

The Trump Election and Anti-American Attitudes in Latin America¹

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Abstract

How stable are opinions about the United States in Latin America? Previous studies have shown that structural or long-term factors drive anti-Americanism. For example, Latin Americans appear to harbor more anti-American attitudes when they live in countries that have less economic exchange with the United States. In this paper, we study whether contextual factors or short-term events can modify individuals' attitudes toward the US. Exploiting the timing of the field implementation of the 2016 wave of the Americas Barometer in five Latin American countries, we estimate the effect of the election of Donald Trump on respondents' attitudes using a regression discontinuity design. Our results demonstrate that the election of Trump diminished respondents' trust in the US government but did not affect their perceptions of the US as a model for the development of their country.

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Introduction

The reasons for rapid shifts in attitudes toward the United States in Latin America remain poorly understood. Recent studies have uncovered some of the key factors explaining cross-national differences in mass anti-Americanism in Latin America. This research has paid significant attention to structural variables, such as the type of economic exchanges with the United States, to explain anti-American attitudes in the region (Azpuru and Boniface 2015; Baker and Cupery 2013). However, we know much less about how short-term shocks or contextual factors affect citizens' perceptions of the United States. How stable are opinions about the regional hegemon? More specifically, do visible political changes in the United States affect attitudes toward the United States in Latin America?

Anti-Americanism in Latin America can have different consequences. Public disapproval of the United States can lead to the diplomatic isolation of the United States in the region (Datta 2014), as Latin American governments and populations reject policies embraced by the US government (Kocher and Minushkin 2007). In addition, citizens who hold anti-American attitudes may become more likely to support leftist populist parties with solid anti-US credentials (Remmer 2012).

To answer our research questions and provide causal evidence, we exploit the unexpected results of the 2016 US presidential election to construct a regression discontinuity design and study the effects of the election of Donald Trump to the US presidency on Latin American citizens' anti-American attitudes.

Multidimensionality and Ambivalence in Anti-American Attitudes

One of the major findings of the literature on anti-Americanism is the multidimensionality and heterogeneity of the phenomenon (Katzenstein and Keohane 2007). Previous research has established that people in other nations might hold a positive opinion about some aspects of the United States, while simultaneously disliking another dimension of the country. In fact, people in other countries tend to appreciate US popular culture, US science and technology, the United States as a place to live, and the US capitalist economic model (Chiozza 2009; Katzenstein and Keohane 2007). These sets of attitudes are quite crystallized; that is, individuals either like or dislike US popular culture and the US economic model and rarely change their opinions. Hence, we would expect these attitudes to be resilient to political changes in individuals' home countries or in the United States.

We argue, however, that attitudes toward the US government and US political system constitute a different dimension of anti-Americanism, and that people outside the United States tend to have more ambivalent attitudes in this domain. People are ambivalent when their evaluations of the US government involve “strong elements of both attraction and repulsion” (Katzenstein and Keohane 2007, 16). Ambivalence in attitudes toward the US government in Latin America results from the contradiction between the United States' democratic traditions, constitution, and political ideals, on the one hand, and the actual foreign policies adopted by the regional hegemon over the past century, on the other. The latter, including US military interventions and support for dictatorships in the Southern Cone and in Central America, are widely rejected in Latin America (Haugaard 2006). In sum, Latin Americans often perceive the US political system to fall short of its own ideals.

If both positive and negative predispositions coexist in Latin Americans' attitudes toward the US government, we would expect anti-American opinion in this domain to be more volatile

and subject to rapid changes, in response to political developments and policy changes. Chiozza (2009) shows that attitudes toward the US government are highly influenced by the media environment, elite discourse, and salient US policies. In other words, since people in other nations tend to be ambivalent about the US political system, they develop attitudes toward the US government based on available information that they can retrieve quickly: that is, the “availability heuristic” (Tversky and Kahneman 1973; Zaller 1992). A momentous political event in the United States, for example, can produce rapid shifts in evaluations of the US government.

Trump and Anti-Americanism in Latin America

One of the key contextual factors that can shape anti-Americanism in Latin America is the personal traits and rhetoric of US presidents, as well as the foreign policies adopted by a particular administration. A recent study has demonstrated that the news coverage of behaviors and personal characteristics of a foreign leader influences perceptions of that leader’s country (Balmas 2018). This effect reflects “a psychological phenomenon whereby people project their emotions and perceptions regarding a leader’s personal characteristics onto his or her country and people” (Balmas 2018, 499). For instance, Chiozza (2009) shows that the “Bush factor” is critical for explaining negative attitudes toward the US government in the mid-2000s. In a similar vein, Noya (2003) and Hakim (2006) argue that the foreign policies of the Bush administration led to an increase in anti-Americanism in Latin America and other regions.

American elections are salient events that receive abundant media coverage in Latin America. We argue that the election of Trump generated a rapid decline in trust in the US government in Latin America because it activated negative predispositions toward the regional hegemon. Anti-American attitudes can be associated with feelings that the US behaves in an arrogant, aggressive, and imperialistic way (Datta 2014; Katzenstein and Keohane 2007). This is

especially true in Latin America, due to the legacy of repeated US political and military interventions in the region.

During the presidential campaign, then-candidate Donald Trump behaved in ways that may have brought these negative predispositions toward the United States to the forefront of Latin Americans' minds. The Republican candidate often disparaged Latino migrants in the United States as criminals and even rapists.² He also proposed to build a controversial wall along the border with Mexico and stated on numerous occasions that Mexico would pay for it.³

Blaydes and Linzer (2012, 225) have shown that anti-Americanism in the Middle East is “predominantly a domestic, elite-led phenomenon” channeled through the media, and we have every reason to believe that the same is true in the Latin American context. Given the aggressive and controversial rhetoric used by Donald Trump during the campaign, it is not surprising that the elite reaction and media coverage in Latin America was lukewarm toward him. For instance, Semetko et al. (2018) show that the tone of the media coverage of Donald Trump in Mexico was very negative during the campaign and after the election. In appendix A, we further discuss how the major newspapers in the five Latin American countries in our sample covered the 2016 US presidential elections.

Hypotheses

Based on the findings and theoretical insights of previous literature, reviewed above, we hypothesize that the Trump election had a negative effect on evaluations of the US government but did not lead to a widespread rejection of the US as a model for the development of Latin American countries. We hold that Donald Trump's election served as a political informational

² <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/16/donald-trump-mexico-presidential-speech-latino-hispanic>

³ Earlier attempts to build a fortified fence on the US-Mexican border had produced widespread criticism by political elites and the media in Latin America (Haugaard 2006).

shortcut that produced a rapid shift in attitudes toward the US government. However, we do not expect Latin Americans' perceptions of the US as a model of development to be affected by short-term political changes in Washington, as attitudes in this domain are more crystallized.

Hypothesis 1: The election of Donald Trump had a negative effect on trust in the US government.

Hypothesis 2: The election of Donald Trump had no discernible effect on evaluations of the US as a model for the development of Latin American countries.

Research Design

It is not easy to study the causal impact of contextual factors because individuals might be able to anticipate them, and as a consequence, react to these circumstances even before they actually occur. The unexpected results of the 2016 presidential elections in the US provide an opportunity to address this issue, and therefore to study the consequences of the surprising results on how Latin Americans perceive the United States. To do that, we exploit the timing of the field implementation of the Americas Barometer to compare subjects who participated in the study before and after the US presidential election.⁴ The election happened when the survey was being implemented in Paraguay, Venezuela, Honduras, El Salvador, and the Dominican Republic.

Though anti-Americanism is a multifaceted phenomenon, the 2016–2017 wave of the Americas Barometer fortunately includes two different items to capture attitudes toward the United States. These items allow us to analyze how the election of Donald Trump to the presidency affected two distinct dimensions of anti-Americanism. The outcomes of interest are a binary indicator of “trust in the US government” and mentioning the “the US as a model for the development of your country” (see appendix B for more details about the data).

⁴ Minkus et al. (forthcoming) also use survey data and the 2016 US presidential election, but they study the impact of Trump's election on the EU's popularity.

We use the survey data and the 2016 US presidential election to construct a regression discontinuity design. Within this strategy, all units have a score; when that number is above a known cutoff the units will be considered as treated, and when it is below the cutoff they will be considered controls. In our RDD the units of analysis are the respondents from the five aforementioned countries. We assigned a score to each survey participant based on the difference between the day the survey was implemented and the 2016 US presidential election (November 9, 2016). We define our cutoff as the night of the US election (November 9). Using the score and the cutoff, we can construct the treatment and control groups, where the former corresponds to positive values of the score (i.e., Trump as president-elect) and the latter to negative values of the score (i.e., Trump as a candidate). Therefore, the day of the election is the last day of the control group (score: -1), and the first post-election day is the first day of the treatment group (score: +1).⁵ We estimate the following local-linear RD specification:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 T_i + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 T * S_i + \sigma_p + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

Y is the respondent's view about the US ("trust in the US government" or "the US is a model for the development of your country"). T depicts the treatment (units above the cutoff), and S describes the score. The interaction between T and S allows the regression function to differ on both sides of the cutoff point. σ_p corresponds to province fixed effects. We weighted the observations using a triangular kernel, which assigned more importance to respondents closer to the cutoff.

The RDD involves the selection of a bandwidth: values of the score that determine the units to be included in the analysis. Following Bueno and Tuñon (2015), instead of only paying attention to the results obtained from using an optimal bandwidth, we implement equation 1 on 32 different bandwidths starting +/- 6 days from the election and ending +/- 37 days from the election, which

⁵ There are no reasons to believe that survey respondents sorted their position around the cutoff or that enumerators changed the fieldwork schedule because of the 2016 US presidential elections.

allows us to observe the sensitivity of our estimates to a wide range of subsets. A bandwidth of 6 days means that we will implement equation 1 in a subset of respondents that answered the survey up to 6 days before and up to 6 days after the US presidential election. We limited our bandwidths according to two criteria: one, we did not expand the possible bandwidths to more than 37 days since this was the last day for below the cutoff; we did not use less than 6 days to keep a reasonable number of observations on each side of the cutoff.

The optimal bandwidth⁶ for the first and second outcome is 7 days. Therefore, this is contained in the window of bandwidths used in this paper [6, 37]. In appendix C, we compare the main characteristics of the entire sample and the optimal bandwidth sample, which shows that the findings are not coming from an unusual group of respondents. In appendix D, as a validity check, we show that relevant placebo covariates⁷ such as age, education, and gender do not change abruptly around the cutoff. In appendix E, we run a placebo analysis by changing the day of the US presidential election (i.e., modifying the cutoff). In appendix F, as a robustness check, we conduct an interrupted time series analysis using all the units available and including time trends.

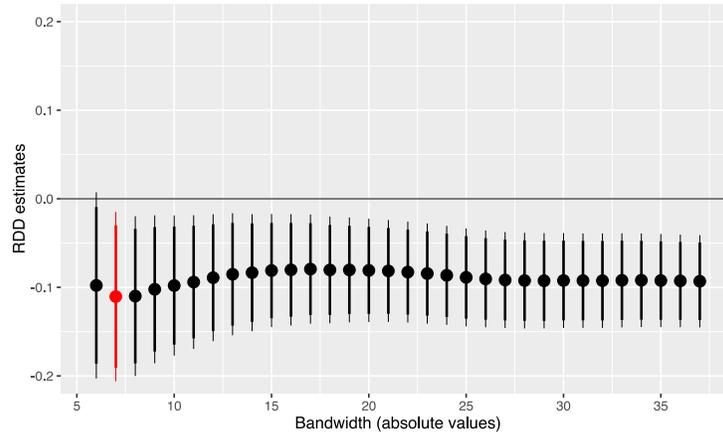
Results

As mentioned above, we estimate equation 1 on a battery of different bandwidths. Figure 1 shows the effect of the election of Trump at the cutoff on trust in the US government when using each of these possible bandwidths. The y-axis represents the RDD point estimates and the x-axis the bandwidths in absolute values. We provide 90% and 95% confidence intervals for every point estimate. We marked in red the results when using the optimal bandwidth.

Figure 1: Trust in the US Government

⁶ We use the Mean Squared Error (MSE) optimal bandwidth, which optimizes the bias-variance trade-off (Calonico, Cattaneo, and Titiunik 2014).

⁷ Placebo covariates are individual characteristics that should not be affected by the treatment.



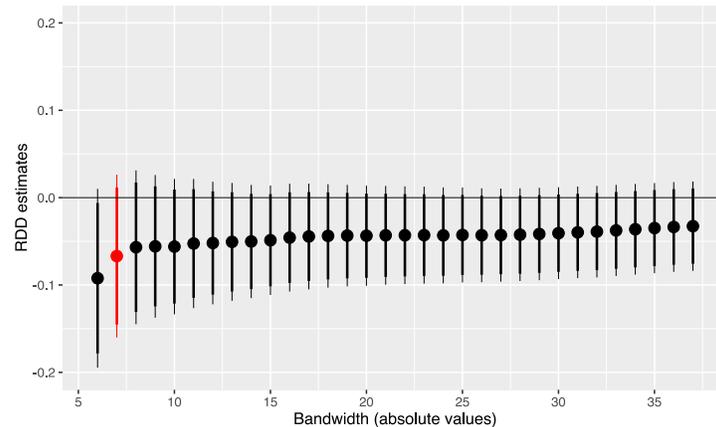
The results are significant at the 0.05 level for all but the first bandwidth, which is also significant, but at the 0.1 level. When using the optimal bandwidth (7 days),⁸ respondents who were surveyed after the election of Donald Trump are 11 percentage points less likely to say that they trust the US government (p-value: 0.024, observations: 2446). To put the results in context, when using the entire sample 48% of respondents expressed trust in the US government before the election.

Figure 2 illustrates the results for using “US as a model for the development of your country” as the outcome of interest. The structure of the plot is the same as in figure 1. The coefficients are consistently negative, which can be interpreted as a negative effect of Trump’s election on seeing the US as a model. However, contrary to the previous analysis, there is not enough evidence to rule out the null hypothesis of no effect. When using the optimal bandwidth (7 days), respondents who were surveyed after the US election are 6 percentage points less likely to say that the United States is a model for the development of their country; but the uncertainty associated with that point estimate is high enough to not be able to reject the null hypothesis (p-value: 0.206, observations: 2744). To put the results in context, when using the entire sample 40%

⁸ Using the optimal bandwidth means that we implement the equation only on respondents who participated in the survey up to 7 days before and up to 7 days after the survey.

of respondents mentioned the US as a model for the development of their nations before the 2016 presidential election.⁹

Figure 2: US Model for the Development of Your Country



In summary, the findings provide consistent evidence that the 2016 elections reduced trust in the US government but not enough support to claim that it also changed perceptions of the US as a model of development. In fact, the point estimate for the first outcome is almost double the point estimate for the second one. In appendix G, we provide a table with the number of observations, point estimate, standard error, and p-value for each of the possible bandwidths for figures 1 and 2. In appendix H, we explore heterogeneous treatment effects by respondent characteristics.

Conclusions

Anti-Americanism in Latin America can have important political implications, such as diminishing the “soft power” of the regional hegemon in the Western hemisphere (Nye 2004). In this paper, we contribute to the effort to understand this phenomenon by analyzing how the election of Donald Trump in the United States produced a rapid shift in anti-American attitudes in Latin America. We

⁹ Respondents can only provide one country as a model for development. Therefore, 40 percent of respondents only mentioning the US is a high number.

argued that Latin Americans have multidimensional attitudes toward the US, and some dimensions can be more ambivalent and less stable. The unexpected results of the 2016 US presidential elections might have activated negative predispositions toward the US government but not necessarily toward seeing the US a model of development.

We leveraged the timing of the field implementation of the Americas Barometer to construct a regression discontinuity design, which allows us to compare subjects who participated in the study before and after the US election. In line with our expectations, the results show that the election of Donald Trump had an immediate negative effect on trust in the US government in Latin America but do not provide enough evidence to claim that this event modified the image of the US a model of development. While previous scholarship has uncovered the structural factors that explain cross-national differences in anti-Americanism in Latin America (Baker and Cupery 2013), this is the first study that provides causal evidence about how short-term political changes in Washington can generate rapid shifts in attitudes toward the US government in the region.

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Online Appendix

The Trump Election and Anti-American Attitudes in Latin America

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Appendix A: Local News Coverage of the US 2016 Presidential Election

For the five countries in our sample, we looked at the local news coverage of the US 2016 presidential election. We examined original pieces in newspapers with high circulation and online accessibility for a period ranging from 15 days before to 15 days after the election.

El Salvador

Coverage right before the election indicated uncertainty regarding who the winner would be and focused on trying to explain what the electoral college is,ⁱ while also pointing out that the polls indicated Hillary Clinton as potential winner.ⁱⁱ Coverage right after the election demonstrates concerns among both the Salvadorian people and government regarding potential measures the future Trump administration would take against Salvadorian citizens in the United States because of the derogatory remarks towards Latin American immigrants Trump made during the campaign.^{iiiiv}

Honduras

La Prensa, one of Honduras' most popular newspapers, highlights the potential problems of having Donald Trump as president of the United States. Analysts interviewed state clearly that it is against Honduras' national interests if Trump gets elected because of potential policies hostile to the one million Hondurans living in the United States, particularly the revoking of temporary protective status to 60 thousand Honduran citizens,^v where remittances comprise 17% of Honduran GDP. They predicted, however, that Hillary Clinton would be president of the United States. Even the day before the elections, the newspapers were reporting that mail-in ballots were giving Clinton the victory.^{vi}

As soon as the results of the election were official, the Honduran press started reporting on potential changes that the future Trump administration might implement and their impact on Honduras and its citizens, specifically the Wall and the expulsion of undocumented immigrants.^{vii} The newspaper also reported on Central American governments asking Donald Trump to respect their citizens in his future administration.^{viii}

Paraguay

Before the election, the reporting focused on the potential difference Latinos would make in the election, benefitting Hillary Clinton.^{ix} They reported that though neither campaign convinced voters, Hillary Clinton was the favorite.^x Reporting on the 50 thousand Paraguayan citizens in the United States, journalists also highlighted the polarization that affected the community.^{xi}

After the election of Donald Trump, his victory was seen as unexpected,^{xii} and a significant source of uncertainty, both regarding domestic^{xiii} and foreign policies.^{xiv} The election was reported as problematic for Paraguayan citizens abroad. The reporting covered the reaction of organizations such as UNASUR as well as other Latin American governments.^{xv} It mentioned protests against Trump,^{xvi} while reporting that members of the Paraguayan government were expecting to have good relations with the president.^{xvii} The reporting from the perspective of Paraguayans living in the United States was not favorable, and highlighted their fear.^{xviii}

Dominican Republic

Coverage immediately before the election showed that Clinton held an advantage over Trump, but that the margin was becoming smaller because of the announcement of an investigation carried out by the FBI.^{xix} It reported that the election was activating fault lines between

generations of Hispanics in the United States,^{xx} as well as the fact that except for Trump's pejorative mentions of Latin Americans, the continent was essentially ignored within the electoral debate in the United States.^{xxi} The coverage shows that Dominican-Americans favored Clinton over Trump by a significant margin.^{xxii}

After the election, the coverage reported that politicians do not believe that the Trump presidency will harm US-DR relations^{xxiii} while also echoing international reporting on uncertainty and policies that could harm Latin Americans.^{xxiv} News coverage also reported on protests and described the election of Donald Trump as threatening to undermine President Obama's legacy.^{xxv}

Venezuela

Coverage before the election was mostly hostile to Donald Trump while relying on polling information that predicted that Hillary Clinton would become president. Coverage right after the election shows discontent among Venezuelan political leadership about Trump's electoral victory.^{xxvi} One interview features diplomats and experts stating that the Trump administration would not consider Venezuela a priority.^{xxvii} Another editorial compares Trump and Chávez, as expressions of populism.^{xxviii}

Appendix B: Description of Survey Data

We use data from the Americas Barometer 2016, and specifically from the five countries where fieldwork coincides with the US presidential election. These five countries are El Salvador (1551 respondents), Honduras (1560 respondents), Paraguay (1528 respondents), Venezuela (1558 respondents), and the Dominican Republic (1518 respondents). We pool the data to increase the sample size since the RDD is based on restricting the analysis to subjects located within a narrow bandwidth. We include province fixed effects to account for local unobserved heterogeneity; each province in each country has a unique code, which is the one used for that analysis.

We do not exclude units with missing outcome data to be able to preserve our original sample. Therefore, we construct a binary variable of support for trust in the US government using the following question: “I would like to ask you how much you trust the government of the United States. Tell me if in your opinion it is very trustworthy, somewhat trustworthy, not very trustworthy, or not at all trustworthy, or if you don’t have an opinion.” The first two answers are classified as 1, and 0 otherwise. For the second outcome, we use the following question: “In your opinion, which of the following countries ought to be the model for the future development of our country?” This indicator is coded as 1 if the respondent mentions the US, and 0 otherwise. Using binary indicator not only allows us to avoid dropping units but also increase the interpretability of the results and facilitate comparison between both outcomes.

Finally, we use three placebo covariates (i.e., subjects characteristics that should not be affected by the treatment) to check the continuity assumption in Appendix C. These are: female (1 female, 0 male), age (in years), and education (0 none, 1 less than primary, 2 primary, 3 less than secondary, 4 secondary, 5 more than secondary).

Appendix C: Comparing Samples

In table A1 we compare the means of the two outcomes and three placebo covariates between two samples: all survey respondents and the optimal bandwidth (+/- 7 days from the election). Both samples report similar means for the six variables, which shows that the findings do not result from an unusual group of survey participants.

Table A1: Mean Comparison

Variables	All Respondents	Optimal Bandwidth
US Trust	0.43	0.41
US Model	0.41	0.40
Female	0.50	0.50
Age	39.70	39.52
Education	2.94	2.76

Appendix D: Continuity Assumption

The key assumption of an RDD is that pretreatment or placebo covariates do not abruptly change at the cutoff. We check this using relevant available placebo covariates, such as gender, age, and education. We use the same empirical approach as for figures 1 and 2. We do not find evidence that respondent characteristics suddenly change at the cutoff for any of the 96 different estimations.

Figure A1: Female

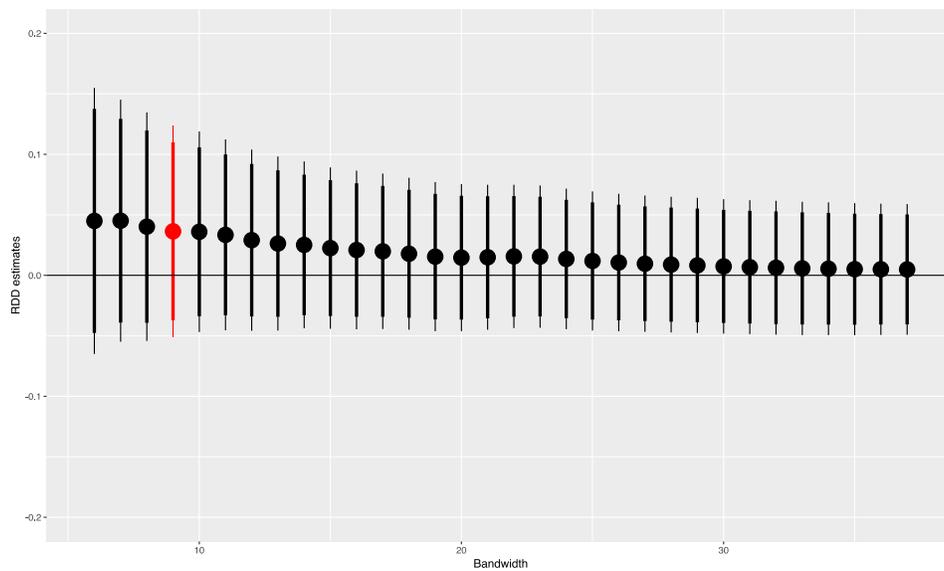


Figure A2: Age

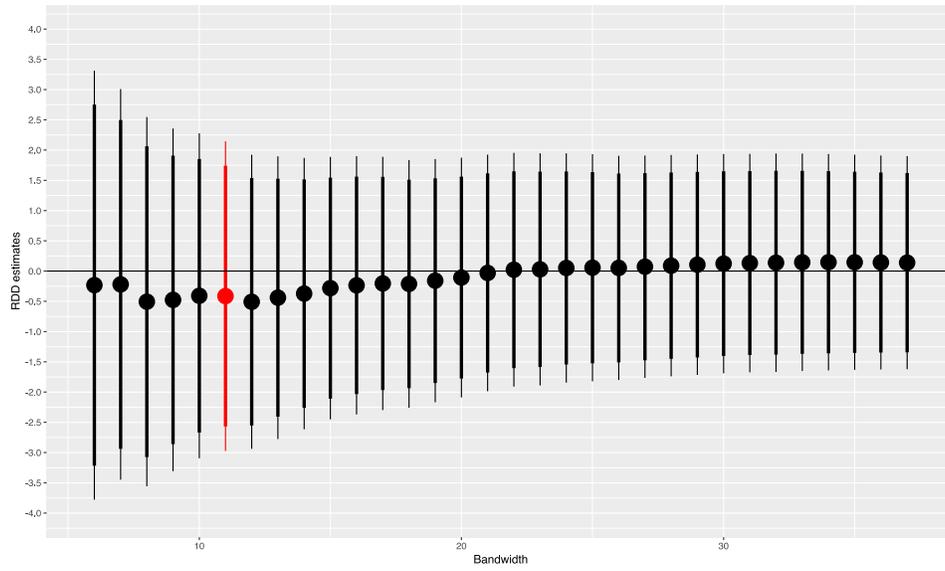
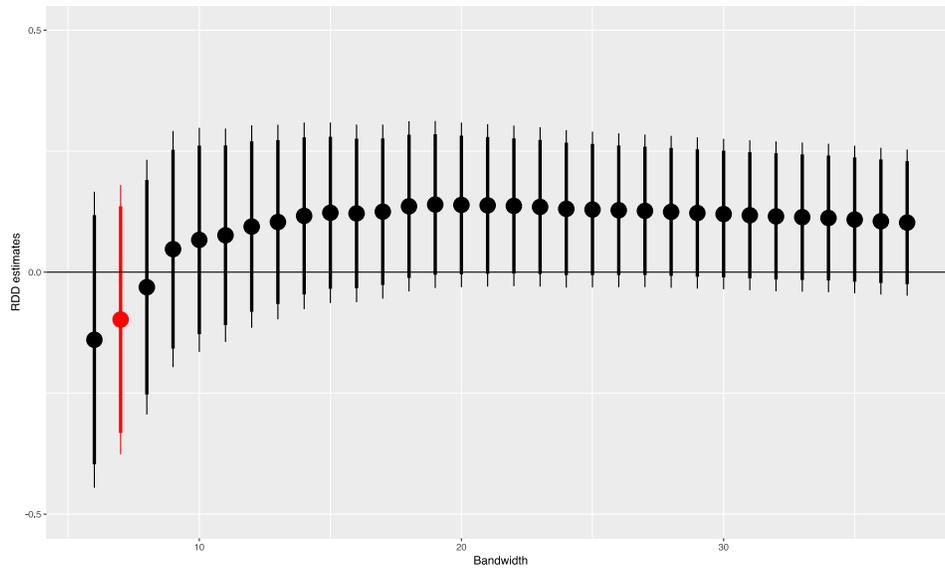


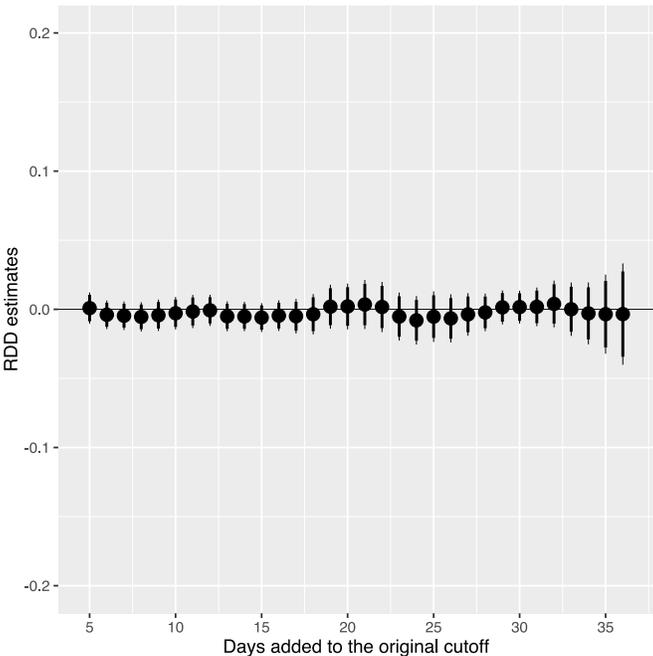
Figure A3: Education



Appendix E: Placebo Analysis

We conduct a placebo analysis by modifying the day of US presidential elections when constructing the regression discontinuity design. The election was held on November 8. Therefore, we test for a possible discontinuity using days from after the election. We use a buffer of five days, assuming that not everyone will get informed right away after the election. We test for a discontinuity we expect to be absent by using all dates between November 13 and December 14, 2016 as cutoffs for the RDD. As in the main analysis, we implement 32 different regressions; however, in this case, we keep the bandwidth (7 days) but modify the cutoff.

Figure A4: Placebo Analysis



As expected, all the analyses report null effects since none of the used cutoffs correspond to the actual 2016 US presidential election.

Appendix F: Interrupted Time Series

As a robustness check, we use an interrupted time series analysis (ITS), which is particularly useful to study the effect of an intervention when the running variable is time (see Mummolo 2018 for an example). Here we use all the observations and we model time trends using a linear, quadratic, and cubic function for the score. The quantity of interest is the immediate change in respondent attitudes on the day of the election. We expand equation 1 to incorporate functions that model time trends (Morgan and Winship 2007).

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 T_i + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 T * S_i + \beta_4 S^2_i + \beta_5 T * S^2_i + \sigma_p + \varepsilon_i \quad (2)$$

$$Y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 T_i + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 T * S_i + \beta_4 S^2_i + \beta_5 T * S^2_i + \beta_6 S^3_i + \beta_7 T * S^3_i + \sigma_p + \varepsilon_i \quad (3)$$

Tables A5 and A6 summarize the results when using trust in the US government and mentioning the US as a model country as the outcomes, respectively. The results from the ITS and RDD are similar. The US election generated a substantive and significant reduction in trust in the US government; meanwhile, only one out of three models shows a significant but smaller reduction in mentioning the US as a model country.

Table A2: Interrupted Time Series, Trust in the US Government

Trust US Government	
Linear	-0.117*** (0.023)
Quadratic	-0.082** (0.038)
Cubic	-0.082*** (0.038)
N	7715

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Table A3: Interrupted Time Series, US as a Model Country

US as a Model Country	
Linear	-0.052** (0.022)
Quadratic	-0.038 (0.033)
Cubic	-0.020 (0.042)
N	7715

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Appendix G: Full Results

Table A4 reports the numbers behind figure 1 in the manuscript: the bandwidth in absolute value (B), and the numbers of observations (N), point estimate (PE), standard error (SE) and p-value (PV) associated with that bandwidth.

Table A4: Figure 1 in Numbers

	B	N	PE	SE	PV
6	2,070	-0.098	0.054	0.068	
7	2,446	-0.110	0.049	0.024	
8	2,744	-0.110	0.046	0.017	
9	3,125	-0.102	0.043	0.017	
10	3,448	-0.098	0.040	0.015	
11	3,718	-0.094	0.038	0.015	
12	4,019	-0.089	0.037	0.015	
13	4,280	-0.085	0.035	0.015	
14	4,580	-0.083	0.034	0.013	
15	4,860	-0.081	0.033	0.013	
16	5,056	-0.080	0.032	0.012	
17	5,306	-0.079	0.031	0.012	
18	5,577	-0.080	0.031	0.009	
19	5,806	-0.080	0.030	0.008	
20	5,968	-0.081	0.030	0.007	
21	6,101	-0.081	0.029	0.006	
22	6,224	-0.083	0.029	0.004	
23	6,312	-0.084	0.029	0.003	
24	6,431	-0.086	0.029	0.002	
25	6,519	-0.089	0.028	0.002	
26	6,649	-0.090	0.028	0.001	
27	6,743	-0.092	0.028	0.001	
28	6,783	-0.092	0.028	0.001	
29	6,833	-0.093	0.027	0.001	
30	6,899	-0.092	0.027	0.001	
31	6,954	-0.092	0.027	0.001	
32	6,960	-0.092	0.027	0.001	
33	7,033	-0.092	0.027	0.001	
34	7,105	-0.092	0.027	0.001	
35	7,182	-0.092	0.027	0.001	
36	7,272	-0.093	0.027	0.001	

37 7,339 -0.093 0.027 0.0005

Table A5 reports the numbers behind figure 2 in the manuscript: the bandwidth in absolute value (B), and the numbers of observations (N), point estimate (PE), standard error (SE) and p-value (PV) associated with that bandwidth.

Table A5: Figure 2 in numbers

B	N	PE	SE	PV
6	2,070	-0.092	0.052	0.077
7	2,446	-0.067	0.048	0.159
8	2,744	-0.057	0.045	0.206
9	3,125	-0.056	0.042	0.181
10	3,448	-0.056	0.040	0.156
11	3,718	-0.053	0.038	0.163
12	4,019	-0.052	0.036	0.147
13	4,280	-0.051	0.034	0.141
14	4,580	-0.050	0.033	0.129
15	4,860	-0.049	0.032	0.127
16	5,056	-0.046	0.031	0.146
17	5,306	-0.044	0.031	0.149
18	5,577	-0.044	0.030	0.147
19	5,806	-0.043	0.030	0.142
20	5,968	-0.044	0.029	0.136
21	6,101	-0.043	0.029	0.135
22	6,224	-0.043	0.029	0.131
23	6,312	-0.043	0.028	0.130
24	6,431	-0.043	0.028	0.123
25	6,519	-0.043	0.028	0.123
26	6,649	-0.043	0.027	0.116
27	6,743	-0.043	0.027	0.114
28	6,783	-0.042	0.027	0.117
29	6,833	-0.042	0.027	0.123
30	6,899	-0.041	0.027	0.129
31	6,954	-0.040	0.027	0.137
32	6,960	-0.039	0.027	0.145
33	7,033	-0.038	0.027	0.158
34	7,105	-0.036	0.026	0.172
35	7,182	-0.035	0.026	0.186
36	7,272	-0.034	0.026	0.200
37	7,339	-0.033	0.026	0.211

Appendix H: Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

We explore heterogeneous treatment effects by interacting the treatment with binary indicators of female, high school or more, and more than 50 years old. We use binary indicators to facilitate the interpretation of the interaction terms. We find that the effect of the election of Trump had a consistently negative impact on female and male, less and more educated, and younger and older respondents.

Figure A5: Heterogenous Effect of Gender

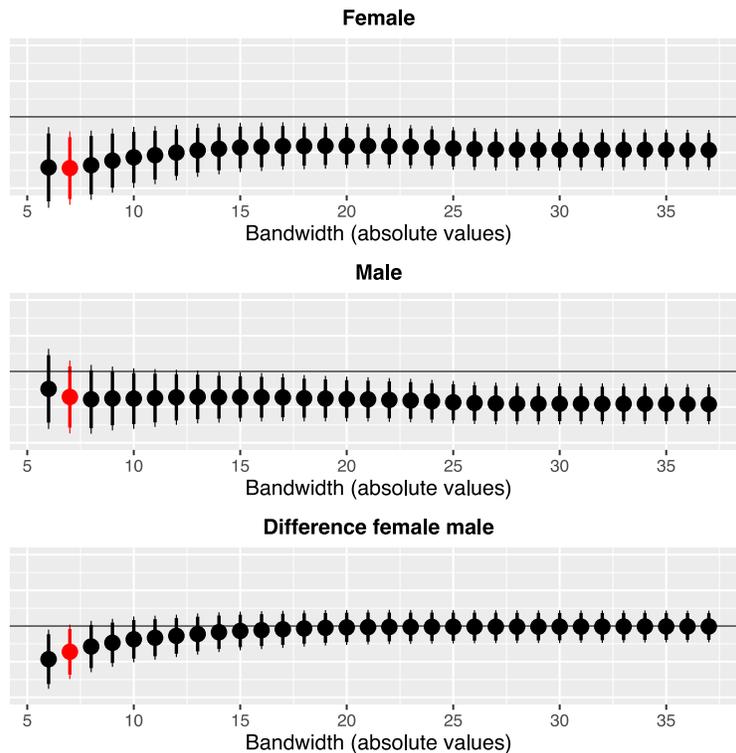


Figure A6: Heterogenous Effect of Education

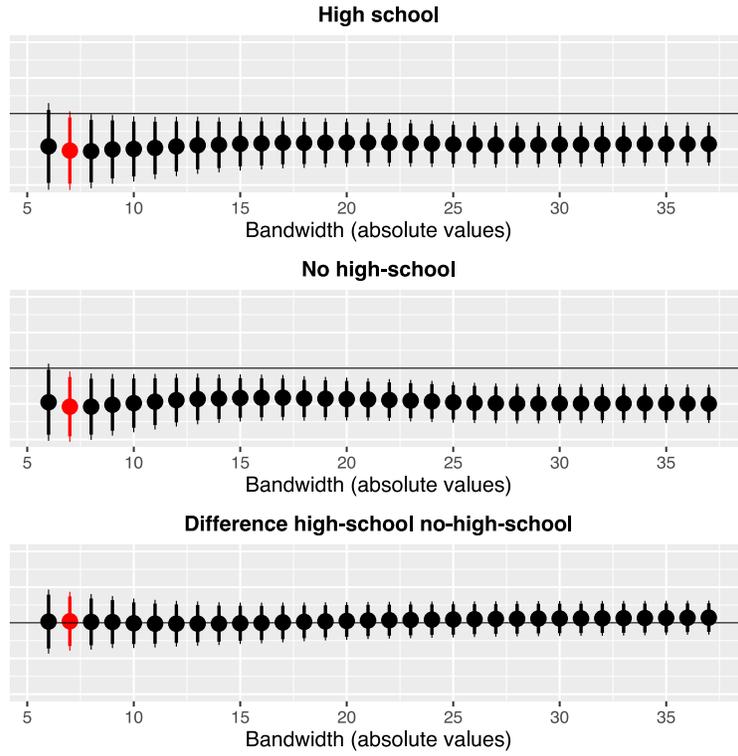
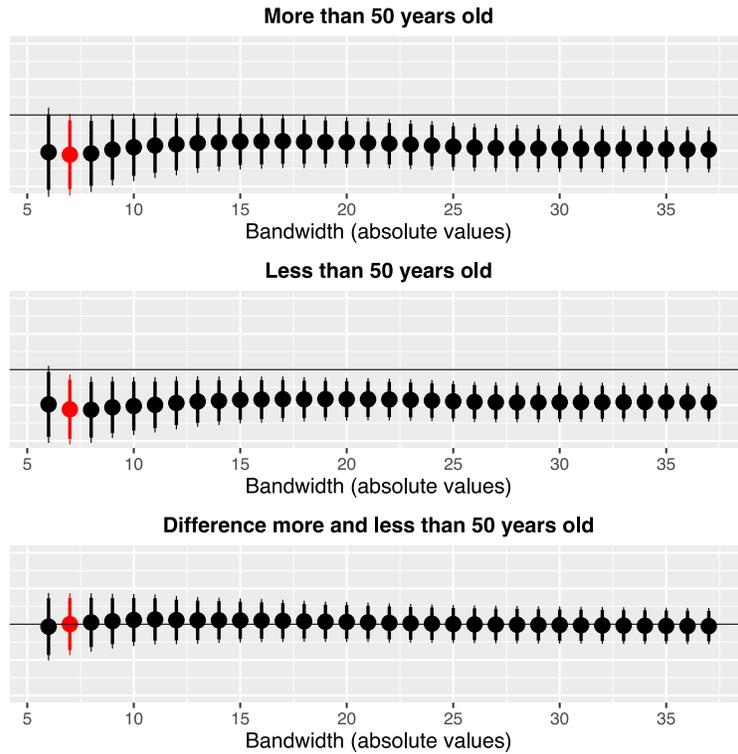


Figure A7: Heterogenous Effect of Age



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