreements aren't fair, then we should increase tariffs to offset the difference."

   "I think when we get China and other major countries that we trade with to treat us respectfully and fairly we will all benefit."

   "I think that it could be positive for the economy if we don't make them too high. If they are too high that could discourage other countries from doing business with us."

7. **Positive without Justification:**

   "Very good."

   "It might be not so good on the short term but much better on the long term."

   "May help in the long run."

Figure A-4 shows the topic distribution that appears in the answers to this question, segmented by respondents' political leaning (Republican versus Democratic). Democratic respondents are significantly more likely to mention negative effects of trade restrictions on prices and efficiency. Republican respondents are more likely to talk about *Positive reallocation* effects, with trade restrictions encouraging a shift back to domestic production and supporting the idea of "made in the USA."

FIGURE A-4: TOPIC ANALYSIS OF OPEN ENDED QUESTIONS

WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD BE THE EFFECTS ON THE U.S. ECONOMY IF BARRIERS TO TRADE, SUCH AS TARIFFS, WERE INCREASED?
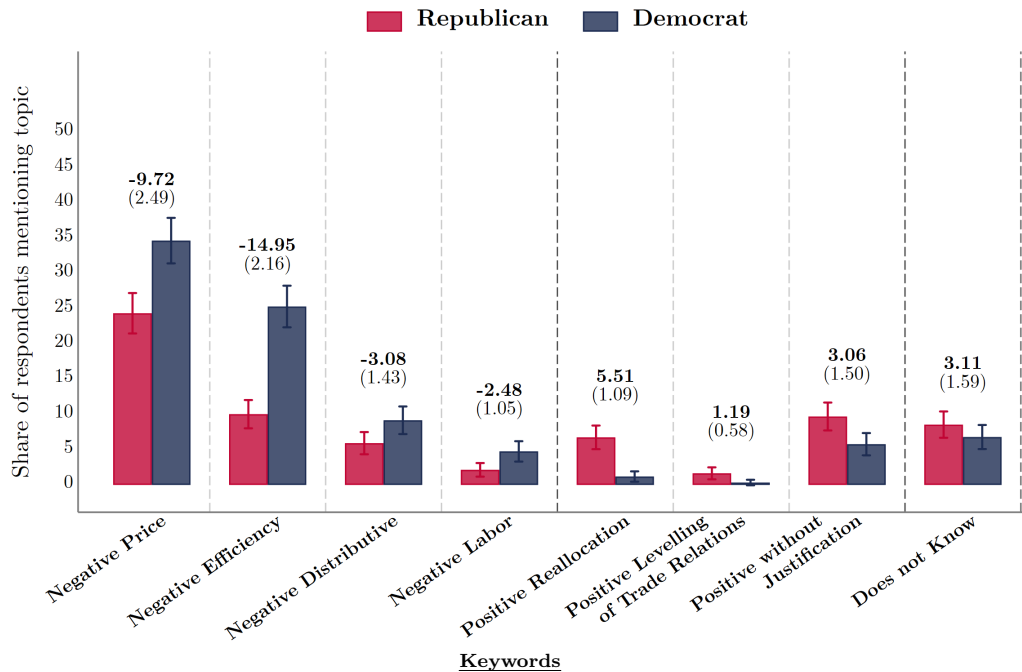
Negative Price:	(hit, destroy, bad, negat, suffer, disast, disastr, downfal, detriment, recess, depress, troubl, unhappi, hurt, harm, hit, loos, lost, damag, pay, worst, wors, fragil, pay, cost, impact) & (consumer, peopl, citizen, household, american, us), (increas, higher, high, up, rais, more, soar) & (price, cost), pay, inflationa, inflat, expens, hard & purchas, afford, less & cheap;
Negative Efficiency:	(destroy, bad, negat, suffer, disast, disastr, downfal, detriment, depress, troubl, unhappi, hurt, harm, kill, death, shrink, declin) & (effici, compet, competit, innov, technolog, growth, economi), (increas, higher, high, up, rais, more, soar) & tax, ineffici, recess, depress, loss, economi & (collaps, down, shrink, hurt, crash, wors, slowdown, hamper, slow, hinder, negat), (slow, reduc) & growth, decreas & gdp;
Negative Distributive:	(hit, destroy, bad, affect, negat, suffer, disast, disastr, downfal, detriment, recess, depress, troubl, unhappi, hurt, harm, hit, loos, lost, damag, pay, worst, wors, fragil, pay, cost, out & work) & (manufactur, farmer, busi, busine, busin, job, firm, poor, poorer, middleclass, middl & class, workingclass, compani, bottom, industri, lower & class, sector), layoff, bankrupt, bankruptci, poor & poorer;
Negative Labor:	(hit, destroy, bad, negat, suffer, disast, disastr, downfal, detriment, recess, depress, troubl, unhappi, hurt, harm, hit, loos, lost, damag, pay, worst, wors, loss) & (labor, job, unemploy, salari, union, wage, outsourc, worker, employe, employ, manufactur, manufact, manufacur, manufactrur, manugfactur), (increas, high) & unemploy, retrain, (decreas, low, lower) & (salari, wage, employ), (few, fewer, lessen) & job;
Positive...:	Words included: good, posit, benefit, benefici, better, thrive, strengthen, improv, stronger, help, nice, great, bolster, improv, increas;
	Words excluded: catastroph, loss, lose, destroy, bad, negat, suffer, disast, disastr, downfal, detriment, depress, troubl, unhappi, hurt, harm, kill, death, shrink, declin, lost, price, cost, afford, expens, (pay & more), inflat;
...Reallocation:	own, ourselv, domest, work, job, farmer, demand, local, (product, buy, protect, support, good, posit, benefit, benefici, better, thrive, strengthen, improv, stronger, help, nice, great, economy) & (our, usa, america, american, us);
...Levelling of Trade Relations:	fair, (other & countri), china, chines;
...without Justification:	Answers in the Positive section that were neither in Reallocation nor in Levelling of Trade Relations.

"Which groups of people do you think would gain if trade barriers such as tariffs were increased?"

Figure A-5 plots the frequency with which various groups, people, or entities are mentioned in response to this open-ended question about those who would benefit from trade barriers. Democrats often tend to mention "the Rich," "Government and Politicians," "Big Companies," and "Nobody" (suggestive of the view that, ultimately, everyone loses from trade barriers). Among Republicans, mentions include "the U.S.," "everyone," "workers," "manufacturers," and "domestic businesses."

Figure A-5: Topic Analysis of Open Ended Questions

Which Groups of People do you Think would Gain if Trade Barriers such as Tariffs were Increased?
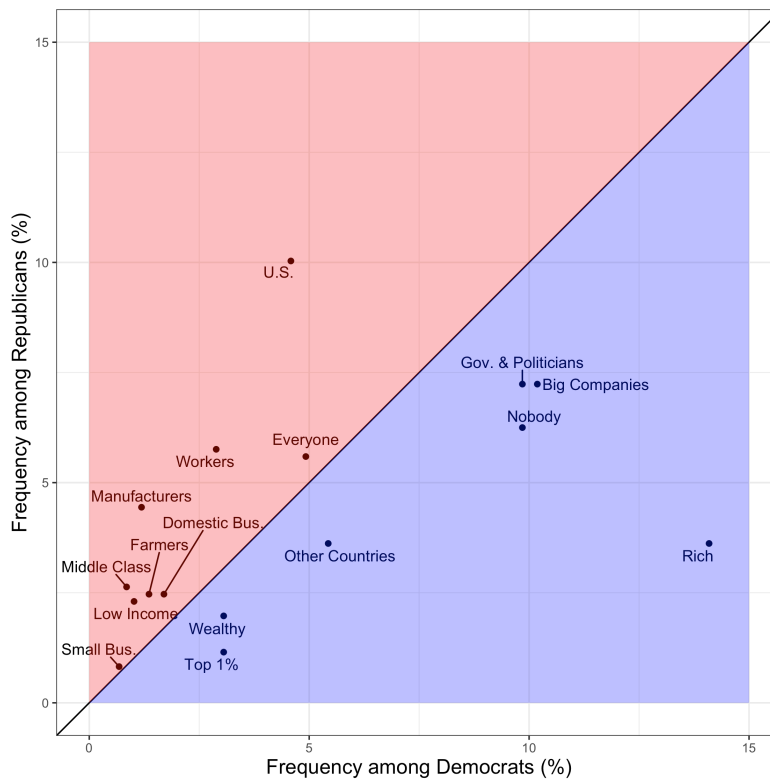
Figure A-6: Wordclouds

(A) When you think about trade policy and whether the U.S. should put some restrictions on trade with other countries such as tariffs, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?

(B) What would be a "good" trade policy in your view? What would be the goal of a good trade policy?

(C) What do you think are the issues with or shortcomings of the current U.S. trade policy?

Notes. The figure shows word clouds based on the text analysis of the open-ended questions of Survey 1. Each panel refers to the open-ended question indicated in the caption. Raw answers are processed by removing *stop* words and the words explicitly used in the text of the questions and all *don't know* answers. See Ferrario and Stantcheva (2022) for a summary on the methods of analysis.

C   Survey and Data Quality

This Appendix is based on the more detailed explanation of the survey data collection in Stantcheva (2021).

C.1   Ensuring high quality answers

I employed several methods to ensure the highest possible quality of answers. In the survey's landing page – the consent page – respondents are warned that low quality responses will be flagged and their payment possibly withheld. I also attempt to make them feel involved and socially responsible by emphasizing that we are non-partisan academic researchers seeking to advance social studies. I highlight that it is "very important for the success of our research that you answer honestly and read the questions very carefully before answering." Questions are also designed so as to prevent careless answers: for instance, percentages are constrained to add up to 100%, and respondents are alerted with a pop-up message if there is an inconsistency. Often, rather than using data entry boxes, I let respondents select numbers using sliders.

I also keep track of and check the time spent by the respondent on the survey as a whole, as well as on individual pages and questions, which permits flagging respondents who spend too little time on questions. For the benchmark sample, I drop respondents in the bottom 5% of the survey time distribution. None of our results are affected by trimming these outliers. A randomized subsample of respondents was also provided with financial incentives for correct responses to the policy knowledge questions. This is expected to encourage respondents to pay more attention. In addition, three screening questions are interspersed in the survey. They ask respondents to ignore the question and select a given or several given answer options. This checks for whether respondents are reading the questions carefully – a respondent who simply rushes to click through the answers is unlikely to read and understand the instructions.

Finally, respondents are asked whether they thought the survey was biased more in favor of left-wing or right-wing opinions. 80% of the respondents thought the survey was not biased. 12% thought it was left-wing biased and 8% thought it was right-wing biased.

C.2   Sample

Response rates and composition of the panel. The commercial survey company that distributed the surveys sets projects live on the dashboard in their platform for respondents who receive an invite through various channels, including email. They set quotas based on the need of the sample (e.g., "nationally representative") and define how many clicks are needed in each one of the quotas to reach the targets. Furthermore, their invitations can be targeted sample for the demographic profile required on my end (nationally representative). Indeed, the survey company can pre-target income, age, and gender (as well as other characteristics, which I did not target). To compute the average response rate, they take a ratio of the people who completed the study over the number of people that opened the invite (regardless of how they received it). For a nationally representative sample, with invitations that are targeted, it is reasonable to expect to have 8,000 to 10,000 exposures to achieve 2000 completes. The values per group vary with males, ages 16-24, and high-income earners being the hardest groups to reach: they had varying response rates below 10%. Hence, these groups needed to receive more targeted invites in order to meet the quotas.

The demographic breakdown for whole U.S. panel (the largest pool of respondents available to take any survey) is as follows:

- Gender: 65% female / 35% male.

- Age: 6% 13-17 / 23% 18-24 years old / 25% 25-34 years old / 20% 35-44 years old / 21% 45-64 years old / 5% 65+ years old.

- Income: 26% Less than $25,000 income / 25% $25,000-$49,000 / 21% $50,000-$74,000 / 13% $75,000 - $99,000 / 15% $100,000 or more.

How are respondents initially recruited by the survey company and how do the become members of the panel? The respondents are recruited through a variety of channels: databases of potential participants who declare that they will cooperate for future data collection if selected, generally in exchange for a reward or incentive. This includes traditional access panels, co-branded panels, or opt-in databases of individuals who agreed to complete research projects and undertake other non-market research activities (watch ads, download an app, complete marketing offers, etc., also known as loyalty programmes, or rewards communities within GPT (Get paid to) sites.) The databases are formed via social media, online and offline advertising (connected TV, radio, online, through mobile apps), member referrals, as well as through partnerships with firms such as United Airlines, Hilton Hotels and more (which also contribute to offering rewards in the form of "points" for their loyalty programs). The recruitment process is 'open to all' through any of the marketing channels in which they are recruiting from and they encourage members to refer people from their network to join.

Selection into the survey and attrition. Respondents were only told the length of the survey, but neither the topic nor the sender. After clicking on the link, respondents were channeled to a consent page (see Appendix Figure A-14) that informed them that they were about to take an academic research survey, destined solely for research purposes run by non-partisan researchers. They were asked to respond accurately to the best of their knowledge and assured that participation was entirely voluntary. Respondents were then guided through some screening questions that ensured that the final sample was nationally representative along gender, age, and income dimensions or, in the case of the second survey, targeted toward people who were of working age (students, respondents not looking for work and retirees were excluded from the sample). Thus, if respondents decided to drop out at some point during the survey – e.g., upon learning the topic of the survey – all their demographic and background information would be known, and I could check for differential attrition by observable characteristics such as political affiliation. Respondents were rewarded by the survey company only if they fully completed the survey. Rewards are organized by the survey company and take various forms, including cash and tokens or points, in partnership with airlines, hotels, or retail stores. The median time for completion of the surveys was 33 and 22 minutes, respectively.

FIGURE A-7: DISTRIBUTION OF TIME SPENT ON THE SURVEYS
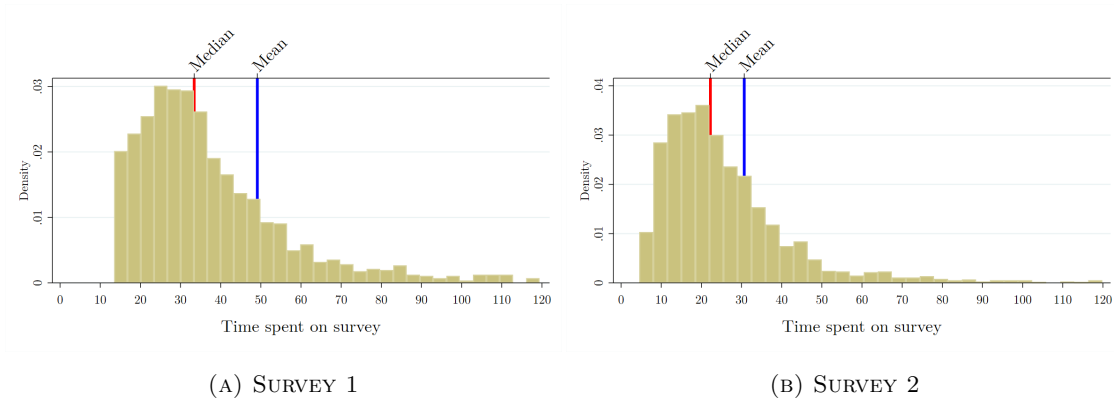
(A) SURVEY 1

(B) SURVEY 2

Notes. The figures show the distribution of the time (in minutes) spent by respondents to complete the Survey 1. The mean is represented by a vertical blue line, and the median by a vertical red line.

TABLE A-9: MINUTES SPENT PER BLOCK, PER PAGE, AND PER QUESTION

	Survey 1		
	Block	Page	Question
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Open-ended Questions	5.19	1.04	1.04
Knowledge about Trade	2.62	26.4sec	15.6sec
Reasoning about Trade	2.8	28.2sec	13.8sec
Understanding of Trade	3.14	37.8sec	15.6sec
Policy Views	5.17	39sec	24sec
Views on Government	3.13	31.2sec	23.4sec

Notes. The table shows how many minutes on average respondents spent per block (column 1), per page (column 2), and per question (column 3) for Survey 1.

Testing for survey fatigue. Table A-10 tests for survey fatigue i n Survey 1, leveraging the fact that the order of some blocks was randomized. The blocks are the policy views block, the set of questions asking about distributional impacts, and the set of questions asking about efficiency effects. In the table, each column has as outcome variable the time (in minutes) spent per survey page in each block. The explanatory variables include indicators for whether the block was seen earlier or later on in the survey. Because these indicators are insignificant, the takeaway is that there is no significant difference in the time per page spent based on the order, suggesting that survey fatigue is not a big issue for this survey.

Table A-10: Test for Survey Fatigue based on Randomization of Block Order

	Minutes spent per page on Distributional Impacts (1)	Minutes spent per page on Efficiency Effects (2)	Minutes spent per page on Policy Views (3)
Order: Distributional First	0.50		
	(0.38)		
Order: Efficiency First	0.36	-0.12	-0.14
	(0.38)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Order: Efficiency Second		-0.15	
		(0.13)	
Order: Policy Views First			-0.19*
			(0.11)
Women	0.19	0.12	0.07
	(0.35)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Has children	-0.09	-0.06	-0.08
	(0.33)	(0.11)	(0.09)
Black	-0.04	-0.16	0.03
	(0.68)	(0.23)	(0.20)
Hispanic	1.85***	-0.16	-0.21
	(0.64)	(0.22)	(0.18)
Other	-0.07	-0.10	-0.06
	(0.56)	(0.19)	(0.16)
Annual Income: 40k-69k	0.48	-0.05	-0.14
	(0.44)	(0.15)	(0.13)
Annual Income: 70k+	0.06	0.02	-0.06
	(0.42)	(0.14)	(0.12)
Republican	0.04	-0.10	-0.14
	(0.39)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Democrat	0.22	-0.05	-0.12
	(0.39)	(0.13)	(0.11)
College Degree	0.40	-0.08	-0.19*
	(0.37)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Economics related major	-0.59	0.24	0.01
	(0.56)	(0.19)	(0.16)
Working	0.35	-0.27	0.20
	(0.92)	(0.31)	(0.26)
Not working	0.08	0.08	0.31
	(0.97)	(0.33)	(0.28)
Retiree	0.09	-0.25	0.26
	(0.99)	(0.34)	(0.28)
Knowledgeable	-0.53	0.06	0.05
	(0.37)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Upper Class (self-reported)	0.44	-0.07	-0.07
	(0.46)	(0.16)	(0.13)
Sample mean	0.70	0.49	0.63
Observations	569	569	569

Notes. The dependent variables are the average number of minutes spent per page on the Distributional Impacts part in block Reasoning about Trade (column 1), the Efficiency Effects part in block Reasoning about Trade (column 2) and on the Policy Views block. The independent variables "Order: Distributional first" and "Order: Efficiency first" are indicator variables equal to one if the respondent was randomly assigned to the group that saw respectively the Distributional Impacts part or the Efficiency Effects part first. Other respondents saw the Policy Views block first. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

C.3 Data to assess sample representativeness

To compute the population characteristics in Table **??**, we use the IPUMS-CPS, ASEC data from March 2019 (Flood et al., 2020). We construct variables and categories that are as comparable as possible between our sample data and the population statistics. The shares computed are based on the following IPUMS-CPS, ASEC data:

- **Age bracket**: AGE variable divided in brackets

- **Household income bracket**: FTOTVAL variable divided in brackets

- **Education**: EDUC variable split into categories as follows

  High School or Less: "none or preschool," "grades 1, 2, 3, or 4," "grades 5 or 6," "grades 7 or 8," "grade 9," "grade 10," "grade 11," "12th grade, no diploma."

  4-Year College or More: "bachelor's degree."

- **Employment**: the variable is built as follows

  Employed: It is the sum of employed and self-employed. For self-employed, CLASSWKR is "self-employed, not incorporated" and "self-employed, incorporated". For employed workers, EMPSTAT is "armed forces," "at work," "has job, not at work last week" but CLASSWKR is not "unpaid family worker."

  Unemployed: EMPSTAT is "unemployed, experienced worker," "unemployed, new worker" and CLASSWKR not "self-employed, not incorporated," "self-employed, incorporated," "unpaid family worker."

- **Marital status**:

  Married: MARST is "married, spouse present," "married, spouse absent."

  Not Married: MARST is "separated," "divorced," "widowed," "never married/single."

- **Race and ethnicity**:

  Black/African-American: RACE = "black", HISPAN="not hispanic."

  White: RACE = "white", HISPAN="not hispanic."

  Asian/Asian-American: RACE = "asian", HISPAN="not hispanic."

  Hispanic/Latino: HISPAN is not equal to "not hispanic."

For party affiliation, data is taken from Gallup (2019). In particular, the question asked was *"In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat or an independent?."* The share of "Independent" respondents in the samples is computed aggregating the "Independent" and the "Non-affiliated." Finally, the data for the 2016 Presidential election were taken from Leip (2019).

	US Population	Survey 3
Male	.49	.48
18-29 years old	.23	.22
30-39 years old	.21	.21
40-49 years old	.19	.2
50-59 years old	.19	.19
60-69 years old	.18	.19
$0-$19,999	.13	.14
$20,000-$39,999	.16	.17
$40,000-$69,999	.20	.21
$70,000-$99,999	.15	.15
$100,000-$124,999	.9	.09
$125,000+	.26	.24
Four-year college degree	.23	.28
High-school graduate or less	.38	.22
Employed	.7	.66
Unemployed	.03	.03
Married	.51	.49
White	.76	.73
Black/African-American	.13	.13
Hispanic/Latino	.19	.07
Asian/Asian-American	.06	.04
Democrat	.25	.43
Republican	.26	.28
Independent and other	.47	.29
Voted for Clinton at the 2016 presidential election	.48	.44
Voted for Trump at the 2016 presidential election	.46	.45
Sample size		967

Notes. The table displays statistics for the overall U.S. population, as compared to the samples of respondents for Survey 3. See Online Appendix C.3 for details on how the summary statistics on the U.S. population are constructed using IPUMS-CPS-ASEC data for 2022.

C.4   Real-stakes questions

In the third survey, I ask respondents two real-stakes questions that measure their willingness to engage in a real-stakes action – namely support one of two petitions to be sent to Congress.

The first petition reads as follows:

*"Now, we would like to ask you about **two petitions that we will send to the federal government**. When the survey is complete, we will **send the results to Congress**, informing them what share of people who took this survey were willing to support each petition. **You will not be asked to provide your name and your answer will remain anonymous**."*

Respondents then see two petitions, which they can choose to support or not. The text of the first one is:

*"We, the undersigned, urge the Federal Government to **implement stronger trade barriers to safeguard the U.S. economy**. We believe that increased protection is necessary to shield domestic industries from intense international competition. By doing so, we can ensure the stability of our economy and protect American jobs."*

The second one is similar in tone but asks instead about increasing efforts in assisting U.S. workers affected by international trade.

"We, the undersigned, urge the Federal Government to intensify efforts in assisting U.S. workers affected by international trade and those in industries experiencing decline due to global competition. We urge the implementation of comprehensive policies that provide retraining, job placement, and financial support to these displaced workers."

TABLE A-12: REAL-STAKES AND POLICY VIEWS

	Support petition for stronger trade barriers (1)	Support petition for more compensation (2)
Panel A: Personal characteristics		
Female	0.10***	0.04*
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Age 30-49	0.09**	0.03
	(0.04)	(0.03)
Age 50-69	0.05	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.03)
College Degree	-0.10***	-0.10***
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Republican	0.06*	-0.13***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Middle-income	-0.00	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.03)
High-income	-0.07**	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Panel B: Policy views on free trade		
The U.S. should increase the level of trade with other countries	-0.13***	0.05*
	(0.03)	(0.03)
The U.S. should restrict food imports to ensure food security	0.08***	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.02)
The U.S. should protect their infant industries	0.16***	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Restrict imports best way to help U.S. workers	0.12***	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.02)
The U.S. should protect minerals and metals, petroleum, chemicals or machinery	0.16***	0.06**
	(0.03)	(0.02)
The U.S. should protect more than 3 types of goods	0.21***	0.06***
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Panel C: Policy views on Redistribution		
Support for redistribution index	0.01	0.09***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Subsidize production best way to help U.S. workers	-0.10***	0.04*
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Transfers & retraining best way to help U.S. workers	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.02)
Panel D: Descriptive statistics		
Control mean	0.80	0.86
Democrat control mean	0.79	0.91
Observations (Panel A)	967	967
Observations (Panel B)	967	967
Observations (Panel C)	960	960

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G. Regressions in Panel A control for some individual covariates (age, gender, education, income, number of children, employment status, race and political leaning). In Panel B and C, each row shows the estimates from a separate regressions which controls for the same individual covariates and the variable associated to the relevant line. Panel D provides descriptive statistics and sample sizes for the different panels. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

C.5 Role of financial incentives

In the third survey, respondents were provided financial incentives with the following wording: *"You are about to answer a series of questions related to the effects of international trade. Some questions may be challenging, but we encourage you to respond to the best of your knowledge. The respondents who provide the highest number of accurate answers will be rewarded with a $200 bonus added to their survey payment. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your regular survey pay, so no further action is required on your part. Good luck!"*. Table A-13 analyzes the answers to incentivized questions for those who received financial incentives and those who did not. Overall, there is no systematic effect on the number of correct answers. While financial incentives make it more likely respondents will answer correctly to the question in column 2, they make them less likely to answer correctly to the one in column 1.

TABLE A-13: FINANCIAL INCENTIVES AND KNOWLEDGE OF TRADE

	Justifiable to import even if U.S. more productive (1)	Prices abroad ↑ if export tax ↑ (2)	U.S. prices ↑ if import tax ↑ (3)	N. of correct answers (4)
Incentivized	-0.123***	0.124***	0.065	0.066
	(0.041)	(0.039)	(0.040)	(0.080)
Control mean	0.64	0.72	0.71	2.07
Democrats control mean	0.64	0.72	0.73	2.10
Observations	935	935	935	935

Notes. All variables are detailed in Appendix G. The regressions control for respondent age, gender, number of children, political leaning, employment status, race, income, education and measures of objective exposures (i.e., "Tradable sector", "Comparative advantage occupation" and "Routine & offshorable occupation"). The variable "N. of correct answers" refers to the number of correct answers to the 3 questions included in the table.

D Classifications of Sectors and Occupations

Table A-14: Classification of Occupations

Occupation	Sample Share (1)	RTI (Normalized) (2)	RTI (Indicator Variable) (3)	Offshorability (Normalized) (4)	Offshorability (Indicator Variable) (5)	Comparative Advantage (Normalized) (6)
Agriculture	.5%	29	1	0	0	100
Armed forces	.8%	7	0	12	0	0
Clericals	10.9%	90	1	100	1	35
Craft and trade	3%	77	1	34	0	30
Elementary occupations	2.4%	85	1	21	0	34
Managers	32.3%	0	0	37	0	39
Plant and machine operators	2.6%	100	1	70	1	41
Professionals	23.8%	13	0	56	1	32
Service and sales	13.6%	42	1	4	0	0
Technicians	8.4%	46	1	38	1	23
Unknown	1.6%					

Notes. This table presents summary statistics on the occupations included in the survey. The first column displays the share of respondents in each occupation. The normalized indexes (second, fourth and sixth columns) are computed so that the occupation with the highest index has a value of 100 and the one with the lowest index has a value of 0. The indicator variables (third and fifth columns) are the ones included in regressions. All measures are taken from the replication package of Owen and Johnston (2017).

Table A-15: Classification of Sectors

Sector	Sample Share (1)	Tradable Sector (2)
Agriculture, plantations and other rural sectors	2.1%	0
Basic metal production	1.3%	1
Chemical industries	1.1%	1
Commerce	2.4%	0
Construction	6.5%	0
Education	8.5%	0
Financial and professional services	10%	0
Food, drink, tobacco	7%	1
Forestry, wood	.3%	1
Health services	10.9%	0
Hotel, tourism, catering	2%	0
Mechanical and electrical engineering	1.7%	0
Media, culture, graphical	1.8%	0
Mining	.2%	1
Public Services	4.9%	0
Textiles, clothing, leather, footwear	.9%	1
Transport	1.7%	0
Transport equipment manufacturing	.9%	1
Utilities (water, gas, electricity)	.9%	0
Unknown	35.1%	

Notes. This table presents summary statistics on the sectors included in the survey. The first column displays the share of respondents in each occupation. The column *Tradable Sector* corresponds to an indicator variable equal to 1 if the sector is a tradable one according to the classification of Mayda and Rodrik (2005). More precisely, tradable sectors include manufacturing and agricultural sectors.

E   Knowledge about and Understanding of Trade

In the first and third surveys, the respondent answers some questions in a "problem-set" style. The purpose of these questions is to understand the ability to reason on more technical questions. Some of these questions have unambiguously correct answers, given the setting, while others do not have a clear-cut correct answer.

The questions are as follows:

"Let us now consider the following simplified example of what happens economically when there is more trade in some goods. Take for instance the car industry and the laptop industry. On one hand, the U.S. is a large net exporter of laptops (meaning that it sells more laptops abroad than it purchases from abroad and that U.S. laptops are a large share of all laptops sold in the world), and a large net importer of cars (meaning that it purchases more cars from abroad than it sells abroad and that cars purchased by customers in the U.S. are a large share of worldwide car purchases). On the other hand, Germany is a large net exporter of cars and a large net importer of laptops. The laptop sector employs many high-skilled, college-educated workers. The car sector employs many low-skilled workers. Cars are produced for cheaper in Germany, while laptops are produced for cheaper in the U.S. Imagine now that there is an improvement in the production process of cars in Germany so that the costs of producing them decrease."

What will happen to the price of cars in the U.S.? (answers: 'It will decrease"/'It will remain the same"/'It will increase")

What will happen to the number of cars the U.S. imports from Germany? (answers: 'It will decrease"/'It will remain the same"/'It will increase")

What will happen to the number of cars that are produced in the U.S.? (answers: 'It will decrease"/'It will remain the same"/'It will increase")

After the increase in productivity in the German car sector, to what extent do you think that wages of low-skilled workers in the car sector in the U.S. will increase, remain the same, or decrease? (answers: 'Wages will decrease a lot"/'Wages will somewhat decrease"/'Wages will stay the same"/'Wages will somewhat increase")

Overall, after the increase in productivity in the German car sector, to what extent would you say that households in the U.S. are better or worse off? (answers: 'Much worse off"/'Somewhat worse off"/'Neither better nor worse off"/'Somewhat better off"/'Much better off")

"Imagine now that there is also an improvement in the production process in the U.S. so that the costs of producing laptops are lower than before."

What will happen to the number of laptops produced in the U.S.? (answers: "It will decrease"/"It will remain the same"/"It will increase")

What will happen to the price of U.S. laptops in Germany? (answers: "It will decrease"/"It will remain the same"/"It will increase")

What will happen to the number of laptops Germany imports from the U.S.? (answers: "It will decrease"/"It will remain the same"/"It will increase")

After the increase in productivity in the American laptop sector, to what extent do you think that wages of high-skilled workers in the laptop sector in the U.S. will increase, remain the same, or decrease? (answers: "Wages will decrease a lot"/"Wages will somewhat decrease"/"Wages will stay the same"/"Wages will somewhat increase")

Overall, after the increase in productivity in the American laptop sector, to what extent would you say that households in the U.S. are better or worse off? (answers: "Much worse off"/"Somewhat worse off"/"Neither better nor worse off"/"Somewhat better off"/"Much better off")

If the U.S. were to impose an export tax on laptops, what would happen to the price of laptops abroad? (answers: "It will decrease"/"It will remain the same"/"It will increase')

If the U.S. were to impose an import tariff on cars sold in the U.S, what would happen to the price of cars in the U.S? (answers: "It will decrease"/"It will remain the same"/"It will increase")

Figures A-8 to A-10 summarize the findings. They show the share of respondents who agree with the statements listed on the vertical axis. The gray vertical lines indicate the expected shares of respondents

if respondents were answering randomly. Respondents seem to understand the effects on prices, imports, and production. The impacts on wages and welfare, which are ambiguous theoretically, show an interesting pattern whereby respondents perceive generally positive effects from productivity increases in the laptop sector in the US on the wages of workers in the laptop sector and the overall welfare of US households. When the productivity improvement is in the German car sector, respondents give answers that are close to random, reflecting uncertainty in their views.

Figure A-9 plots the shares separately for respondents who believe they have been made better off versus worse off from trade. Respondents who believe they have been made better off are not significantly more accurate for questions which have a correct answer, and are more optimistic regarding the welfare implications (which are theoretically ambiguous).

Figure A-10 plots the shares separately for those with a college education and those without. College educated respondents are somewhat more accurate on questions which have an unambiguous answer and are more optimistic regarding the welfare implications (which are theoretically ambiguous).

There were no detectable partisan effects in the answers to these questions (not shown).

FIGURE A-8: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE POLICY: SHARE OF CORRECT ANSWERS TO TRADE-RELATED KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS
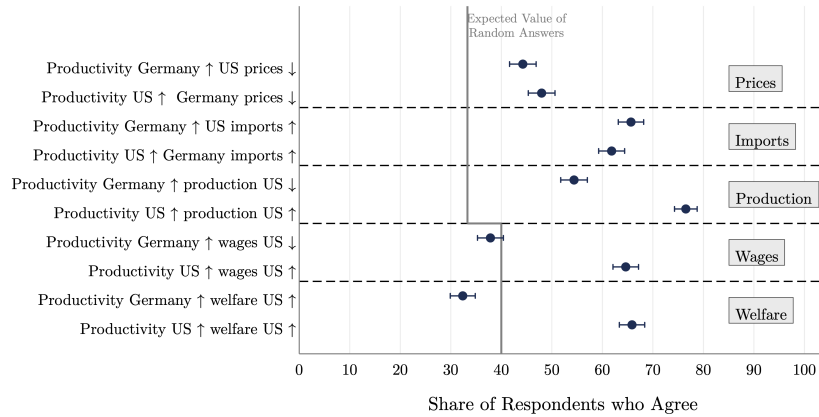
Notes. The figure depicts the share of respondents who agree with each of the statements, together with 90% confidence intervals.

FIGURE A-9: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE POLICY: SHARE OF CORRECT ANSWERS TO TRADE-RELATED KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS BY SUBJECTIVE EXPOSURE
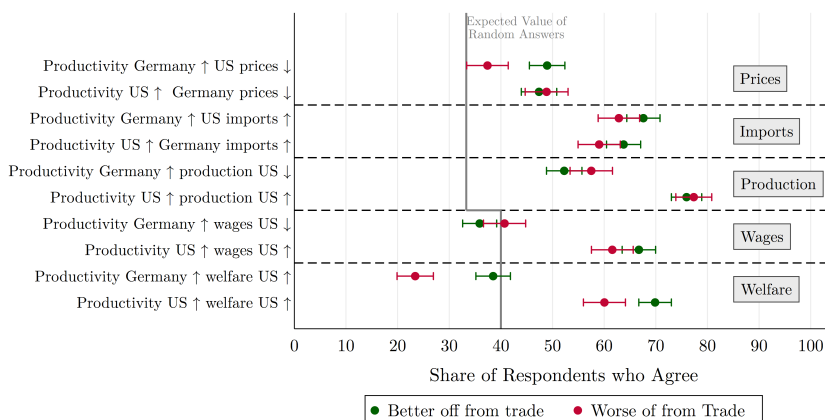
Notes. The figure depicts the share of respondents who agree with each of the statements, together with 90% confidence intervals. The shares are depicted separately for respondents who feel they have been made better off by trade and those who feel they have been made worse off.

FIGURE A-10: KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE POLICY: SHARE OF CORRECT ANSWERS TO TRADE-RELATED KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS BY EDUCATION
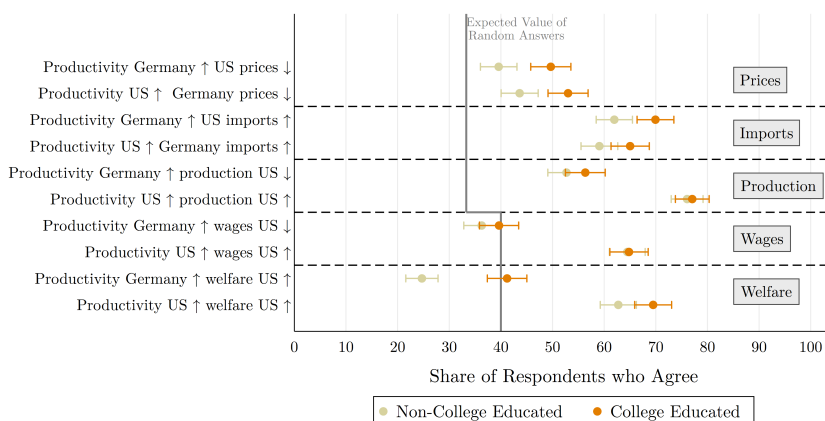
Notes. The figure depicts the share of respondents who agree with each of the statements, together with 90% confidence intervals. The shares are depicted separately for respondents with a college education and those without.

Figure A-9 shows the correlation between various measures of knowledge about trade from the aforementioned questions and trade policy views. Respondents with a higher number of correct answers (regarding questions with an unambiguously correct answer) are somewhat more supportive of free trade and do not believe that import restrictions are the best way to help US workers. They are also somewhat more likely to support compensatory redistribution. Those who are more optimistic about the welfare effects from

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productivity gains are also more supportive of free trade.

FIGURE A-11: CORRELATION OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT TRADE AND POLICY VIEWS
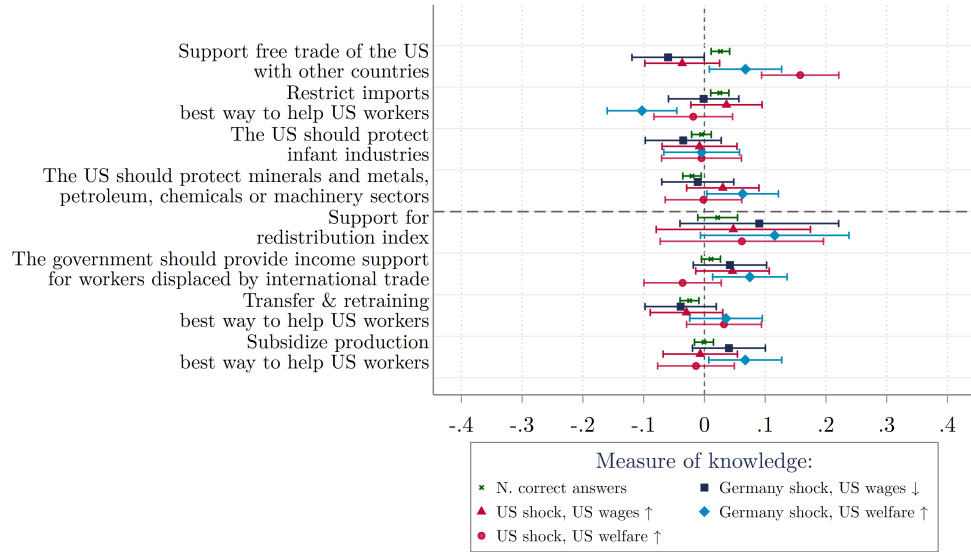
Notes. The figure reports regression coefficients together with 90% confidence intervals where the outcome variables are listed on the left axis. All variables are detailed in Appendix G. The regressions control for age, gender, number of children, political leaning, employment status, race and income. The variable "N. of correct questions" is an integer from 0 to 6 that measures the number of correct answers to questions in the 'problem-set' with correct answers (out of those questions that do have an unambiguous answer).

F The Role of the Identity of the Trade Partner

In the third survey, respondents were asked a series of questions related to the identity of the trade partner. The first question reads: *"How important is the identity of a country that is a trade partner of the U.S.?"* with answer options *[Not important at all, Somewhat important, Very important]*.

The second question reads: *"Are there specific countries with which the US should approach trade more cautiously or limit trade? If your answer is yes, could you please name these countries?"* followed by an empty text entry field.

FIGURE A-12: IMPORTANCE OF THE IDENTITY OF THE TRADE PARTNER
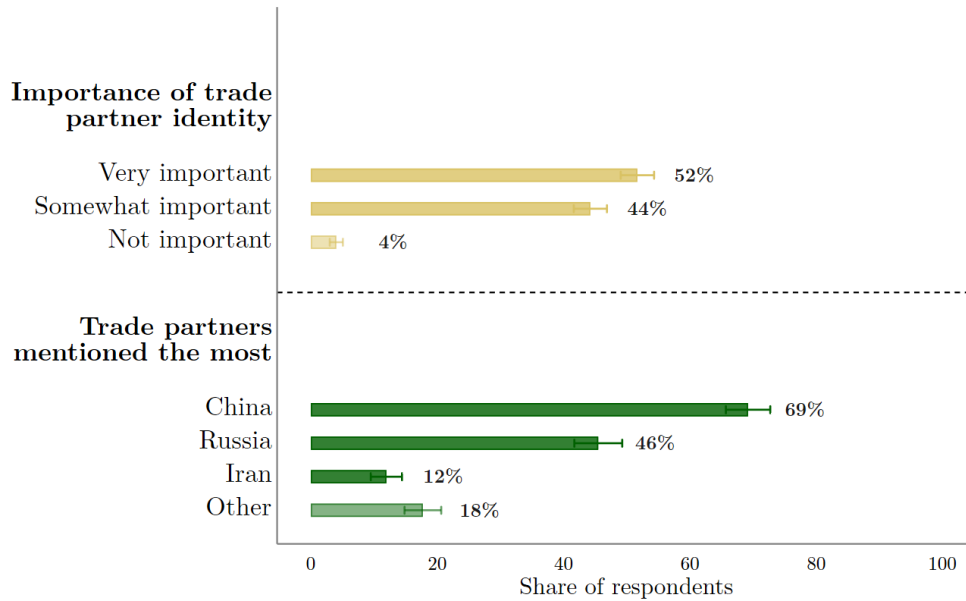
Notes. The top panel depicts the share of respondents who think the trade partner identity is "Somewhat Important" or "Very Important." The bottom panel shows the share of respondents who mention the countries in response to the open-ended question "Are there specific countries with which the US should approach trade more cautiously or limit trade? If your answer is yes, could you please name these countries?", among all respondents who answered "Somewhat Important" or "Very Important" to the question about the importance of the trade partner identity in the top panel. Note that respondents are allowed to list more than one country. 90% confidence intervals are depicted.

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(A) CORRELATION BETWEEN COUNTRY WITH WHICH TO LIMIT TRADE, BELIEFS ABOUT TRADE, AND EXPOSURE TO TRADE
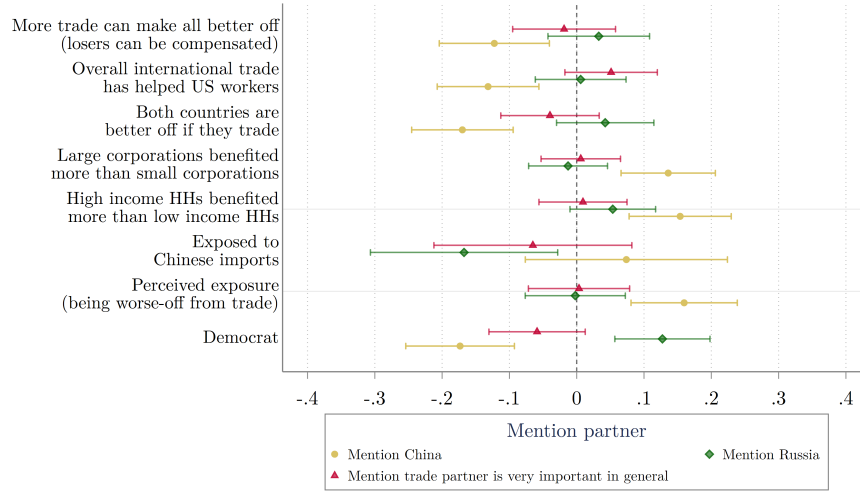
(B) CORRELATION BETWEEN COUNTRY WITH WHICH TO LIMIT TRADE AND POLICY VIEWS
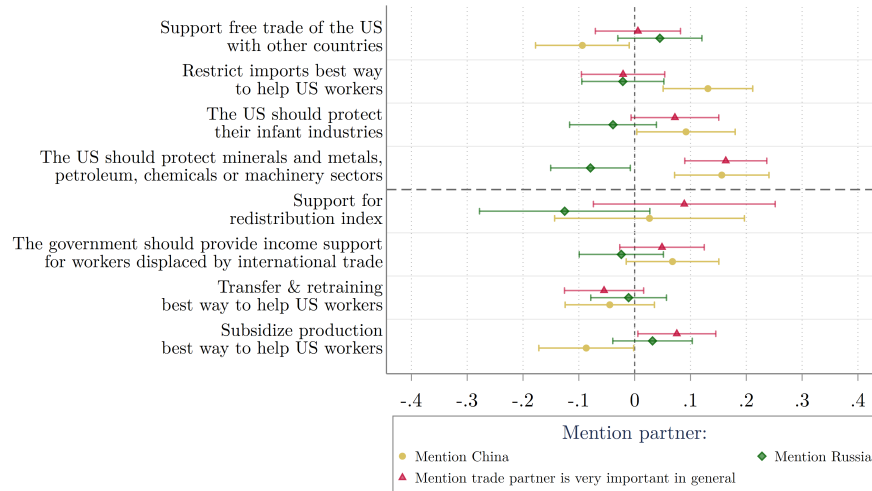
Notes. The figure shows the correlation between mentioning a specific country with which to limit trade or saying that the trade partner identity is important and beliefs about trade and exposure to trade (Panel A) or policy views (panel B). 90% confidence intervals are depicted. All exposure variables are defined in Appendix G (paragraph "Exposure to Trade"). The correlations in Panel B control for age, gender, number of children, political leaning, employment status, race and income. All policy views variables are defined in Appendix G (paragraph "Exposure to Trade"). Variables "Mention China" and "Mention Russia" are indicators for the respondent mentioning China and Russia, respectively, as answer to the open-ended question "Are there specific countries with which the US should approach trade more cautiously or limit trade? If your answer is yes, could you please name these countries?". The variable "Mention trade partner is very important in general" is an indicator equal to one for answering "Very important" (vs "Not important at all" and "Somewhat important") to the question "How important is the identity of a country that is a trade partner of the U.S.?"

G   Variable Definition

Core respondents characteristics
Female: respondent is female.
Male: respondent is male.
Age 18-29: respondent's age is between 18 and 29 years.
Age 30-49: respondent's age is between 30 and 49 years.
Age 50-69: respondent's age is between 50 and 69 years.
White: respondent's ethnicity is European American/White.
Black/African-American: respondent's ethnicity is African American/Black.
Hispanic/Latino: respondent's ethnicity is Hispanic/Latino.
Asian/Asian-American: respondent's ethnicity is Asian/Asian American.
Other races: respondent's ethnicity is not among those listed above.
Kids: respondent has children.
Low-Income: respondent's household income is below $39,000.
Middle-Income: respondent's household income is between $40,000 - $69,000.
High-Income: respondent's household income is above $70,000.
Upper Class (self-reported): respondent's self-reported social class is upper-middle class or upper class.
Student: respondent is student.
Working: respondent is full-time or part-time employee, or self-employed, or small business owner.
Not working: respondent is unemployed and looking for work or not currently working and not looking for work.
Retiree: respondent is retiree.
Married: respondent is married.
Republican: respondent's political affiliation is Republican.
Democrat: respondent's political affiliation is Democratic (usually omitted category in the regressions).
Independent and others: respondent's political affiliation is independent or other or non-affiliated.
Economics related major: respondent has a college degree with an economics-related major.
College (degree): respondent has at least a 4-year college degree.

Treatments
Distributive Effects: in Survey 1, respondent was randomized to see the information treatment focused on the distributional impacts of trade and trade policy.
Efficiency Effects: in Survey 1, respondent was randomized to see the information treatment focused on the efficiency effects of trade and trade policy.
Economist (= Efficiency + Distributive): in Survey 1, respondent was randomized to see the information treatment focused on both efficiency effects and distributional impacts of trade and trade policy.
Own consumption: in Survey 2, respondent was randomized to be primed to think about the effects of trade on consumers.
Own job risks: in Survey 2, respondent was randomized to be primed to think about the effects of trade on jobs.

Beliefs

Efficiency.

Trade ↑ competition in the U.S.: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that international trade has made firms in the U.S. more competitive and improved their productivity (*Yes/No* Question).

Trade ↑ competition in your sector: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade made firms in their sector of work more competitive and improved their productivity (*Yes/No* Question).

Trade ↑ innovation in the U.S.: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the competitive pressure from trade has increased innovation in the U.S. (*Yes/No* Question).

Trade ↑ GDP growth of the U.S.: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that international trade has increased the U.S.'s GDP growth (*Yes/No* Question).

If U.S. exports ↑ value of $ ↑: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the value of the dollar will increase (as opposed to "will decrease" and "will not change") if the U.S. exports more goods abroad.

Both countries better off when trading: indicator variable equal to one if respondent answers "both countries are better off" (as opposed to "one country gains, the other one loses" and "both countries lose") to the question "When two countries trade with each other, would you say that, in general, both are made better off from trade or that one gains at the expense of the other one?"

Distributional (General).

Large corporations gained from trade: indicator variable equal to one if, when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?," respondent rated "Large corporations" 4 or more on a scale from 1 ("lost a lot") to 5 ("gained a lot").

Small businesses gained from trade: indicator variable equal to one if, when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?," respondent rated "Small businesses" 4 or more on a scale from 1 ("lost a lot") to 5 ("gained a lot").

High-income households gained from trade: indicator variable equal to one if, when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?," respondent rated "High-income households" 4 or more on a scale from 1 ("lost a lot") to 5 ("gained a lot").

Middle-income households gained from trade: indicator variable equal to one if, when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?," respondent rated "Middle-income households" 4 or more on a scale from 1 ("lost a lot") to 5 ("gained a lot").

Low-income households gained from trade: indicator variable equal to one if, when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?," respondent rated "Low-income households" 4 or more on a scale from 1 ("lost a lot") to 5 ("gained a lot").

It's easy to change sector x low-skilled workers: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that it is easy for low-skilled workers to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in (*Yes/No* question).

It's easy to change sector x high-skilled workers: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that it is easy for high-skilled workers to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in (*Yes/No* question).

Trade major reason x unemployment & decline of industries: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade is a major reason for unemployment in some sectors and the decline of some industries in the U.S. from "A moderate amount" to "A great deal."

Main cause x loss of manufacturing jobs (S2): Automation: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that job losses of manufacturing jobs in the U.S. are mainly due to "Technological changes (e.g., automation)" (as opposed to "Globalization, trade and outsourcing" and "Immigration").

Main cause x loss of manufacturing jobs (S2): Trade: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that job losses of manufacturing jobs in the U.S. are mainly due to "Globalization, trade and outsourcing" (as opposed to "Technological changes (e.g., automation)" and "Immigration").

Main cause x loss of manufacturing jobs (S2): Immigration: indicator variable equal to one if respondent

believes that job losses of manufacturing jobs in the U.S. are mainly due to "Immigration" (as opposed to "Globalization, trade and outsourcing" and "Technological changes (e.g., automation)").

Overall trade helped U.S. workers: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that, overall, trade has helped U.S. workers (as opposed to "Hurt U.S. workers").

Trade major reason x rise in inequality: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade is a major reason for a rise of inequality in the U.S. from "A moderate amount" to "A great deal."

Trade not a major reason x rise in inequality: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade is not a major reason for a rise of inequality in the U.S. from "A moderate amount" to "A great deal."

Trade ↓ prices of goods sold in the U.S.: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade decreased the prices of goods sold in the U.S. (*Yes/No* question).

More trade can make all better off (Losers can be compensated): indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that more international trade can make everyone better off by compensating those who lose with transfers (as opposed to "it will be impossible to compensate those who lose from it").

Large companies won more than small ones: indicator variable equal to one if respondent assigns a higher value to "Large corporations" with respect to "Small businesses," on a scale from 1 ("Lost a lot") to 5 ("Gained a lot"), when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?"

High-income HHs benefit more than low-income HHs: indicator variable equal to one if respondent assigns a higher value to "High-income households" with respect to "Low-income households," on a scale from 1 ("Lost a lot") to 5 ("Gained a lot"), when asked "As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it?"

Sector switch easier if high-skill: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that it is easy to find a job in a different sector for high-skill workers, but not for low skill workers.

Distributional (Personal).

Trade ↓ prices of goods they buy: indicator variable equal to one if respondent agrees with the statement that trade decreased the prices of goods they regularly buy.

Trade ↑ varieties of goods they buy: indicator variable equal to one if respondent agrees or strongly agrees with the statement that trade has increased the variety of the goods they have access to in ordinary stores.

Your wage has not grown as fast due to competition: indicator variable equal to one if respondent agrees or strongly agrees with the statement that, because of trade and the resulting competition with foreign countries that pay lower wages to their workers, their wage has not grown as fast as it would otherwise have.

Trade ↑ unemployment in your sector: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade is a major reason for the rise of unemployment in their sector from "*A great deal*" to "*A moderate amount.*"

Trade threat x future of your sector: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that trade is a "Very serious" threat for the future of their sector.

Your job likely to be offshored, outsourced or automated: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that it is "Very likely" that, over the next 10 years, their job will be outsourced, offshored, or automated because of competition with foreign countries.

Automation had a negative impact on your job: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected a value from 0 to 4 as answer to the question "To what extent, on a scale from 0 to 10, the following factors have a negative or positive effect on your job?" for the option "Automation," where 0 indicates a negative impact and 10 a positive impact.

Trade had a negative impact on your job: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected a value from 0 to 4 as answer to the question "To what extent, on a scale from 0 to 10, the following factors have a negative or positive effect on your job?" for the option "Trade," where 0 indicates a negative impact and 10 a positive impact.

Immigration had a negative impact on your job: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected a value from 0 to 4 as answer to the question "To what extent, on a scale from 0 to 10, the following factors have a negative or positive effect on your job?" for the option "Immigration," where 0 indicates a negative impact and 10 a positive impact.

You are better off (or worse off) from trade: indicator variable equal to one if respondent answered "Better off" (respect. "Worse off") to the question "Would you say that trade between the U.S. and other countries

has made you better off or worse off?"

General knowledge of the mechanisms of trade policy.
The variables in this block refer to questions asked after the following preamble: *"The U.S. is a large net exporter of laptops (meaning that it sells more laptops abroad than it purchases from abroad and that U.S. laptops are a large share of all laptops sold in the world), and a large net importer of cars (meaning that it purchases more cars from abroad than it sells abroad and that cars purchased by customers in the U.S. are a large share of worldwide car purchases). The laptop sector employs many high-skilled, college-educated workers. The car sector employs many low-skilled workers. Cars are produced for cheaper abroad, while laptops are produced for cheaper in the U.S. Imagine now that the U.S. starts importing even more cars and producing less cars domestically."*

Consumers benefit if imports ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that households who purchase cars in the U.S. are better off after the U.S. starts importing more cars (*Yes/No* question).

Justifiable to import even if U.S. more productive: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that it makes sense for the U.S. to import cars from Germany under some circumstances, even though the U.S. was better at producing them, i.e., able to produce them at a lower price (*Yes/No* question).

U.S. prices ↓ *if U.S. cars imports* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the price of cars in the U.S. will decrease (as opposed to "It will remain the same" and "It will increase") if the U.S. starts producing less and importing more cars.

Prices abroad ↓ *if U.S. laptop exports* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the price of U.S. laptops abroad will decrease (as opposed to "It will remain the same" and "It will increase") if the U.S. starts producing and exporting more laptops.

U.S. wages ↓ *if U.S. cars imports* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that wages of low-skilled workers working in the car sector will decrease (as opposed to "Wages will remain the same" and "Wages will increase") if the U.S. starts importing more cars.

U.S. wages ↑ *if U.S. laptop exports* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that wages of high-skilled workers working in the laptop sector will increase (as opposed to "Wages will remain the same" and "Wages will decrease") if the U.S. starts importing more laptops.

Wages of car workers moving to laptop sector ↑ *if car imports* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that wages of those low-skilled workers moving to the laptop sector will increase (as opposed to "Wages will remain the same" and "Wages will decrease").

Your wage ↓ *if U.S. imports in your sector* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that their wage will decrease (as opposed to "It will remain the same" and "It will increase") if imports in their sector increase.

Your wage ↑ *if U.S. exports in your sector* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that their wage will increase (as opposed to "It will remain the same" and "It will decrease") if exports from their sector to other countries increase.

Prices abroad ↑ *if export tax* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the price of laptops sold abroad will increase (as opposed to "It will remain the same" and "It will decrease") if the U.S. were to impose an export tax on laptops.

U.S. prices ↑ *if import tax* ↑*:* indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the price of cars sold in the U.S. will increase (as opposed to "It will remain the same" and "It will decrease") if the U.S. were to impose an import tariffs on cars.

Correct answers to the case study: share of correct answers to the trade case study in Survey 1. The questions considered are all the ones in this block + the variable *Both countries better off when trading*.

Policy views
Support for more free trade and lower trade restrictions: indicator variable equal to one if respondent agrees or strongly agrees with the statement that "Increasing trade with other countries and reducing barriers to trade is something the U.S. should aim for."

The U.S. should restrict food imports to ensure food security: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the best policy to ensure national food security is restricting imports (as opposed to "Provide more subsidies").

The U.S. should protect their infant industries: indicator variable equal to one if respondent thinks it makes sense to protect infant industries for a while by means of tariffs or import restrictions (as opposed to "let these firms immediately face foreign competition to become more competitive").

Restrict imports best way to help U.S. workers: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the best policy tool to help workers in an industry that is declining and threatened by foreign competition is restricting imports in that industry (as opposed to "Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs" and "Subsidize production in the sector").

Transfers & retraining best way to help U.S. workers: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the best policy tool to help workers in an industry that is declining and threatened by foreign competition is providing more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs (as opposed to "Restrict imports in that industry" and "Subsidize production in the sector").

Subsidize production best way to help U.S. workers: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the best policy tool to help workers in an industry that is declining and threatened by foreign competition is subsidizing production in the sector (as opposed to "Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs" and"Restrict imports in that industry").

The U.S. should protect minerals and metals, petroleum, chemicals or machinery sectors: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent believes that the U.S. should provide protection against foreign competition to either of the following options: "minerals and metals," "petroleum," "chemicals or machinery" when asked "Do you think some industries should be protected from foreign competition using tariffs or other import restrictions? Select all that apply."

The U.S. should protect from trade food and cars: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the U.S. should protect any good among: cars, vegetables, fruits, meat, fish, and milk.

The U.S. should protect more than 3 types of goods: indicator variable equal to one if respondent believes that the U.S. should protect more than 3 types of goods from foreign competition when asked whether "particular goods should be protected from foreign competition using tariffs or other import restrictions."

Views on government
Trust government: respondent answers "Almost always" or "A lot of the time" to the question "How much of the time do you think you can trust our federal government to do what is right?"

Government purposes: respondent says the "Government should do more" to solve their country's problems (as opposed to "Government is doing too much" and "Government is doing just the right amount").

Government involvement: respondent rates theirselves 4 or more following the question "Where would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you think the government should do only those things necessary to provide the most basic government functions, and 5 means you think the government should take active steps in every area it can to try and improve the lives of its citizens?"

Transfers to those out of work: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent thinks that the service "Transfers and income support programs for those out of work" should receive increased funding even if this means more taxes or reducing spending in other areas, as opposed to "decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere)" or "funding to be left unchanged."

Better schools for low-income children: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent thinks that the service "Better schools for children from low-income families" should receive increased funding even if this means more taxes or reducing spending in other areas, as opposed to "decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere)" or "funding to be left unchanged."

Income support and retraining for workers displaced by int. trade: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent thinks that the service "Income support and retraining programs for workers who are displaced by international competition and trade" should receive increased funding even if this means more taxes or reducing spending in other areas, as opposed to "decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere)" or "funding to be left unchanged."

Subsidies to pay health insurance: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent thinks that the service "Subsidies for low-income households to help them with the costs of health insurance premiums and health care" should receive increased funding even if this means more taxes or reducing spending in other areas, as opposed to "decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere)" or "funding to be left unchanged."

Wage subsidies to working poor: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent thinks that the service "Wage subsidies and help for the working poor who work for low wages" should receive increased funding even if this means more taxes or reducing spending in other areas, as opposed to "decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere)" or "funding to be left unchanged."

The next variables are defined out of the following question: "Consider now a list of functions the federal government could serve. On a 1 to 5 scale, please say how much responsibility you think the government should have for each — with 1 meaning the government should have no responsibility at all and 5 meaning the government should have total responsibility in this area."

Government should be responsible for reducing income differences: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Reducing income differences between the rich and the poor."

Government should be responsible for reducing wealth transmission: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Reducing the transmission of wealth from one generation to the other"

Government should be responsible for ensuring health care: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Making sure Americans have adequate health care."

Government should be responsible for reducing opportunity differences: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Reducing the differences in opportunities between children from wealthy and poor families."

Government should be responsible for regulating trade: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Regulating trade to and from the U.S. to protect American producers and consumers."

Government should be responsible for stabilizing financial system: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Maintaining a stable financial system and ensuring that credit markets work."

Government should be responsible for stabilizing dollar: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Ensuring a stable dollar."

Government should be responsible for providing minimum living: indicator variable equal to one if respondent selected values 4 or 5 for the option "Providing a minimum standard of living for all."

Patriotism

Proud to be American: variable summarizing how proud the respondent is to be American, with values from 1 ("Not at all proud"), to 5 ("Extremely proud").

Important to be born in the U.S.: variable summarizing how important it is for the respondent to be born in the U.S., with values from 1 ("Not important at all") to 5 ("Very important").

Own culture superior: variable summarizing how much the respondent agrees with the statement that their own culture is superior to others, with values from 1 ("Completely disagree") to 4 ("Completely agree").

Exposure to trade

Objective Exposure Based on Tradable Sector: The indicator of exposure to trade based on sector follows the specification of Mayda and Rodrik (2005). We split respondents' sectors into 2 categories: tradables and non-tradables. Tradable sectors are manufacturing sectors that are included in Table 9 of Mayda and Rodrik (2005).

Objective Exposure Based on Routine Occupation: The measured exposure depending on routine occupation is based on a measure of routine (Autor et al. (2003), Acemoglu and Autor (2011) and Autor and Dorn (2013)). Data is taken from the replication packet of Owen and Johnston (2017), based on the definition of RTI (Routine Task Intensity Index) of Goos et al. (2014). In order to aggregate the detailed classification of occupations, I compute a weighted mean of RTI across occupations. The weights are the ones given in the dataset. I then create an indicator variable equal to 1 if the respondent is in the top 50th percentile in terms of RTI. This indicator variable is used to build interaction variables. I also create three indicator variables for low, middle, and high routine occupations. Low routine occupations are those in the bottom 33th percentile, middle routine occupations are between the 33th percentile and the 66th percentile and high routine occupations are in the top 66th percentile. When the coefficient for routine occupation is displayed, it corresponds to the indicator variable equal to one if the respondent is above 66th percentile. I also control

for being being in a middle routine occupation (between the 33th and the 66th percentiles).

Objective Exposure Based on Routine x Offshorable Occupation: First, I determine the level of offshorability for each occupation. The methogology is analogous to the *Measured exposure based on routine occupation* and data also comes from Owen and Johnston (2017) and is based on the methodology of Blinder et al. (2009). Then I define an indicator variable equal to one if the respondent has an occupation above the median both in terms of offshorability and routine. The coefficient that is used in regressions corresponds to this indicator variable that I just described. I also control for being in a non-offshorable and routine occupation and also for being in a non-offshorable and non-routine occupation, so that the displayed coefficient captures the effect of routine in offshorable occupations only.

Objective Exposure Based on Comparative Advantage Occupation: Data is taken from the replication packet of Owen and Johnston (2017). This index is a continuous measure of comparative advantage and comparative disadvantage by occupation (see section *Research Design* of Owen and Johnston (2017) for more details on the computations of comparative advantages by occupation). The methodology is analogous to the *Measured Exposure Based on Routine Occupation*, except that I include the continuous measure into the regressions.

Objective Exposure Based on Local Labor Market: The measured exposure based on local labor market follows the methodology of Autor et al. (2013). The replication package is available on David Dorn's website section P3, so that I obtain an index by commuting zone from 1991 to 2007. Then, I run the first stage regression, which consists in regressing imports penetration in the U.S. on imports penetration in other countries.[1] Based on the predicted values, I determine an indicator variable equal to 1 if the respondent is in a commuting zone that is in the top 50th percentile in terms of exposure. As for the routine index, I also determine three indicator variables for low, middle and high exposed commuting zones. Low exposed areas are those below the 50th percentile, middle exposed are between the 50th and the 80th percentiles and high exposed are above the 80th percentile.

Interactions of Objective Measures: I also obtain further measures of exposure by interacting indices. I consider four interactions: (1) high labor market exposure and being in a tradable sector,[2] (2) being in a tradable sector and in a high routine occupation,[3] (3) being in a tradable sector, in a routine occupation and in a highly exposed labor market, (4) being in an offshorable occupation and in a tradable sector.[4]

Better off from trade: indicator variable equal to one if respondent answered "Better off" to the question "*On balance, would you say that trade between the U.S. and other countries has made you better off or worse off?*"

Worse off from trade: indicator variable equal to one if respondent answered "Worse off" to the question "would you say that trade between the U.S. and other countries has made you better off or worse off?"

Feels impacted by trade: indicator variable equal to 1 if respondent believes that "U.S. trade policy has important, direct effects" on their own life (*Yes/No* question).

Willingness to pay

Willingness to pay: indicator variable equal to one if the respondent is willing to pay either $1, $2, $5 or $10, according to which branch he was randomized into, to learn the correct answers to various questions (payment is conditional on winning the $1,000 lottery in which the respondent is automatically enrolled by taking the survey).

Indices

The summary indices that aggregate information over the same domain are constructed following the methodology in Kling et al. (2007). Each indice consists of an equally weighted average of the z-scores of its components with signs oriented consistently within domain. Variables are transformed into z-scores by subtracting the control group mean and dividing by the control group standard deviation, so that each z-score has mean 0 and standard deviation 1 for the control group. To further ease interpretation, the resulting index is itself

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[1]See Autor et al. (2013) for more details on the instrumental variable procedure and how the index is built.

[2]In regressions, I also control for being both in a tradable sector and in a low exposed labor market, so that I capture the difference with non tradable sectors.

[3]In regressions, I also control for being both in a tradable sector and in a low routine occupation, so that I capture the difference with non tradable sectors.

[4]In regressions, I also control for being both in a tradable sector and in a low offshorable occupation, so that I capture the difference with non tradable sectors.

standardized by subtracting the mean in the control group and dividing by the standard deviation, so that each index has mean zero and standard deviation one.

Believes in efficiency gains: index capturing whether the respondents believes in efficiency gains for the U.S. in terms of decreased prices, competition, innovation and GPD growth. It combines the variables *Trade ↓ prices of goods sold in the U.S.*, *Trade ↑ competition in the U.S.*, *Trade ↑ innovation in the U.S.* and *Trade ↑ GDP growth of the U.S.*.

Trade Increases Innovation, Competitiveness and GDP: index capturing whether the respondents believes in efficiency gains for the U.S. in terms of competition, innovation and GPD growth. It combines the variables *Trade ↑ competition in the U.S.*, *Trade ↑ innovation in the U.S.* and *Trade ↑ GDP growth of the U.S.*.

Believes trade has adverse distributional impacts: index summarizing how much the respondent believes that trade has adverse distributional impacts. It includes the variables *Large corporations gained from trade*, *Small businesses gained from trade*, *High-income households gained from trade*, *Middle-income households gained from trade*, *Low-income households gained from trade*, *Trade major reason x unemployment & decline of industries*, *Trade major reason x rise in inequality*, *More Trade can make all better off (Losers can be compensated)*, *Overall trade helped U.S. workers*, *It's easy to change sector x low-skilled workers*. The sign of the variables entering the index is oriented so that a higher index means that trade had more adverse distributional impacts.

Trade major reason for unempl. and hurts U.S. workers: index capturing whether the respondent believes that trade is a major reason for unemployment and hurts U.S. workers. It combines the variables *Trade major reason x unemployment & decline of industries* and *Overall trade helped U.S. workers*. The sign is oriented so that a higher index means that trade had a greater detrimental effect on U.S. workers.

Supports government intervention: index capturing the respondent's support for government intervention. It includes the variables *Trust government*, *Government purposes* and *Government involvement*.

Is patriotic: index summarizing the extent to which the respondent is patriotic. It includes the variables *Proud to be American*, *Important to be born in the U.S.*, *Own culture superior*.

Support for redistribution: index summarizing the respondent's support for redistribution programs. It includes the variables *Transfers to those out of work*, *Better schools for low-income children*, *Income support and retraining for workers displaced by int. trade*, *Subsidies to pay health insurance*, *Wage subsidies to working poor* and *Transfers & retraining best way to help U.S. workers*.

H Questionnaire of the First Survey

The questionnaire is available at: `https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_0qhj8nbFK7k2NA9`.

H.1 Consent form

FIGURE A-14: CONSENT PAGE

Academic Research Survey We are a non-partisan group of academic researchers from the Economics Department at Harvard University. Our goal is to learn about people's attitudes on several issues. Please read the information below before consenting to begin the research study.

• This survey is voluntary. You have the right to not answer any question, and to stop the survey at any time or for any reason (to exit the survey, simply close this window). We expect that it will take about 20 minutes. You will likely learn a lot!

• Your name will never be recorded by researchers. Results may include summary data, but you will never be identified. The data will be stored on Harvard servers and will be kept confidential. The collected anonymous data may be made available to other researchers for replication purposes.

• You will be compensated for this interview conditional upon (i) completing the survey and (ii) passing our survey quality checks, which use sophisticated statistical control methods to detect incoherent and rushed responses. **Responding without adequate effort may result in your responses being flagged for low quality and you may not receive your payment.**

Please note that it is very important for the success of our research that you **answer honestly** and **read the questions very carefully** before answering. If at any time you don't know an answer, please give your best guess **without consulting any external sources**. However, please be sure to spend enough time reading and understanding the questions.

You are encouraged to print or take a screenshot of this page for your records. If you have any questions about this study, you may contact us at studysocialsciences2018@gmail.com.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Harvard University Area Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (617) 496-2847 or cuhs@harvard.edu if:
• Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
• You cannot reach the research team.
• You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
• You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
• You want to get information or provide input about this research.

○ Yes, I would like to take part in this study, and confirm that I LIVE IN THE U.S., and I am 18 or older

○ No, I would not like to participate

H.2 Background Questions

1. What is your gender?

   Male; Female

2. What is your age?

3. What was your TOTAL household income, before taxes, last year?

   $0-$9999; $10000-$14999; $15000-$19999; $20000-$29999; $30000-39999; $40000-$49999; $50000-$69999; $70000-$89999; $90000-$109999; $110000-$149999; $150000-$199999; $200000+

4. Were you born in the United States?

   Yes; No

5. In which ZIP code do you live?

6. Please indicate your marital status

   Single; Married; Legally separated or divorced; Widowed

7. How many children do you have?

   I do not have children; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more

8. *Screening Question 1.* Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you've read this much, just go ahead and select both strongly agree and strongly disagree among the alternatives below, no matter what your opinion is.

   Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It is easy to find accurate and reliable information in the media these days."

   Strongly agree; Agree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

9. How would you describe your ethnicity/race?

   European American/White; African American/Black; Hispanic/Latino; Asian/Asian American; Mixed race; Other (please specify)

10. Which category best describes your highest level of education?

    Primary education or less; Some High School; High School degre/GED; Some College; 2-year College Degree; 4-year College Degree; Master's Degree; Doctoral Degree; Professional Degree (JD, MD, MBA)

11. (If highest level of education superior to "High School" to 10) What is/was your field of study in college? If multiple degrees apply, please select the field corresponding to your last degree.

    Accounting/bookkeeping; Administrative science/public administration; Advertising; Agriculture/ horticulture; Allied health; Anthropolgy; Architecture; Art; Aviation/aeronatics; Biology; Business administration; Chemistry; Child/human/family development; Comm. disorders; Communications/speech; Computer science; Counseling; Criminology/criminal justice; Dance; Dentistry; Economics; Education; Educational administration; Electronics; Engineering; English; Environmental science/ecology; Ethnic studies; Fashion; Finance; Fine arts; Food science/nutrition/culinary arts; Foreign language; Forestry; General sciences; General studies; Geography; Geology; Gerontology; Health; History; Home economics; Human services/human resources; Humanities; Industrial relations; Industry and techn; Information technology; Journalism; Law; Law enforcement; Liberal arts; Library science; Marketing; Mathematics; Mechanics/machine trade; Medicine; Music; Nursing; Other; Other vocational; Parks and recreation; Pharmacy; Philosophy; Physical education; Physics; Political science/international relations; Psychology; Public relations; Social sciences; Social work: Sociology; Special education; Statistics/biostatistics; Television/film; Textiles/cloth; Theater arts; Theology; Urban and regional planning; Veterinary medicine; Visual arts/graphic design/design and drafting; Other

12. What is your current employment status?

    Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed or small business owner; Unemployed and looking for work; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work; Retiree

13. (If "Full-time employee", "Part-time employee", or "Self-employed or small business owner" to 12) Which category best describes your main occupation?

    Managers; Professionals; Technicians and associate professionals; Clerical support workers; Service and sales workers; Agricultural workers; Craft and related trades workers; Platnt and machine operators, and assemblers; Elementary occupations; Armed forces occupations

14. *[For health and trade surveys only]* (If "Full-time employee", "Part-time employee", or "Self-employed or small business owner" to 12) Are you employed in one of the following sectors? Check the one that applies. If you have multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

    Agriculture, plantations, other rural sectors; Basic metal production; Chemical industries; Commerce; Construction; Education; Financial services, professional services; Food, drink, tobacco; Forestry, wood; Health services; Hotels, tourism, catering; Mining; Mechanical and electrical engineering; Media, culture, graphical; Oil and gas production, oil refining; Postal and telecommunications services;

Public service; Shipping, ports, fisheries, inland waterways; Textiles, clothing, leather, footwear; Transport (including civil aviation, railways, road transport); Transport equipment manufacturing; Utilities (water, gas, electricity); None of the above

15. (If "Unemployed and looking for work', "Not currently working and not looking for work", or "Retiree" to 12) Even if you are not currently working, which category best describes your latest occupation? Check the one that applies. If you have had multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

    Same options as above

16. *[For health and trade surveys only]* (If "Unemployed and looking for work", "Not currently working and not looking for work", or "Retiree" to 12) Even if you are not currently working, in what sector does your latest occupation fall into? Check the one that applies. If you have multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

    Same options as above

17. Are you covered by Medicaid, Medical Assistance, or Medicaid?

    Yes; No

18. Did you, or anyone in your household, receive food stamps or use a food stamp benefit card at any time during 2018?

    Yes; No

19. At any time during 2018, even for one month, did you or anyone in your household receive any cash assistance from a state or county welfare program such as welfare or welfare to work, TANF, general assistance, diversion payments or refugee cash?

    Yes; No

20. If you had to use one of these five commonly-used names to describe your social class, which one would it be?

    Lower Class or Poor; Working Class; Middle Class; Upper-middle Class; Upper Class

21. On economic policy matters, where do you see yourself on the liberal/conservative spectrum?

    Very liberal; Liberal; Moderate; Conservative; Very conservative

22. What do you consider to be your political affiliation, as of today?

    Republican; Democrat; Independent; Other; Non-Affiliated

23. (If respondent answered "Other" to previous question) Please specify your political affiliation.

24. Did you vote in the last presidential election?

    Yes; No

25. (If "Yes" to 24) In the last presidential election, supported:

    Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson; Other

    (If "No" to 24) Even if you dit NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for or who represents your vies more closely.

    Hillary Clinton; Donald Trump; Jill Stein; Gary Johnson; Other

26. Are you registered to vote at your current address?

    Yes; No

27. There are many types of elections such as federal elections for president and members of Congress, primary elections where voters choose party nominees, local elections for city council and school boards, and special elections when vacancies arise in between scheduled elections.

    Which best describes how often you vote, since you became eligible?

    Every election without exception; Almost every election, may have missed one or two; Some elections; Rarely; Don't vote in elections

28. Did you vote in the November midterms elections?

    Yes; No

29. (If "Yes" to 28) Which party did you vote for?

    Republican Party; Democratic Party; Other

30. (If "No" to 28) Which party would you have liked to support?

    Republican Party; Democratic Party; Other

31. Thinking about various sources of news available today, what would you say is your main source of news about current events in the U.S. and around the world?

    TV; Newspaper (print); Magazine; Radio; Internet; Word of mouth; Other; None, I don't follow the news

32. Please specify

33. (If respondent gets their news mostly from online newspapers) Would you say that you access most of the articles you read through a social media like Facebook or Twitter or by going directly on the website of the newspaper?

    Mostly through social media; Mostly through the newspaper's website

34. In general, how important do you think it is to stay informed about economic policy?

    Very important; Somewhat important; Not very important; Not important at all

35. (If "Very important" or "Somewhat important" at 34) What would you say are the main reasons why you wish to be well informed about economic policy?

    You may select several options.

    Affects personal finances; Affects business or profession; Relevant to stock market and investments; Economic issues are important politically and might affect my vote; To be a responsible citizen, I like to keep informed

36. How knowledgeable do you consider yourself on economic policies and issues?

    Highly knowledgeable; Somewhat knowledgeable; Not very knowledgeable; Not knowledgeable at all

37. For the following sources of information, how often would you say you use them to stay informed about economic policy?

    Often; Regularly; Occasionally; Rarely; Never

    - TV
    - Newspapers (print)
    - (online)
    - Magazines
    - Radio
    - Internet
    - Word of mouth

H.3   Patriotism

1. How proud are you to be an American?

   Extremely proud; Very proud; Moderately proud; Only a little proud; Not at all proud

2. How important do you believe it is to have been born in the United States or to have an American family background to be truly American?

   Very important; Somewhat important; Not important at all

3. Do you agree with the following statement: "Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others"?

   Completely agree; Mostly agree; Mostly disagree; Completely disagree

H.4   Open-ended questions

We now want to ask you a few broader questions. Please use the text boxes below and write as much as you feel like. Your opinion and thoughts are important to us! There is no right or wrong answer.

1. When you think about trade policy and whether the U.S. should put some restrictions on trade with other countries such as tariffs, what are the main considerations that come to your mind?

2. What would be a "good" trade policy in your view? What would be the goal of a good trade policy?

3. What do you think are the issues with or shortcomings of the current U.S. trade policy?

4. What do you think would be the effects on the U.S. economy if barriers to trade, such as tariffs, were increased?

5. Which groups of people do you think would gain if trade barriers such as tariffs were increased?

H.5   Personal Exposure

1. Do you feel that U.S. trade policy has important, direct effects on your own life?

   Yes; No

H.6   Knowledge about policy

In this section, all respondents will receive the following screening question.

- In order to facilitate our research on decision making we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the decision maker. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the instructions, please ignore the question below. Instead, simply put the slider to 98. Thank you very much.

  Out of 100 adults in the U.S., how many are currently paying any income tax at all?

1. Do you know what an import tariff is?

   Yes; No

2. Do you know what an import quota is?

   Yes; No

3. The U.S. imports both industrial (i.e., non-agricultural) and agricultural goods. What share of the goods that the U.S. imports do you think are agricultural goods?

   Slider going from 0 to 100

4. Of all the goods that the U.S. imports, what share do you think is subject to a tariff or import duty?

   Slider going from 0 to 100

5. To which country does the U.S. export the most, in terms of the net dollar value?

   Brazil, Canada; China; France; Germany; India; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Mexico; Netherlands; South Korea; Switzerland; Taiwan; United Kingdom

6. From which country does the U.S. import the most, in terms of the net dollar value?

   Brazil, Canada; China; France; Germany; India; Ireland; Italy; Japan; Mexico; Netherlands; South Korea; Switzerland; Taiwan; United Kingdom

7. Over time, do you think trade between the U.S. and other countries has decreased, stayed more or less the same, or increased?

   It has decreased; It has stayed more or less the same; It has increased

H.7 Videos Treatments

Randomized groups of respondents see one of three videos. In each case, the videos introduced by the following:

- Recent academic research has studied what the effects of trade policy are. We will now show you one short video (with sound) that summarizes some key ideas of these studies. Please pay attention to the information provided as you will be asked questions about it later. Do not skip forward or close the page while the video is running.

  Please proceed to the next page when you are ready. Note that you will not be able to move forward with the survey before the end of the short video. The video lasts about 2 and a half minutes.

- Links to the videos can be found here: Redistributional treatment, Efficiency treatment, Economist treatment, US-specific economist treatment.

H.8 Mechanisms

1. *CONTROL GROUP.* As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following groups have lost or gained from it? Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being "lost a lot" and 5 "gained a lot".

   - Large corporations
   - Small businesses
   - High-income households
   - Middle-income households
   - Low-income households

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION. As trade with other countries has increased, to what extent do you think the following firms have lost or gained from it? Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being "lost a lot" and 5 "gained a lot".

   - Large corporations
   - Small businesses

2. *"ME" RANDOMIZATION.* On balance, would you say that trade between the U.S. and other countries has made you better off or worse off?

   Better off; Worse off

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION. Please specify the extent to which you think you have lost or won as trade with other countries has increased, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being "lost a lot" and 5 "gained a lot").

3. Which statement comes closest to your view?

   CONTROL GROUP. More international trade can make everyone in the U.S. better off. Even if some people lose from it, it creates sufficient gains so that even those who lose from it can be compensated through appropriate policies; Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate those who lose from it.

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION. (If "Worse off" to 2) More international trade can make everyone in the U.S. better off. Even if people like me may lose from it, it creates sufficient gains so that even we who lose from it can be compensated through appropriate policies; Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate people like me who may lose from it

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION. (If "Better off" to 2) More international trade can make everyone in the U.S. better off. Even if certain people may lose from it, appropriate policies can enable them to be compensated through the sufficient gains made by people like me; Free trade will entail winners and losers and it will be impossible to compensate people who, unlike me, may lose from it

4. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you feel that most American jobs are being affected by US trade policy?

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION. Do you feel that your own job is being affected by U.S. trade policy?

   Yes; No

5. *O*verall, has international trade helped or hurt U.S. workers?

   Helped U.S. workers; Hurt U.S. workers

6. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think it is easy for low-skilled workers to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in?

   Yes; No

7. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think it is easy for high-skilled workers to find a job in a different sector from the one they are currently working in?

   Yes; No

8. *"ME" RANDOMIZATION.* Would it be be easy for you to find a job in a different sector from the one you are currently working in?

   Yes; No

9. To what extent do you think that trade with other countries is a major reason for:

   A great deal; A lot; A moderate amount; A little; None at all

   - *CONTROL GROUP.* Unemployment in some sectors and the decline of some industries in the U.S.
   - *"ME" RANDOMIZATION.*Unemployment in your sector and the decline of some industries in the U.S.
   - A rise of inequality in the U.S.

10. *CONTROL GROUP.* Overall, has international trade decreased the prices of goods sold in the U.S.?

    "ME" RANDOMIZATION. Overall, has international trade decreased the prices of goods that you buy regularly?

    Yes; No

11. *CONTROL GROUP.* Do you think that international trade has made firms in the U.S. more competitive and improved their productivity?

    "ME" RANDOMIZATION. Overall, has international trade made the firms in your sector of work more competitive and improved their productivity?

    Yes; No

12. Do you think that the competitive pressure from international trade has increased innovation in the U.S.?

    Yes; No

13. Overall, do you think that international trade has increased the growth of the GDP in the U.S.?

    Yes; No

14. If the U.S. exports more goods abroad, what do you think will happen to the value of the dollar?

    It will increase; It will not change; It will decrease

15. When two countries trade with each other, would you say that, in general, both are made better off from the trade or that one gains at the expense of the other one?

    In general, both countries are better off; In general, one country gains, the other one loses; In general, both countries lose

16. Imagine the U.S. was better at producing cars than Germany, meaning that it is able to produce better cars at a lower price. Would it still make sense under some circumstances for the U.S. to import cars from Germany?

    Yes, it makes sense for the U.S. to import cars from Germany under some circumstances; No, the U.S. should not import cars from Germany if it's better at producing them

17. Let us now consider the following simplified example of what happens economically when there is more trade in some goods. Take for instance the car industry and the laptop industry.

    The U.S. is a large net exporter of laptops (meaning that it sells more laptops abroad than it purchases from abroad and that U.S. laptops are a large share of all laptops sold in the world), and a large net importer of cars (meaning that it purchases more cars from abroad than it sells abroad and that cars purchased by customers in the U.S. are a large share of worldwide car purchases).

    The laptop sector employs many high-skilled, college-educated workers. The car sector employs many low-skilled workers. Cars are produced for cheaper abroad, while laptops are produced for cheaper in the U.S.

    Imagine now that the U.S. starts importing even more cars and producing less cars domestically.

    What will happen to the price of cars in the U.S.?

    It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase

18. Would you say that households who purchase cars in the U.S. are now better off?

    Yes; No

19. What will happen to the wages of low-skilled workers working in the car sector?

    Wages will decrease; Wages will remain the same; Wages will increase

20. Imagine also that the U.S. starts producing and exporting more laptops.

    What will happen to the price of U.S. laptops abroad, i.e., in the countries where the U.S. sells laptops?

    It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase

21. What will happen to the wages of high-skilled workers working in the laptop sector?

    Wages will decrease; Wages will remain the same; Wages will increase

22. Imagine now that over time, some low-skilled workers from the car sector are able to quit their jobs and find new jobs in the laptop sector.

    What will happen to their wages now if the U.S. exports more laptops?

    Wages will decrease; Wages will remain the same; Wages will increase

23. If the U.S. were to impose an export tax on laptops, what would happen to the price of laptops abroad?

    It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase

24. If the U.S. were to impose an import tariff on cars sold in the U.S, what would happen to the price of cars in the U.S?

    It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase

25. If exports from your sector to other countries would increase, what do you think will happen to your wage?

    It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase

26. If the U.S. started to import more of the goods produced in your sector, what do you think would happen to your wage?

    It will decrease; It will remain the same; It will increase

H.9 Policy Views

In this section, all respondents get the following screening question:

- When a big news story breaks people often go online to get up-to-the-minute details on what is going on. We want to know which websites people trust to get this information. We also want to know if people are paying attention to the question. To show that you've read this much, please ignore the question and select ABC News and The Drudge Report as your two answers.

  When there is a big news story, which is the one news website that you would visit first? (Please only choose one)

1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

   "Increasing trade with other countries and reducing barriers to trade is something the U.S. should aim for."

   Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

2. How fair would you rate the current U.S. trade policy?

   Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair

3. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the current U.S. trade policy?

   Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied

4. Do you think some industries should be protected from foreign competition using tariffs or other import restrictions? Select all that apply:

   Dairy products; Agricultural products (fruit, vegetables, plants); Beverages and tobaccos; Minerals and metals; Petroleum; Chemicals; Animal products (meat, fish); Textiles, clothing leather and footwear; Machinery, transport, equipment and cars; Manufactured goods

5. Do you think particular goods should be protected from foreign competition using tariffs or other import restrictions? Select all that apply.

   Cars; Washing machines; Solar panels; Shoes; Machinery; Oil; Vegetables; Fruits; Toys; Meat; Fish; Milk; Steel; Textiles; Clothing; Coffee and tea; Chemicals

6. CONTROL GROUP: In your view, what is the best policy tool to help workers in an industry that's declining and threatened by foreign competition? Please rank the following options from best (1) to worst (3).

   Restrict imports in that industry; Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs; Subsidize production in the sector

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION: In your view, what is the best policy tool to help workers in your industry against the threat of foreign competition? Please rank the following options from best (1) to worst (3).

   Restrict imports in your industry; Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs; Subsidize production in your sector

7. What do you think is the best policy tool to ensure national food security?

   Restrict food imports from abroad; Provide more production subsidies in the food sector

8. If the U.S. starts imposing tariffs on many goods that it imports, how likely or unlikely do you think it is that other countries follow suit and also impose tariffs?

   Very likely, likely; Unlikely; Very unlikely

9. CONTROL GROUP: Let us consider a given relatively new industry in which other countries are currently able to produce goods for cheaper than American firms.

   In your opinion, does it make sense to protect the American firms in this industry by using tariffs or import restrictions (even if this means higher prices for consumers) or is it better to let the American firms immediately face foreign competition, forcing them to become more competitive?

   It makes sense to protect for a while; It makes sense to let these firms face foreign competition to become more competitive

   "ME" RANDOMIZATION: Imagine that the goods or services currently produced in your sector or industry can actually be produced in a cheaper way in another country.

   In your opinion, would it make sense to protect the American firms in your sector or industry by using tariffs or import restrictions (even If this means higher prices for consumers) or would it be better to let the American firms in your sector or industry immediately face foreign competition, forcing them to become more competitive?

   It makes sense to protect for a while; It makes sense to let the firms in my sector face foreign competition to become more competitive

10. For these different groups, please tell me if you think that they're are paying their fair share in federal taxes, paying too much, or paying too little?

    ... pay much more than their fair share in income taxes; ... pay more than their fair share in income taxes; ... pay their fair share in income taxes; ... pay less than their fair share in income taxes; ... pay much less than their fair share in income taxes

    - High-income households...
    - Middle-class households...

11. Take the following government services. For each of them, say if would you like it to receive increased funding (even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas), decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere) or would you like for its funding to be left unchanged?

    - Transfers and income support programs for those out of work
    - Better schools for children from low-income families

- Income support and retraining programs for workers who are displaced by international competition and trade

- Subsidies for low-income households to help them with the costs of health insurance premiums and health care

- Wage subsidies and help for the working poor who work for low wages

  More of this service, more taxes; Service and taxes as now; Less of this service, reduced taxes.

H.10 Government Questions

1. Which groups of people do you think oppose free trade?

   Text Box

2. Which statement comes closest to your views about more trade between the US and other countries? "When there is more trade between the US and other countries...

   ... most people gain, but a few people lose a lot."; ... most people lose, but a few gain a lot."

3. How much of the time do you think you can trust our federal government to do what is right?

   Almost always; A lot of the time; Not very often; Almost never

4. Some people think the government is trying to do too many things that should be left to individuals and businesses. Others think that government should do more to solve our country's problems. Which come closer to your own view?

   Government is doing too much; Government is doing just the right amount; Government should do more

5. Next, we'd like you to think more broadly about the purposes of government.

   Where would you rate yourself on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means you think the government should do only those things necessary to provide the most basic government functions, and 5 means you think the government should take active steps in every area it can to try and improve the lives of its citizens?

   You may use any number from 1 to 5.

   1; 2; 3; 4; 5

6. Of every tax dollar that goes to the federal government in Washington, D.C., how many cents would you say are wasted?

   Slider going from 0 to 100

7. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way the federal government in Washington is dealing with the problems the country is facing today?

   Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied

8. Consider now a list of functions the federal government could serve.

   On a 1 to 5 scale, please say how much responsibility you think the government should have for each — with 1 meaning the government should have no responsibility at all and 5 meaning the government should have total responsibility in this area:

   - Reducing income differences between the rich and the poor
   - Reducing the transmission of wealth from one generation to the other
   - Making sure Americans have adequate health care
   - Reducing the differences in opportunities between children from wealthy and poor families

- Regulating trade to and from the U.S. to protect American producers and consumers

- Maintaining a stable financial system and ensuring that credit markets work

- Ensuring a stable dollar

- Providing a minimum standard of living for all

H.11   Willingness to pay for information

By taking this survey, you are automatically enrolled in a lottery to win $1000. In a few days you will know whether you won the $1000. The payment will be made to you in the same way as your regular survey pay, so no further action is required on your part.

Are you are interested in learning the correct answers to all the questions about trade policy in the U.S.? If you are, you can forfeit part of your gain (should you win the lottery) in exchange for the correct answers. If you select that option, you will be given the right answers on the next page. You will only pay the amount selected if you do, in fact, win the lottery.

Note: This information would be very hard to find online on your own. It is the result of a lot of careful research and you cannot easily find the correct answers.

In case you win the lottery are you willing to give up ($1 / $2 / $5 / $10 [5]) to receive all the correct answers to the questions about trade policy in the U.S.?

No, I am not willing to pay anything (We will not provide you with the correct answers); Yes, I am willing to pay $1 / $2 / $5 / $10 (We will provide you with all the correct answers on the next page. You will only pay this amount out of your lottery earnings if you do win the lottery).

H.12   Self-reported questions

1. It is vital to our study that we only include responses from people that devoted their full attention to this study. Otherwise years of effort (the researchers' and the time of other participants) could be wasted. You will receive credit for this study no matter what, however, please tell us how much effort you put forth towards this study.

   I put forth almost no effort; I put forth very little effort; I put forth some effort; I put forth quite a bit of effort; I put forth a lot of effort

2. Also, often there are several distractions present during studies (other people, TV, music, etc.). Please indicate how much attention you paid to this study. Again, you will receive credit no matter what. We appreciate your honesty!

   I gave this study almost no attention; I gave this study very little attention; I gave this study some of my attention; I gave this study most of my attention; I gave this study my full attention

H.13   Feedback

1. Do you feel that this survey was biased?

   Yes, left-wing bias; Yes, right-wing bias; No, it did not feel bias

2. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impression regarding this survey.

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[5]Note: the amount is randomized among participants.

I Questionnaire of the Second Survey

The questionnaire is available at: `https://harvard.az1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_bO6NvZAXlJKePHL`.

I.1 Background questions

1. What is your gender?

   Male; Female

2. What is your age?

3. Do you live in the US?

4. In which state do you currently reside?

5. In which zip code do you live?

6. Were you born in the United States?

   Yes; No

7. Please indicate your marital status

   Single; Married; Legally separated or divorced; Widowed

8. How many children do you have?

   I do not have children; 1; 2; 3; 4; 5 or more

9. How would you describe your ethnicity/race?

   European American/White; African American/Black; Hispanic/Latino; Asian/Asian American; Mixed race; Other (please specify)

10. What was your TOTAL household income, before taxes, last year?

    $0-$9999; $10000-$14999; $15000-$19999; $20000-$29999; $30000-$39999; $40000-$49999; $50000-$69999; $70000-$89999; $90000-$109999; $110000-$149999; $150000-$199999; $200000+

11. CAPTCHA

12. Which category best describes your highest level of education?

    Primary education or less; Some High School; High School degree / GED; Some College; 2-year College Degree; 4-year College Degree; Master's Degree; Doctoral Degree; Professional Degree (JD, MD, MBA)

13. *Screening Question 1* Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you've read this much, just go ahead and select both strongly agree and strongly disagree among the alternatives below, no matter what your opinion is. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It is easy to find accurate and reliable information in the media these days."

14. *Screening Question 2* This is a question to check whether you are paying attention and reading the questions carefully. Please select both "strongly disagree" and "strongly agree" to move forward.

15. On economic policy matters, where do you see yourself on the liberal/conservative spectrum?

    Very liberal; Liberal; Moderate; Conservative; Very conservative

16. What do you consider to be your political affiliation, as of today?

    Republican; Democrat; Independent; Other; Non-Affiliated

17. Did you vote during the 2016 presidential election?

18. *IF YES TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION* In the 2016 presidential election, you supported:

    Clinton, Trump, Stein, Johnson, Other

19. *IF NO TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION* Even if you did NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for or who represents your views more closely.

    Clinton, Trump, Stein, Johnson, Other

20. Did you vote during the 2020 presidential election?

    Yes ; No

21. IF YES TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION Who did you vote for?

    Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Other

22. IF NO TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION Even if you did NOT vote, please indicate the candidate that you were most likely to have voted for or who represents your views more closely

    Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Other

23. What is your current employment status?

    Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Self-employed or business owner; Temporarily furloughed; Unemployed and looking for work; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work; Retiree

24. *IF "FULL-TIME EMPLOYEE","PART-TIME EMPLOYEE" OR "SELF-EMPLOYED OR BUSINESS OWNER* What is the title of your job?

    [text]

25. *IF "UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK", "NOT CURRENTLY WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR WORK", OR "RETIREE"* What was the title of your latest job?

    [text]

26. *IF "FULL-TIME EMPLOYEE","PART-TIME EMPLOYEE" OR "SELF-EMPLOYED OR BUSINESS OWNER* Which category best describes your main occupation?

    Managers; Professionals; Technicians and associate professionals; Clerical support workers; Service and sales workers; Agricultural workers; Craft and related trades workers; Plant and machine operators, and assemblers; Elementary occupations; Armed forces occupations

27. *IF "FULL-TIME EMPLOYEE","PART-TIME EMPLOYEE" OR "SELF-EMPLOYED OR BUSINESS OWNER* Are you employed in one of the following sectors? Check the one that applies. If you have multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

    Agriculture, plantations, other rural sectors; Basic metal production; Chemical industries; Commerce; Construction; Education; Financial services, professional services; Food, drink, tobacco; Forestry, wood; Health services; Hotels, tourism, catering; Mining; Mechanical and electrical engineering; Media, culture, graphical; Oil and gas production, oil refining; Postal and telecommunications services; Public service; Shipping, ports, fisheries, inland waterways; Textiles, clothing, leather, footwear; Transport (including civil aviation, railways, road transport); Transport equipment manufacturing; Utilities (water, gas, electricity); None of the above

28. *IF "UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK", "NOT CURRENTLY WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR WORK", OR "RETIREE"* Even if you are not currently working, which category best describes your latest occupation? Check the one that applies. If you have had multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

    Same options as above

29. *IF "UNEMPLOYED AND LOOKING FOR WORK", "NOT CURRENTLY WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR WORK", OR "RETIREE"* Even if you are not currently working, in what sector does your latest occupation fall into? Check the one that applies. If you have had multiple jobs, check the one that describes your main occupation.

    Same options as above

30. *IF UNEMPLOYED* How many months have you been unemployed?

31. *IF UNEMPLOYED* Did you become unemployed during the COVID-19 crisis?

32. *IF YES* Do you expect to be rehired once the pandemic is over?

I.2 Views on economic insecurity

I.2.1 Current situation

Please respond to the following questions based on your/your household's current financial situation.

1. Please select the option that best describes your financial situation, where basic expenses include housing, bills and food:

    - I am often unable to meet by basic expenses
    - I can afford my basic expenses, but just barely and with little to no money left over
    - I can meet my basic expenses, and have some money left over for discretionary spending and savings
    - I can meet my basic expenses, and have a significant portion of my income left over for discretionary spending and savings

2. *IF NOT MARRIED* Suppose that you lost your income next month. Please tell us how you would deal with the lost income (Check all that apply)

    - Borrowing from a family member
    - Borrowing from friends
    - Government assistance (unemployment or social assistance benefits)
    - Temporary "gig" employment
    - Savings
    - Selling something
    - Paying with credit card
    - Community assistance
    - Other (please specify)

3. IF NOT MARRIED: Suppose that you have an emergency expense that costs $400. Which of the following best describes how you would pay for this expense?

    - Using my income flow
    - Borrowing from a family member
    - Borrowing from friends
    - Temporary "gig" employment
    - Savings
    - Selling something
    - Paying with credit card

- Community assistance
- I wouldn't be able to pay for the expense right now
- Other (please specify)

4. *IF MARRIED* Suppose that you or your partner lost your income next month. Please tell us how you would deal with the lost income (Check all that apply)

- Relying on spouse's income only
- Borrowing from a family member
- Borrowing from friends
- Government assistance (unemployment or social assistance benefits)
- Temporary "gig" employment
- Savings
- Selling something
- Paying with credit card
- Community assistance
- Other (please specify)

5. *IF MARRIED* Suppose that you have an emergency expense that costs $400. Which of the following best describes how you would pay for this expense?

- Using my household's income flow
- Borrowing from a family member
- Borrowing from friends
- Temporary "gig" employment
- Savings
- Selling something
- Paying with credit card
- Community assistance
- I wouldn't be able to pay for the expense right now
- Other (please specify)

I.2.2 COVID

1. Did your household benefit from any COVID-19 related measures implemented by the federal or state government in the last months? Please select all that apply.

- Business Assistance Programs
- Tax reliefs (deferment of tax payments)
- Enhanced employment benefits (paid leave)
- Other social help than healthcare (education, food, direct financial aid)
- Unemployment insurance
- Help on unavoidable expenditures (ex: moratorium on utility bills, delaying mortgages, eviction, insurance)
- Other
- My household did not benefit from any federal or state COVID-19 related measure.

I.2.3 Expectations

1. Over the next 6-12 months, do you expect your income to

   Decrease/Stay the same/increase

2. *IF MARRIED/DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP* Over the next 6-12 months, do you expect your partner's income to

   Decrease/Stay the same/increase

3. *IF NOT MARRIED* How likely do you think the following events are [sliding scale from "not likely at all" to "extremely probable"]

   - Losing your job in the next month
   - Losing your job in the next 6 months

4. *IF MARRIED* How likely do you think the following events are [sliding scale from "not likely at all" to "extremely probable"]

   - Losing your job in the next month
   - Losing your job in the next 6 months
   - Your partner losing his/her job in the next month
   - Your partner losing his/her job in the next 6 months

5. How much would your sense of economic security change if the government implemented more measures to provide the following? [1- Same, 2 - Slightly better, 3 - Much better]

   - Increased unemployment benefits and other social benefits
   - Access to good job opportunities
   - Better education for my children so they have the right skills for the future
   - Better job-seeking and skills training support
   - More generous retirement pensions
   - More affordable housing (e.g., public housing, support for renters or home-buyers)
   - Better access to funds to start a business
   - A guaranteed transfer sufficient to cover my basic needs (e.g., government payment of basic income)
   - Better healthcare

6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "I think that the government would (or does) provide my family and me with adequate income support in the case of income loss due to" [from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree]

   - Unemployment
   - Illness/disability
   - Becoming a parent
   - Old age

7. Over the next 10 years, do you expect your economic situation to be

   Much worse; Slightly worse; Same; Slightly better; Much better

8. IF HAS CHILDREN Relative to the life opportunities you have had, do you expect your children's life opportunities to be

   Much worse; Slightly worse; Same; Slightly better; Much better

I.2.4   Past Experiences

1. Looking back over your life, how often have there been times in your life when you think you have lived in poverty by the standards of that time?

   Never; Sometimes; Often; Always

2. How many times have you been unemployed in your life?

   0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5+

3. *IF MORE THAN 0 TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION* During those times when you were unemployed, did you ever make use of a public job search assistance program?

4. *IF YES TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION* On a scale from 0-10, how satisfactory was your experience with the public job search assistance program? *[Scale from 0 to 10]*

   - Could you tell us why? [text]

5. Do you feel that your own efforts in life have paid off?

I.3   Views on Good Jobs

I.3.1   Ideal Job

1. What do you consider to be a "good job"? You can describe features including, but not limited to the hours worked, benefits, compensation, use of skills, and more.

   [text]

2. What do you consider to be a "bad job"?

   [text]

3. What would be your ideal occupation?

   [text]

4. When looking for a new job, how important are the following factors? [Likert scale from Not important at all" to "extremely important"]

   - Compensation, including bonuses.
   - Benefits, including retirement benefits, child and health care benefits
   - Not too long work hours and sufficient time off
   - Ability to have flexible work hours
   - Ability to work remotely
   - Good relationship with colleagues
   - Good relationship with manager or boss
   - Using my skills well
   - Autonomy and creativity
   - Opportunities for professional development and career growth
   - Passion for the work
   - Contributing to society
   - Safe physical environment

5. How important are the following factors in determining who currently has access to "good jobs"? [Likert scale from "Not important at all" to "extremely important"]

- Educational attainment
- Experience in the labor market
- Being able to live in the areas that have those jobs
- Rich family background
- Personal connections to people in those jobs
- Information about which jobs are available and how to successfully apply for those jobs
- Gender
- Race and/or being an immigrant
- Innate ability

6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: [1- Strongly disagree; 5- Strongly agree]

- "My job is better than the jobs my parents had when they were my age"
- "I can access "good jobs" within commuting distance of where I live."

7. Which statement best describes where "good jobs" are located?

- "good jobs" are concentrated in and around most large cities
- "good jobs" are concentrated in and around some large cities
- "good jobs" are concentrated only in some regions of the United States
- There are "good jobs" everywhere

8. IF SINGLE Have you ever moved to a different part of the country for work-related reasons? Please check all that apply.

- Yes, for a new job
- Yes, because my employer relocated me
- No, I have never moved for work-related reasons

9. IF NOT SINGLE Have you ever moved to a different part of the country for work-related reasons? (Check all that apply)

- Yes, For a new job
- Yes, Because my employer relocated me
- Yes, For my spouse's job
- No, I have never moved for work-related reasons

10. IF NO Have you ever considered relocation?

11. IF NO Which of the following best describes the barriers to your relocation? (Check all that apply)

- Members of my household would be unable to find a job if we relocated
- I don't want to live far away from my family, friends and community
- I take care of family members and friends in this area
- I enjoy where I live, even if the job opportunities are limited
- I am afraid I would be unable to find a job even if I relocated
- I couldn't afford to relocate
- Other (please specify) *[text]*

I.3.2 Job Characteristics

Again, we will ask you some questions about your main paid job, meaning the job where you spend most hours. For all questions referring to your job, please answer with regards to your main paid job. If you are currently temporarily furloughed or unemployed, please answer with respect to your last main job in mind. If you are self-employed, please answer with respect to your main work activity.

1. What are the best features of your job?

   [text]

2. What features of your job could be improved?

   [text]

3. How many hours do you usually work per week in your main job?

   1-9; 10-19; 20-29; 30-39; 40-49; 50-59; 60+

4. Considering everything about your job, including things like pay, fringe benefits, working conditions and the kind of work you do, how would you rate your job on a scale from 0–10?

5. IF SELF EMPLOYED: Check all the reasons why you became self-employed:

   - Wanted to start my own business
   - Too low pay
   - Lack of career progression
   - No other alternatives for work
   - To acquire different skills
   - Too many work hours
   - Too much work-related stress
   - Lack of flexibility in work hours
   - Inability to work remotely
   - Health and safety risks
   - Work too physically demanding

6. In the past 12 months, have you considered getting a new job?

7. *IF YES* Check all the reasons why you considered getting a new job

   - To start my own business
   - Too low pay
   - Career progression
   - To gain a different experience and acquire different skills
   - Too many work hours
   - Too much work-related stress
   - Lack of flexibility in work hours
   - Inability to work remotely
   - Health and safety risks
   - Work too physically demanding
   - Other (please specify)

8. *IF NO* Check all the reasons why you have not considered getting a new job

- I like my current job
- Pay and fringe benefits offset the downsides of my job
- I don't have time to search for a new job
- I don't know how to look for another job
- Other (please specify)

9. Relative to other workers in the US, my job is:

   "Far below average" to "Far above average"

10. Relative to workers with my level of education and background, my job is:

    "Much worse" to "Much better

11. Relative to workers with jobs similar to mine, my level of skills and qualifications is:

    "Much worse" to "Much better"

12. Would you rather have:

    - a job with low risk of dismissal but with few opportunities of finding another job a in case of dismissal
    - a job with fairly high risk of dismissal but with a lot of opportunities of finding a new job in case of dismissal

13. In January 2020, before the covid-19 outbreak, the unemployment rate among young people between 20 and 24 years old was more than twice as high as the unemployment rate among people above 35 years older.. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *[Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

    - The young do not have adequate skills to get jobs
    - There are not enough good jobs for the young
    - Young people are not very interested in employment or in building careers
    - Young people do not try hard enough to get jobs

I.4   Trust in government

1. How much of the time do you think you can trust our federal government to do what is right?

   Almost never; Not very often; A lot of time; Almost always

2. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: *[from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

   - "Policy decisions in American politics are transparent, meaning that everyone can see how they were made"
   - "I trust the government to design policies that benefit people like me."

I.5   Treatment Questions

I.5.1   Jobs Treatment

1. What are the main considerations that come to your mind when you think about the U.S. trading with foreign countries and how your job has been affected by it?

   [text]

2. Since 2000, more than 5 million jobs in the manufacturing sectors have been lost. One of the causes behind this decline is the increased competition with foreign countries that pay lower wages to their workers. How serious of a threat do you think trade with foreign countries pose for the future of your sector?

   Not serious at all; Not very serious; Somewhat serious; Very serious

3. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Because of trade and the resulting competition with foreign countries that pay lower wages to their workers, my wage has not grown as fast as it would otherwise have."

   Strongly disagree; Somewhat disagree; Neither agree or disagree; Somewhat agree; Strongly agree

4. How likely do you think it is that, over the next 10 years, your job will be outsourced, offshored, or automated because of competition with foreign countries?

   Very unlikely; Somewhat unlikely; Somewhat likely; Very likely

I.5.2 Consumers Treatment

1. Imagine the U.S. did not trade goods and services with other countries. What are the main things you feel like you'd be missing?

   [text]

2. Can you think of some goods only produced in foreign countries that you regularly buy and consume because of trade with foreign countries? Please describe.

   [text]

3. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *[from Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

   - Trade with other countries has decreased the prices of the goods I regularly buy by increasing competition among firms.
   - Trade with other countries has increased the variety of the goods I have access to in ordinary stores.

I.6 Policy Views

1. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Increasing trade with other countries and reducing barriers to trade is something the U.S. should aim for."

   Strongly agree; Agree; Neither agree nor disagree; Disagree; Strongly disagree

2. How fair would you rate the current U.S. trade policy?

   Very fair; Somewhat fair; Somewhat unfair; Very unfair

3. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the current U.S. trade policy?

   Very satisfied; Somewhat satisfied; Somewhat dissatisfied; Very dissatisfied

4. In your view, what is the best policy tool to help workers in an industry that is declining and threatened by foreign competition? Please rank the following options from best (1) to worst (3).

   Restrict imports in that industry; Provide more generous transfers and direct assistance to these workers, such as retraining programs; Subsidize production in the sector

5. What do you think is the best policy tool to ensure national food security?

   Restrict food imports from abroad; Provide more production subsidies in the food sector

6. If the U.S. starts imposing tariffs on many goods that it imports, how likely or unlikely do you think it is that other countries follow suit and also impose tariffs?

   Very unlikely, unlikely; Likely; Very likely

7. Let us consider a given relatively new industry in which other countries are currently able to produce goods for cheaper than American firms. In your opinion, does it make sense to protect the American firms in this industry by using tariffs or import restrictions (even if this means higher prices for consumers) or is it better to let the American firms immediately face foreign competition, forcing them to become more competitive?

   It makes sense to protect for a while; It makes sense to let these firms face foreign competition to become more competitive

8. Take the following government services. For each of them, say if would you like it to receive increased funding (even if that means more taxes or reduced spending in other areas), decreased spending (in order to reduce taxes or increase spending elsewhere) or would you like for its funding to be left unchanged?

   - Transfers and income support programs for those out of work
   - Better schools for children from low-income families
   - Income support and retraining programs for workers who are displaced by international competition and trade
   - Subsidies for low-income households to help them with the costs of health insurance premiums and health care
   - Wage subsidies and help for the working poor who work for low wages More of this service, more taxes; Service and taxes as now; Less of this service, reduced taxes.

I.7   Role of government in ensuring economic security

We would now like to ask you about your views on what role the government should play in providing good jobs and ensuring a certain level of economic security. We define good jobs as "a stable formal-sector position that comes with core labor protections and enables provides income for housing, food, transportation, education, and other family expenses, as well as some savings."

1. Do you agree with the following statement? "The government has the ability and the tools to stimulate the creation of more good jobs"

   [Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]

2. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: *[1- Strongly disagree, 5- Strongly agree]*

   - "Government should prioritize the quantity of jobs available, even if that means giving up minimum standards of pay and quality."
   - "Government should guarantee all jobs meet a minimum standard of quality and pay, even if that means that some people stay unemployed"

3. Do you support or oppose the following proposals: *[Strongly oppose to Strongly support]*

   - Government should raise the minimum wage.
   - Government should design additional regulations to improve work conditions.
   - Government should provide or subsidize the provision of continuing education and training programs.
   - Government should provide subsidies for businesses to create and provide more good jobs.

4. Do you support or oppose the following policies to improve access to good jobs for more people: *[Strongly oppose; Slightly oppose; neither support nor oppose; slightly support; strongly support]*

   - Providing more dual education programs, which provide formal academic training as well as job experience, in partnership between local universities and employers
   - Expanding social insurance and benefits, including unemployment benefits, so that everyone can benefit from them regardless of whether they are on part-time work contracts, alternative work arrangements, or the gig economy.
   - Improving publicly provided job search assistance
   - Implementing a job search assistance program that coordinates with local employers specifically.

5. There has been considerable concern in recent years about the loss of manufacturing jobs in the US. What do you think these job losses are mainly due to?

   - Technological changes (e.g., automation)
   - Globalization, trade and outsourcing
   - Immigration

6. How about your job? Please tell us to what extent, on a scale from 0 to 10, the following factors have a negative or positive effect on your job.

   - Technological developments
   - Globalization and trade
   - Immigration

7. Suppose a large firm that employs 30,000 people in the US is closing permanently because foreign competitors can produce the goods more cheaply. Do you agree or disagree that the government should do the following: *[Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

   - Provide transfers to unemployed workers
   - Provide training and job placement services to unemployed workers
   - Raise import tariffs on foreign goods
   - Try to create good jobs in other sectors/firms
   - Do nothing

8. Now suppose instead the firm is closing permanently because it's moving production to a country outside the US. Do you agree or disagree that the government should do the following: *[Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

   - Provide transfers to unemployed workers
   - Provide training and job placement services to unemployed workers
   - Raise import tariffs on foreign goods
   - Try to create good jobs in other sectors/firms
   - Nationalize/take over production
   - Do nothing

9. Now suppose instead the firm is closing permanently because of management failure. Do you agree or disagree that the government should do the following: *[Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

   - Provide transfers to unemployed workers
   - Provide training and job placement services to unemployed workers

- Raise import tariffs on foreign goods
- Try to create good jobs in other sectors/firms
- Nationalize/take over production
- Do nothing

10. Now suppose instead the firm is not closing permanently, but it's employing new technologies and replacing workers with robots. Do you agree or disagree that the government should do the following: *[Strongly disagree to Strongly agree]*

   - Provide transfers to unemployed workers
   - Provide training and job placement services to unemployed workers
   - Raise import tariffs on foreign goods
   - Try to create good jobs in other sectors/firms
   - Nationalize/take over production
   - Do nothing

11. Are you a member of a union?

I.8 Feedbacks

1. Do you feel that this survey was biased?

   Yes, left-wing bias; Yes, right-wing bias; No, it did not feel bias

2. Please feel free to give us any feedback or impression regarding this survey.

   [text]

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