## Online Appendix

# The Trump Election and Anti-American Attitudes in Latin America

Miguel Carreras (University of California, Riverside)

Giancarlo Visconti (Purdue University)

Igor Acácio (University of California, Riverside)

May 31, 2019

#### **Table of Contents**

**Appendix A:** Local News Coverage of the US 2016 Presidential Elections

Appendix B: Description of Survey Data

**Appendix C:** Comparing Samples

**Appendix D:** Continuity Assumption

**Appendix E:** Placebo Analysis

**Appendix F:** Interrupted Time Series

**Appendix G:** Multiple Comparisons

**Appendix H:** Full Results

**Appendix I:** Heterogeneous treatment effects

## 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, while also pointing out that the polls indicated Hillary Clinton as potential winner. 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.

#### 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, 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.

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. The newspaper also reported on Central American governments asking Donald Trump to respect their citizens in his future administration.

#### **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. 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. 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. It mentioned protests against Trump, xvi while reporting that members of the Paraguayan government were expecting to have good relations with the president. The reporting from the perspective of Paraguayans living in the United States was not favorable, and highlighted their fear.

#### **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.<sup>xix</sup> It reported that the election was activating fault lines between generations of Hispanics in the United States,<sup>xx</sup> 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.\*\*xi The coverage shows that Dominican-Americans favored Clinton over Trump by a significant margin.\*\*xii

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

#### 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. Trump's electoral victory. One interview features diplomats and experts stating that the Trump administration would not consider Venezuela a priority. Another editorial compares Trump and Chávez, as expressions of populism.

#### **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**

They 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(a) and 1(b). We do not find evidence that respondent characteristics suddenly change at the cutoff for any of the 96 different estimations.

Figure A1: Female

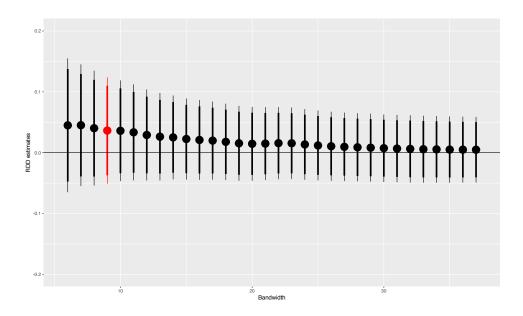


Figure A2: Age

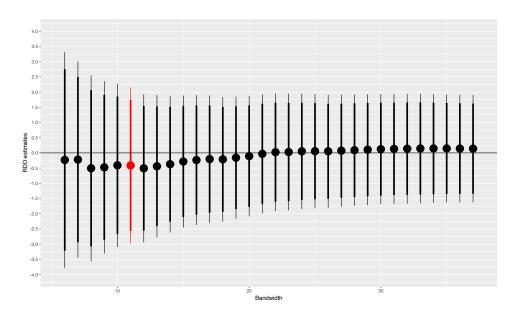
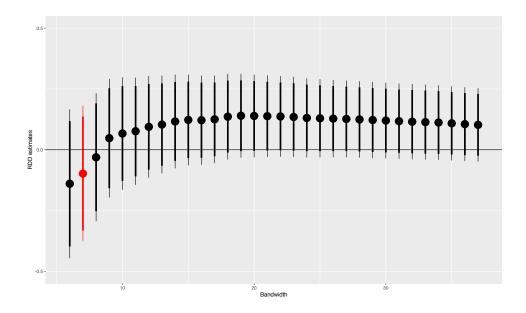


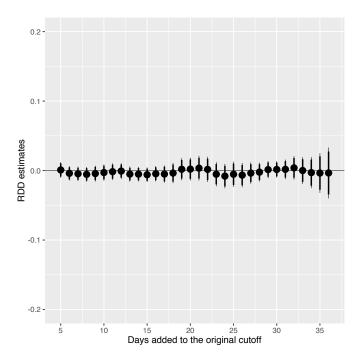
Figure A3: Education



#### **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 times trends (Morgan and Winship 2007).

$$Y_{i} = \alpha + \beta_{1}T_{i} + \beta_{2}S_{i} + \beta_{3}T * S_{i} + \beta_{4}S_{i}^{2} + \beta_{5}T * S_{i}^{2} + \sigma_{p} + \varepsilon_{i}$$

$$Y_{i} = \alpha + \beta_{1}T_{i} + \beta_{2}S_{i} + \beta_{3}T * S_{i} + \beta_{4}S_{i}^{2} + \beta_{5}T * S_{i}^{2} + \beta_{6}S_{i}^{3} + \beta_{7}T * S_{i}^{3} + \sigma_{p} + \varepsilon_{i}$$
(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	
-0.117***	
(0.023)	
-0.082**	
(0.038)	
-0.082***	
(0.038)	
7715	
	-0.117*** (0.023) -0.082** (0.038) -0.082*** (0.038)

**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: Multiple Comparisons**

A multiple comparison problem can arise when researchers study the effects of one treatment on different outcomes. This might be problematic since when having multiple hypotheses, we are more likely to commit a Type I error of concluding that there is an observed difference when there is not one (Coppock 2015). We use a Bonferroni correction to address this concern. In simple terms, this correction is multiplying the p-values by the number of tests. Table A4 reports the p-values of the treatment effects for both outcomes before and after the correction.

Table A4: Effect of the US presidential election

Outcomes	P-value	P-value
	No correction	Bonferroni correction
Trust US government	0.023	0.047
US as a model country	0.158	0.317

As the table A4 illustrates, the negative impact of the 2016 presidential election on trust on the US government is still significant even after correcting for multiple comparisons.

# **Appendix H: Full Results**

Table A5 reports the numbers behind Figure 1(a) 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.

PE

SE

PV

B N

**Table A5:** Figure 1(a) in Numbers

	-,	12	SL	
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
		-0.080		0.009
19	5,806	-0.080	0.030	0.008
20	5,968	-0.081	0.030	0.007
		-0.081		0.006
		-0.083		0.004
		-0.084		0.003
		-0.086		0.002
		-0.089		0.002
		-0.090		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.093		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.092		0.001
		-0.093		0.001
37	7,339	-0.093	0.027	0.0005

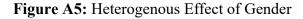
Table A6 reports the numbers behind Figure 1(b) in the manuscript: the bandwidth in absolute value (B), and the numbers of observations (N), point estimate (PE), standard error (SE) and p-value (PV) associated with that bandwidth.

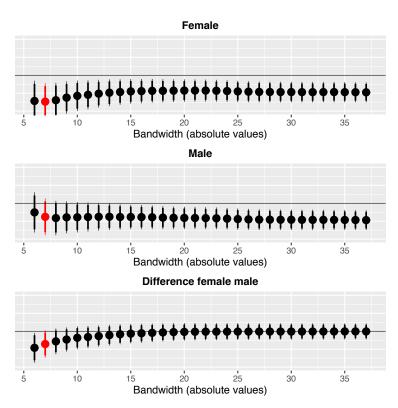
**Table A6:** Figure 1(b) in numbers

В	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
		-0.042		
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
		-0.038		
		-0.036		
		-0.035		
		-0.034		
37	7,339	-0.033	0.026	0.211

# **Appendix I: 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.





\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We use a simpler specification that does not include an interaction between the treatment and the running variables as described in Lee and Lemiux (2010: 318), which allows us to avoid including and interpreting a triple interaction between the treatment, the running variable, and the covariate.

Figure A6: Heterogenous Effect of Education

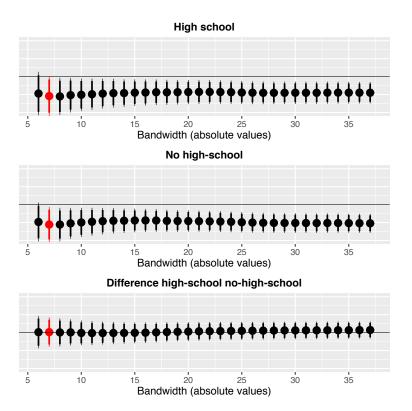
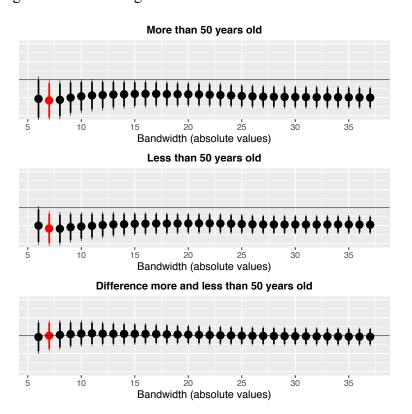


Figure A7: Heterogenous Effect of Age



## References

Coppock, A. 2015. "10 Things to Know About Multiple Comparisons." EGAP methods guides.

Lee, D., and T. Lemieux. 2010. "Regression discontinuity designs in economics." *Journal of economic literature* 48, no. 2: 281-355.

Mummolo, J. 2018. "Modern police tactics, police-citizen interactions, and the prospects for reform." *Journal of Politics* 80 (1): 1–15.

Morgan, S. L., and C. Winship. 2015. Counterfactuals and Causal Inference. Cambridge University Press.

ihttps://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-

view?p=AWNB&t=pubname%3ALPGS%21La%2BPrensa%2BGrafica%2B%2528San%2BSalvador%252C%2BEl %2BSalvador%2529/year%3A2016%212016/mody%3A1108%21November%2B08&format=text&docref=news/16 08C925EBAB8CD8

iihttps://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-

<u>view?p=AWNB&t=pubname%3ALPGS%21La%2BPrensa%2BGrafica%2B%2528San%2BSalvador%252C%2BEl%2BSalvador%2529/year%3A2016%212016/mody%3A1108%21November%2B08&format=text&docref=news/1608C925F6005B28</u>

iii https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-

<u>view?p=AWNB&t=pubname%3ALPGS%21La%2BPrensa%2BGrafica%2B%2528San%2BSalvador%252C%2BEl%2BSalvador%2529/year%3A2016%212016/mody%3A1110%21November%2B10&format=text&docref=news/1609716CCD773848</u>

ivhttps://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-

<u>view?p=AWNB&t=pubname%3ALPGS%21La%2BPrensa%2BGrafica%2B%2528San%2BSalvador%252C%2BEl%2BSalvador%2529/year%3A2016%212016/mody%3A1110%21November%2B10&format=text&docref=news/1609716CF373C890</u>

v https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/981408-410/donald-trump-despierta-temores-en-honduras

vi https://www.laprensa.hn/honduras/1014859-410/hillary-vence-a-trump-en-votaci%C3%B3n-anticipada

viihttps://www.laprensa.hn/mundo/1016226-410/las-cosas-que-cambiar%C3%A1n-en-eua-con-la-presidencia-detrump

viiihttps://www.laprensa.hn/mundo/1016393-410/centroam%C3%A9rica-pide-respeto-a-inmigrantes-en-estados-unidos

ixhttp://www.abc.com.py/internacionales/senadora-mexicana-llama-a-latinos-a-hacer-la-diferencia-en-eleccion-de-eeuu-1535578.html

\*http://www.abc.com.py/internacionales/eeuu-ni-clinton-ni-trump-llenan-a-votantes-1535379.html

xihttp://www.abc.com.py/730am/periodisticamente/elecciones-eeuu-casi-50-mil-residentes-paraguayos-1535361.html

xiihttp://www.abc.com.py/730am/la-primera-manana/estados-unidos-victoria-de-trump-fue-algo-inesperado-1536020.html

xiii http://www.abc.com.py/nacionales/incertidumbre-sobre-que-hara-trump-1536049.html

xivhttp://www.abc.com.py/internacionales/politica-exterior-de-trump-es-mayormente-territorio-desconocido-1536047.html

xvhttp://www.abc.com.py/internacionales/unasur-esta-a-la-espera-de-que-trump-fije-su-posicion-sobre-america-latina-1536124.html

xvihttp://www.abc.com.py/internacionales/masiva-protesta-contra-donald-trump-1536326.html

xvii http://www.abc.com.py/tv/locales/gobierno-confia-en-buenas-relaciones-con-donald-trump-1536112.html

xviiihttp://www.abc.com.py/730am/sin-anestesia/hay-mucho-temor-entre-los-migrantes-dice-paraguayo-residente-eneeuu-1536122.html

xixhttps://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/internacional/se-reduce-el-margen-de-clinton-sobre-trump-tras-el-anuncio-del-fbi-II5318028

xxhttps://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/internacional/ee-uu--eleccion-expone-division-generacional-entre-hispanos-EB5355152

xxihttps://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/internacional/america-latina-una-region-ignorada-en-la-campana-presidencial-estadounidense-YY5375515

xxiihttps://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/internacional/miles-de-dominicanos-listos-para-votar-en-elecciones-de-ee-uu-DM5385401

xxiiihttps://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/politica/politicos-y-expertos-creen-que-triunfo-de-trump-no-afectara-las-relaciones-IB5407695

xxivhttps://www.diariolibre.com/deportes/golf/el-muro-y-las-promesas-rotas-de-donald-trump-en-golf-de-escocia-FF5421340

xxvhttps://www.diariolibre.com/actualidad/internacional/el-legado-de-obama-peligra-en-manos-de-trump-HN5438584

xxvihttps://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-

view?p=AWNB&t=continent%3ASouth%2BAmerica%21South%2BAmerica/year%3A2016%212016/country%3AVenezuela%21Venezuela&sort=YMD\_date%3AD&fld-nav-0=YMD\_date&val-nav-0=11/08/2016%20-

%2011/10/2016&maxresults=20&f=advanced&val-base-0=donald%20trump&fld-base-

<u>0=alltext&docref=news/16090E157066A3E8</u>

xxviihttps://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-

view?p=AWNB&t=continent%3ASouth%2BAmerica%21South%2BAmerica/year%3A2016%212016/country%3A

Venezuela%21Venezuela&sort=YMD date%3AD&fld-nav-0=YMD date&val-nav-0=11/08/2016%20-

%2011/10/2016&maxresults=20&f=advanced&val-base-0=donald%20trump&fld-base-

0=alltext&docref=news/16090E15523554C8

xxviiihttps://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=AWNB&t=continent%3ASouth%2BAmerica%21South%2BAmerica/year%3A2016%212016/country%3A
Venezuela%21Venezuela&sort=YMD\_date%3AD&fld-nav-0=YMD\_date&val-nav-0=11/08/2016%20-

%2011/10/2016&maxresults=20&f=advanced&val-base-0=donald%20trump&fld-base-

0=alltext&docref=news/1608BA4BE46B3248