

A large container ship is docked at a port. A massive crane is positioned over the ship, and numerous colorful shipping containers (red, blue, yellow, green) are stacked on the ship's deck and on the ground in the foreground. The scene is set against a clear blue sky with some clouds on the left.

Love of Variety?

Heterogeneous Responses to Foreign Goods in the Marketplace

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Princeton University

Jude C. Hays
University of Pittsburgh



(April, 2017)

Economic Globalization and the Populist Backlash

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Our Contribution

- Focus on **consumption**
- Offer a **bottom-up** explanation, distinct from elite-driven narratives
- Explore **heterogeneous effects** among nationalists vs. cosmopolitans

Hypotheses

H1: Exposure to foreign goods will **cause**

- a. **Nationalists** to oppose trade, and immigrants, and support Trump.
- b. **Cosmopolitans** to support trade and immigrants, and oppose Trump.

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- a. **Consumption and production ethnocentrism.**
- b. **Sociotropic** concerns for the American economy and jobs.
- c. **Egocentric** concerns for effects on respondents' family.
- d. **Anti-Immigration** as mediator for support for Trump.

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Research Design

Published Survey Experiments

- Informational treatment: ▶ Mutz and Kim (IO 2017)
- Visual prime: ▶ Naoi and Kume (IO 2011) ▶ Naoi and Kume (CPS 2015)
- Conjoint experiment: ▶ Blankert et al. (PSRM 2022)

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Our Design Aims

- **Realistic** consumption experience with recognizable brands.
Framed as “*Americans are increasingly shopping for automobiles online.*”
- **Task-oriented**: subjects should evaluate and compare products.
- We examine if **consumption** in a diversified marketplace drives a **bottom-up** shift in trade policy preferences, moving beyond “elite-framing.”

Research Design: Survey Experiment

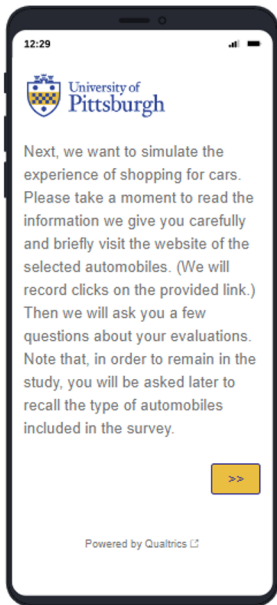
Framing:

Subjects are asked to evaluate and consider purchasing 3 sports utility vehicles (SUVs)

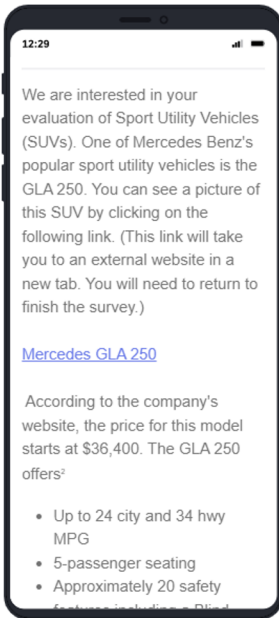
Experimental conditions:

1. American-domestic: Ford Explorer, Chevy Traverse LS, and GMC Acadia SLE
2. European-foreign: Mercedes GLA 250, Volkswagen Atlas SE, and Volvo XC40
3. Asian-foreign: Hyundai Palisade SE, Toyota Highlander L, Mazda CX-9

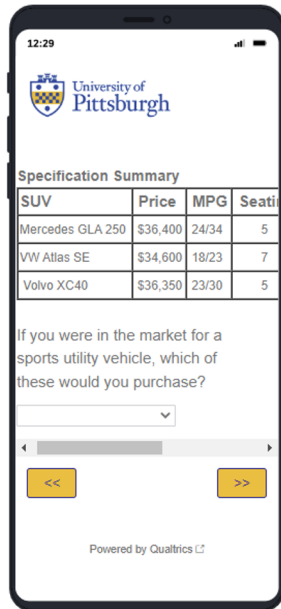
Introduction



Presentation of 3 SUVs




Tasks



Mercedes-Benz logo | VEHICLES | SHOPPING | OVERVIEW

Model Selection



2022 GLA 250 SUV | \$36,800

Acceleration: 0-60 sec. 7.1 | Top Speed: 130 mph | Power: 221 hp



XC40

Home | Overview | Features | Trims | Specifications


Search for 2023 Volvo XC40 | Starting at \$29,900 MSRP



HYUNDAI | SPECIAL | BUILD & PRICE | FINANCE | LEASE

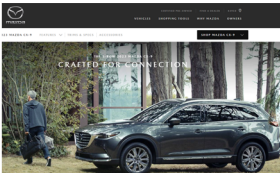
2023 PALISADE

The Ultimate Crossover SUV



Build & Price | Search Inventory

Starting at \$35,100 | 27 mpg city | 24 mpg hwy | 24 mpg combined | 3.5L V6 Gas



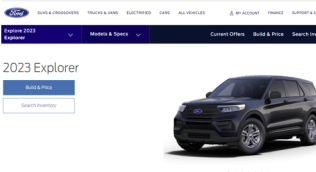
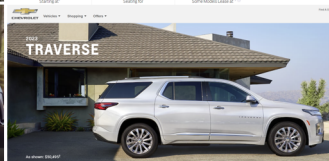
FORD | SUVs & Crossovers | TRUCKS & VANS | ELECTRIC | CARS | ALL VEHICLES

My Account | Finance | Support & Service

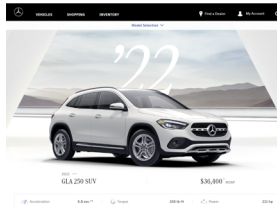
Explore 2023 Explorer | Models & Specs | Current Offers | Build & Price | Search Inventory

2023 Explorer

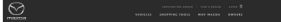
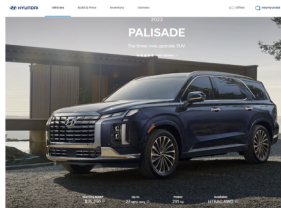
Build & Price | Search Inventory

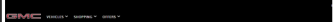
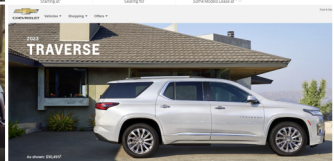
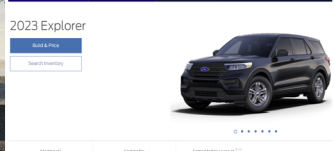
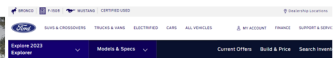
European-foreign



Asian-foreign



American-domestic



Survey Flow

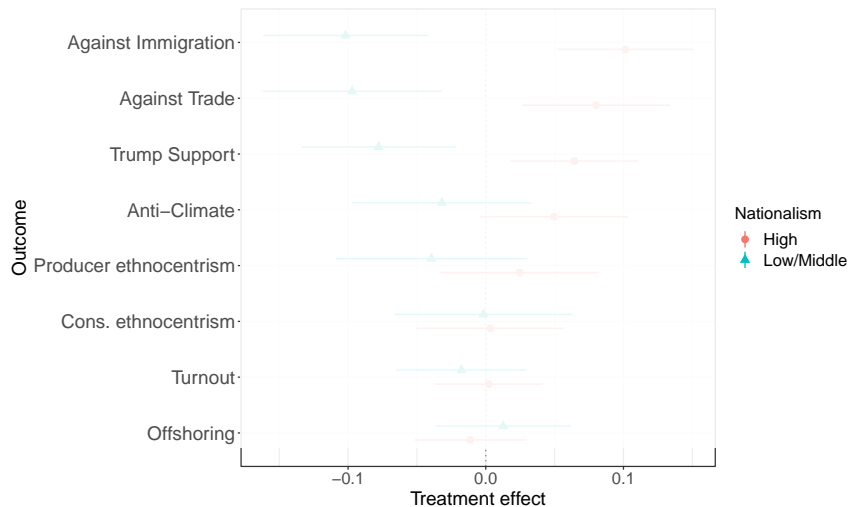
1. **Pre-treatment section:** questions about sociodemographics, partisanship, ideology, and measures preexisting levels of nationalism.
2. **Three experimental conditions/prompts:**
 - American-domestic
 - European-foreign
 - Asian-foreign
3. **Post-treatment section:** questions about consumption (i.e., brand), political, and public policy preferences + attention and manipulation checks.

Implementation

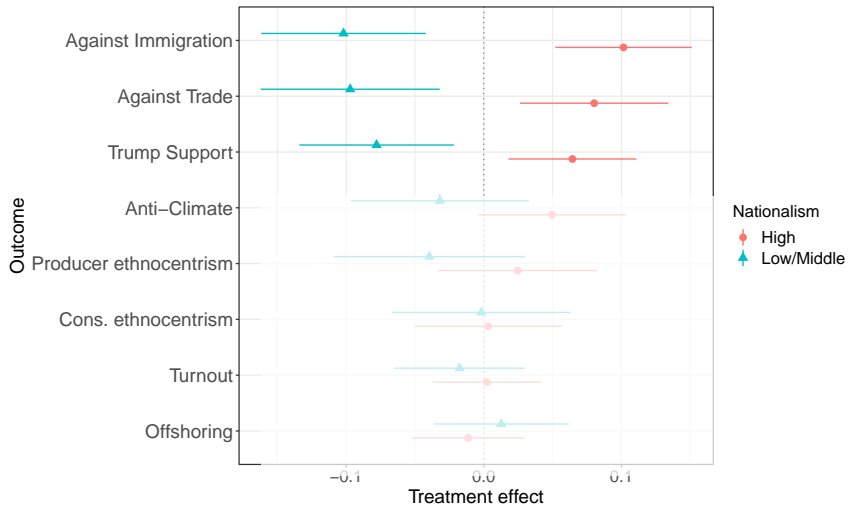
- IRB granted exemption (Aug 12, 2022)
- Preregistered @: <https://osf.io/y8nrm>
- Sample comes from CloudResearch
- Respondents are paid \$1.50 (15 min ~ PA MW).
- Fielded on October-November, 2022
- N = 3,299

Results

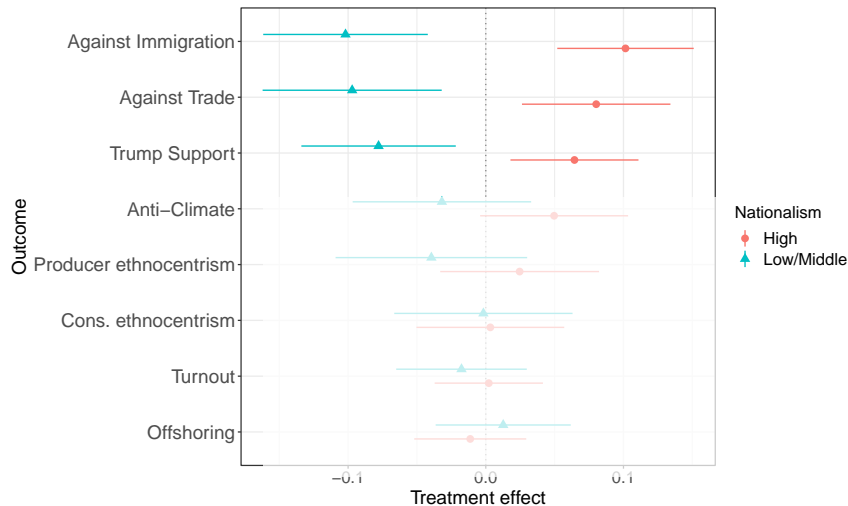
Effects of Exposure to Foreign Goods on Political Attitudes ▶



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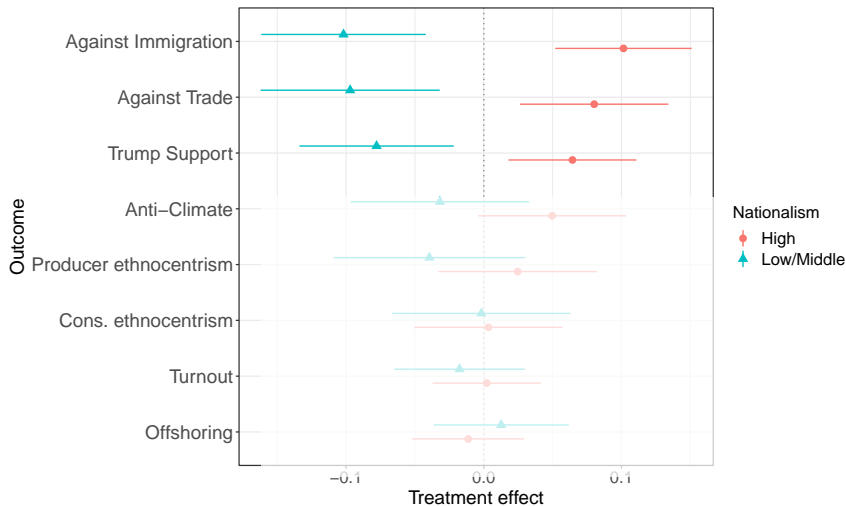


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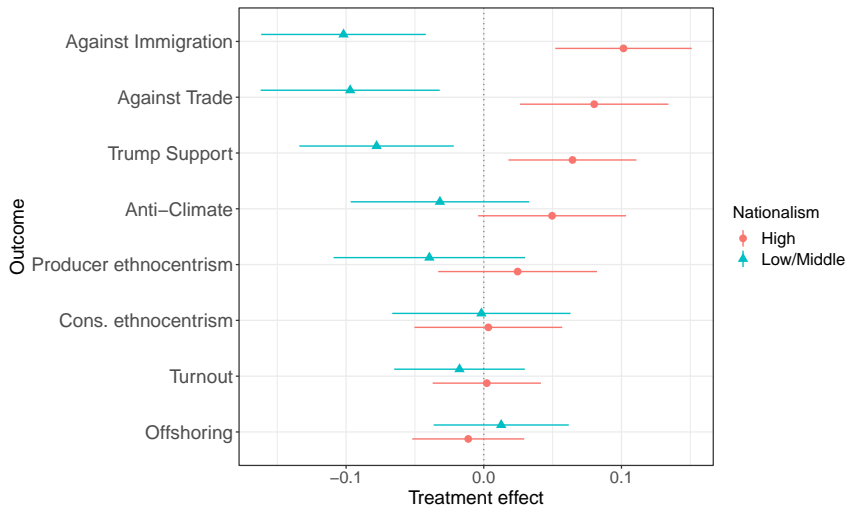
Nationalist: ⬆ anti-immigrants, ⬆ anti-trade, ⬆ Trump

Effects of Exposure to Foreign Goods on Political Attitudes ▶



Nationalist: ⬆ anti-immigrants, ⬆ anti-trade, ⬆ Trump
Cosmopolitans: ⬆ anti-immigrants, ⬆ anti-trade, ⬆ Trump

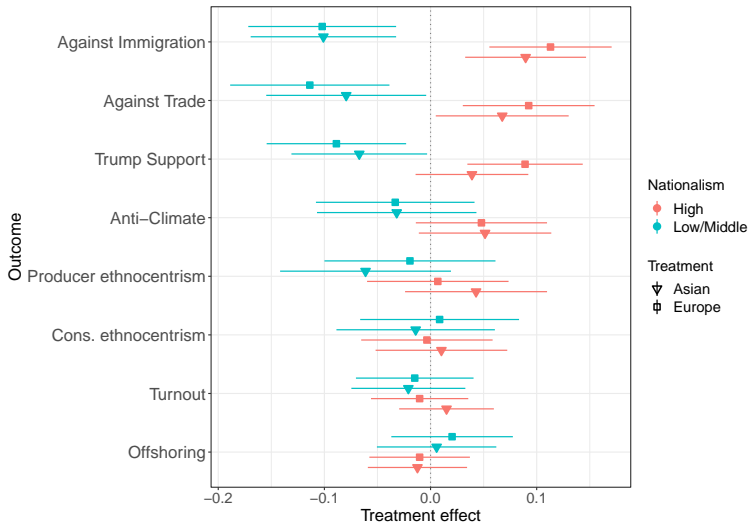
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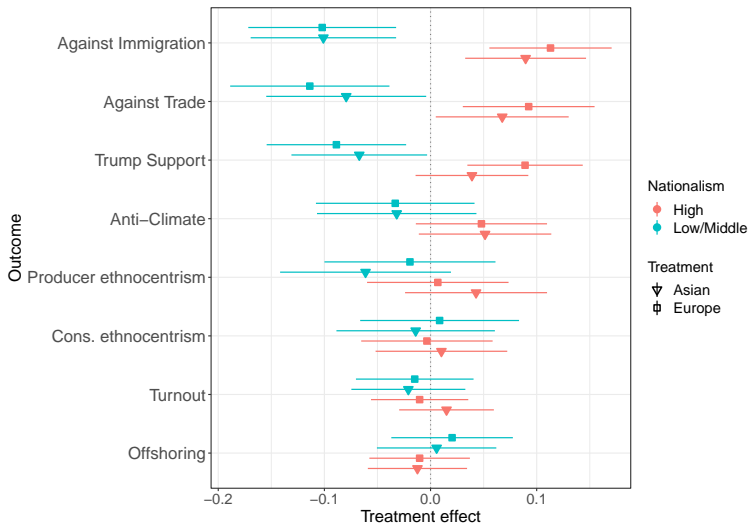
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Mechanisms - Status threat or Luxury? ▶

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Status threat? Not quite! European brands' effects \geq Asian brands' effects.

Mechanisms - Status threat or Luxury? ▶

Then what?

Mechanisms - Status threat or Luxury? ▶

Then what?

	American	European	Asian
Luxurious	8.17	55.35	17.61
Powerful	12.17	3.62	4.82
Safe	44	27.51	43.85
Reliable	35.67	13.51	33.72
$\chi_3 = 9.348$		1811.591	93.02105

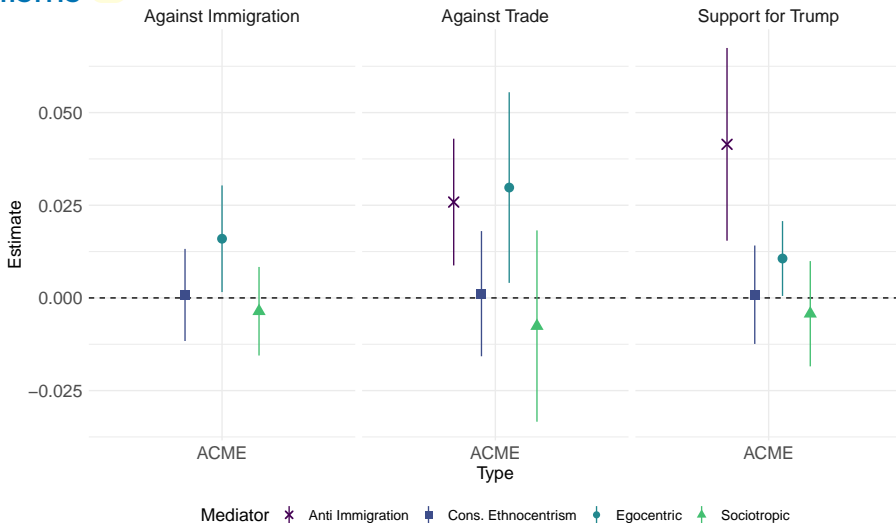
Mechanisms - Status threat or Luxury? ▶

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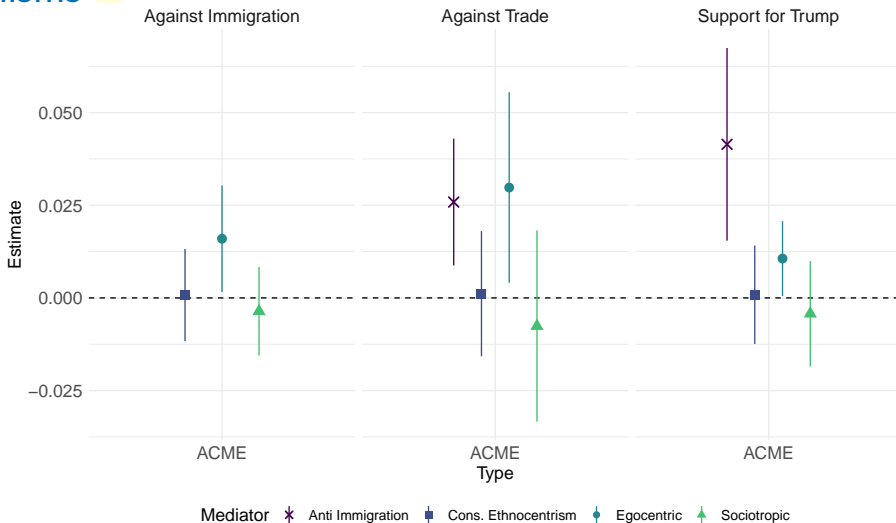
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[If anything] European brands are more associated with **luxuriousness**

Mechanisms



Mechanisms



The effect is **mediated** through: **egocentric** concerns and **anti-immigration**.

Final Remarks

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Thank you!



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Supplementary Slides

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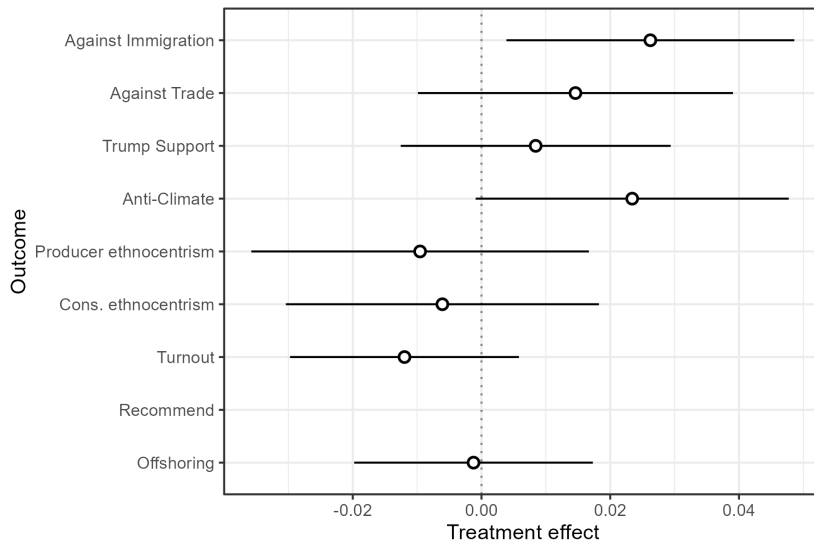
- Effect overall ▶ ▶
- OLS
 - Foreign ▶ Without controls ▶ With controls
 - European ▶ Without controls ▶ With controls
 - Asian ▶ Without controls ▶ With controls
- Mechanisms ▶ Figure
 - Foreign ▶ Immigration ▶ Trade ▶ Trump
 - European ▶ Immigration ▶ Trade ▶ Trump
 - Asian ▶ Immigration ▶ Trade ▶ Trump
- Hypotheses ▶
- Framework ▶

- Published Survey Experiments

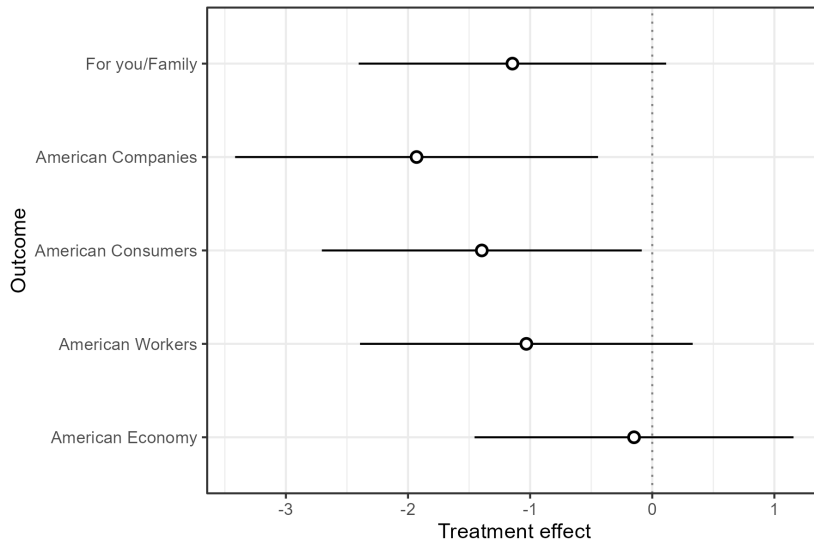
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Back: ▶ Previous Research ▶ Results ▶ Mechanisms

Results - Foreign vs Domestic SUV I [▶ Back](#)



Results - Foreign vs Domestic SUV II [▶ Back](#)



	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Anti-Immigration	Anti-Trade	Support Trump
Treated=Foreign	0.115*** (0.028)	0.083*** (0.031)	0.072*** (0.027)
Cosmopolitanism	-0.192*** (0.017)	-0.045** (0.019)	-0.200*** (0.016)
Treated x mid Cosmo	-0.136*** (0.029)	-0.105*** (0.031)	-0.117*** (0.027)
Treated x high Cosmo	-0.105** (0.042)	-0.099** (0.046)	-0.059 (0.040)
Observations	2786	2786	2786
R ²	0.161	0.022	0.169
AIC	3067.944	3536.828	2710.638

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Anti-Immigration	Anti-Trade	Support Trump
Treated=Foreign	0.111*** (0.028)	0.079*** (0.030)	0.070*** (0.026)
Cosmopolitanism	-0.183*** (0.017)	-0.032* (0.019)	-0.201*** (0.016)
Treated x mid Cosmo	-0.128*** (0.029)	-0.098*** (0.031)	-0.110*** (0.027)
Treated x high Cosmo	-0.097** (0.042)	-0.090** (0.046)	-0.053 (0.039)
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	2786	2786	2786
R ²	0.173	0.040	0.181
AIC	3037.108	3493.397	2678.271

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Anti-Immigration	Anti-Trade	Support Trump
Treated=European	0.126*** (0.033)	0.096*** (0.036)	0.097*** (0.032)
Cosmopolitanism	-0.192*** (0.017)	-0.045** (0.019)	-0.200*** (0.016)
Treated x mid Cosmo	-0.138*** (0.037)	-0.130*** (0.040)	-0.122*** (0.035)
Treated x high Cosmo	-0.103** (0.050)	-0.105* (0.054)	-0.075 (0.047)
Observations	1860	1860	1860
R ²	0.149	0.021	0.164
AIC	2085.587	2361.561	1867.946

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Anti-Immigration	Anti-Trade	Support Trump
Treated=European	0.123*** (0.033)	0.089** (0.036)	0.096*** (0.031)
Cosmopolitanism	-0.182*** (0.017)	-0.033* (0.019)	-0.199*** (0.016)
Treated x mid Cosmo	-0.132*** (0.037)	-0.119*** (0.040)	-0.117*** (0.035)
Treated x high Cosmo	-0.099** (0.050)	-0.101* (0.053)	-0.072 (0.047)
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1860	1860	1860
R ²	0.161	0.040	0.175
AIC	2067.229	2332.447	1850.712

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Anti-Immigration	Anti-Trade	Support Trump
Treated=Asian	0.103*** (0.033)	0.071* (0.036)	0.047 (0.031)
Cosmopolitanism	-0.192*** (0.017)	-0.045** (0.019)	-0.200*** (0.016)
Treated x mid Cosmo	-0.134*** (0.037)	-0.078* (0.041)	-0.114*** (0.035)
Treated x high Cosmo	-0.105** (0.048)	-0.091* (0.053)	-0.040 (0.045)
Observations	1858	1858	1858
R ²	0.154	0.016	0.163
AIC	2010.171	2361.552	1749.406

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	Anti-Immigration	Anti-Trade	Support Trump
Treated=Asian	0.098*** (0.033)	0.067* (0.036)	0.042 (0.031)
Cosmopolitanism	-0.182*** (0.017)	-0.029 (0.019)	-0.201*** (0.016)
Treated x mid Cosmo	-0.124*** (0.037)	-0.072* (0.041)	-0.104*** (0.035)
Treated x high Cosmo	-0.091* (0.048)	-0.077 (0.053)	-0.033 (0.045)
Other controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1858	1858	1858
R ²	0.168	0.036	0.177
AIC	1987.194	2331.701	1727.643

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

- H1a: Exposure to foreign goods will cause nationalists to oppose trade and support Trump.
- H1b: Exposure to foreign goods will cause cosmopolitans to support trade and oppose Trump.
- H2: The causal effect of exposure is mediated through consumption and production ethnocentrism.
- H3: The causal effect is a sociotropic concern for the American economy and jobs.
- H4: The causal effect is driven by status threat and cultural distance.

Economic Globalization and the Populist Backlash [▶ Back](#)

- Trade policy preferences and the rise of the radical right.
- Regions exposed to trade are more supportive of right-wing populist candidates and parties (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021).
- Individual exposure to trade not a reliable predictor of support for the radical right (Colantone and Stanig 2019).
- What explains the individual-level connection between trade and political preferences?
Consumption?
 - Individuals who associate trade with consumption are more supportive of trade (Baker 2005, Naoi and Kume 2011, 2015).
 - International business and marketing research on consumer ethnocentrism and home bias (Herche 1994, Balabanis et al. 2001, Zeugner-Roth et al. 2015, Lekakis 2017).
- Nationalists vs. Cosmopolitans
- Trade & Trump

Mechanisms [▶ Back](#)



SETUP: Specific trade policy described as under consideration.

TREATMENT: For each [1/10/100/1000] person/people in the U.S. who lose[s] a job and can no longer provide for their family, [1/10/100/1000] person/people in a country that we trade with will gain [a] new job[s] and now be able to provide for their family.

OUTCOME: Would you be likely to support this trade policy or oppose this trade policy?

o [If support] Are you strongly supportive of this new trade policy or somewhat supportive of this new trade policy?

o [If oppose] Are you strongly opposed to this new trade policy or somewhat opposed to this new trade policy?

- American respondents (1) support trade policies that create US jobs and are indifferent to losses experienced by trade partners, and (2) the effect is stronger for pre-treatment nationalists.
- Trade policies that create jobs for the US and losses for trade partners are preferred among those who view trade as a form of zero-sum intergroup competition.

Naoi and Kume (Visual Prime, IO 2011)

[▶ Back](#)

■次の写真をよく見て以下の質問に答えてください。



Q2 ここどのような業種の人が働く職場だと思いますか。

(回答は1つ)



- ☐ 金融
- ☐ 製造業
- ☐ 出版
- ☐ 政府
- ☐ その他

Note: The first three photos were used for the producer-priming. Before showing the photos, we asked, "Please carefully look at the photos below and answer the following questions" (translated by the authors). Photo Q2 is a follow-up, enforcement question for the first photo: "In what sector do you think people at this office work?" to which respondents choose from finance, manufacturing, publishing, public service, or other.

Source: For the first (white-collar office) and the third (harvesting) photos, Copyright © Kenji Hall-Creative Commons Attribution Licensed. For the second photo (car factory), Copyright © Chang-Ran Kim.

Producer priming (pictures 1, 2, and 3)

- Visual production prime increases opposition to food imports.
- The effect of the visual consumption prime (more support for imports) disappears when the outcome is food imports rather than imports in general. Explanation: Job insecurity projection.

Naoi and Kume (Visual Prime, CPS 2015) [▶ Back](#)

■次の写真をよく見て以下の質問に答えてください。



Q5 この食料品店は以下のどのタイプのお店だと思いますか。

(回答は1つ)



- ☐ 個人売店
- ☐ コンビニエンスストア
- ☐ 有機/自然食品店
- ☐ 大型スーパー
- ☐ その他

Note: The first three photos were used for the consumer priming. Before showing the photos, we asked, “Please carefully look at the photos below and answer the following questions” (translated by the authors). Photo Q5 is a follow-up, enforcement question for the first photo: “What type of grocery shop do you think this is?” in which respondents choose from a small mom-and-pop shop, convenience store, an organic and natural food store, a large supermarket, or other.

Consumer priming (pictures 4, 5, and 6)

- Visual consumption prime increases support for imports (in general), and production prime reduces support for imports.
- The effect of the visual consumption prime is strongest for low income respondents.

Blankert et al. (Conjoint Experiment, PSRM 2022) [▶ Back](#)

Please review the options below carefully.

	Product A	Product B
Product	1 pound of cheese	1 pound of cheese
Average rating from past customers	3 out of 5 stars	5 out of 5 stars
Price	\$4.38	\$7.00
Product made in	Germany	United States

If you had to purchase one of the products above, which one would it be?

☐ Product A

☐ Product B

If you were going to purchase this type of product in a store, how likely would you be to purchase:

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Neutral	Somewhat unlikely	Very unlikely
Product A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Product B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

- Home bias in consumption choices that is stronger for China than Germany.
- Home bias is larger among respondents who score high on a pre-treatment scale of ethnocentrism.