# Love of Variety?

### Heterogeneous Responses to Foreign Goods in the Marketplace

Valentina González Rostani Princeton University Jude C. Hays University of Pittsburgh

**APSA 2024** 



(April, 2017)

- Regions exposed to trade → populist backlash (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021).
- Individual exposure reliable predictor of support for RR (Colantone and Stanig 2019).

- Regions exposed to trade → populist backlash (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021).
- Individual exposure 

  ¬reliable predictor of support for RR (Colantone and Stanig 2019).

What links trade and political preferences at the individual level?

- Regions exposed to trade → populist backlash (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021).
- Individual exposure 

  → reliable predictor of support for RR (Colantone and Stanig 2019).

### What links trade and political preferences at the individual level? Consumption?

- Trade-Consumption → Increases trade support (Baker 2005, Naoi and Kume 2011, 2015).
- Consumer Ethnocentrism and Home Bias (Herche 1994, Balabanis et al. 2001, Zeugner-Roth et al. 2015, Lekakis 2017).

- Regions exposed to trade → populist backlash (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021).
- Individual exposure 

  ¬reliable predictor of support for RR (Colantone and Stanig 2019).

### What links trade and political preferences at the individual level? Consumption?

- Trade-Consumption → Increases trade support (Baker 2005, Naoi and Kume 2011, 2015).
- Consumer Ethnocentrism and Home Bias (Herche 1994, Balabanis et al. 2001, Zeugner-Roth et al. 2015, Lekakis 2017).

Do all consumers inherently support trade?

- Regions exposed to trade → populist backlash (Colantone and Stanig 2018, Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021).
- Individual exposure 

  ¬reliable predictor of support for RR (Colantone and Stanig 2019).

### What links trade and political preferences at the individual level? Consumption?

- Trade-Consumption → Increases trade support (Baker 2005, Naoi and Kume 2011, 2015).
- Consumer Ethnocentrism and Home Bias (Herche 1994, Balabanis et al. 2001, Zeugner-Roth et al. 2015, Lekakis 2017).

### Do all consumers inherently support trade?

### **Our Contribution**

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

### **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)

### **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)

### Our Design Aims

- Consumption task realism.
- Political and policy preference outcomes.
- Explore possible mediated pathways to support for right-wing populists.

# 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.

### 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.
- H2: The causal effect of exposure is **mediated** through:
  - 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.

# 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.
- H2: The causal effect of exposure is **mediated** through:
  - 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.

# Research Design

# Research Design: Survey Experiment

### Framing:

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

### **Experimental conditions:**

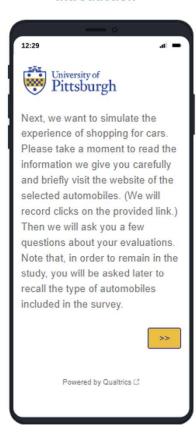
- 1. American-domestic: Ford Explorer, Chevy Traverse LS, and GMC Acadia SLE
- 2. European-foreign: Mercedes GLA 250, Volkswagen Atlas SE, and Volvo XC40
- 3. Asian-foreign: Hyundai Palisade SE, Toyota Highlander L, Mazda CX-9

### Research Design: Novelty

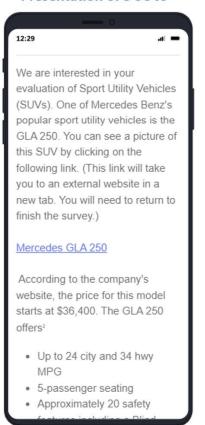
- **Realistic** consumption experience with recognizable brands.

  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."

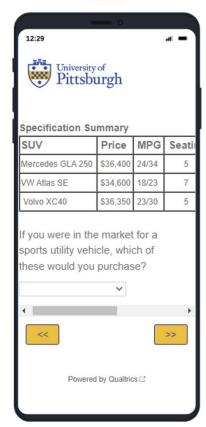
#### Introduction

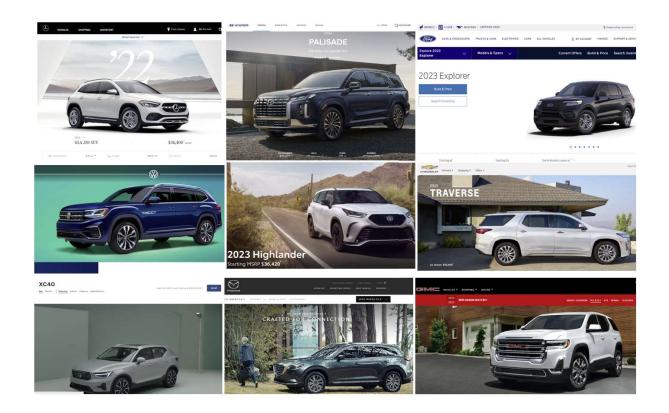


#### Presentation of 3 SUVs



#### Tasks





# European-foreign Asian-foreign American-domestic 2023 Explorer Build & Price GLA 250 SUV TRAVERSE 2023 Highlander Starting MSRP \$36,420

# Survey Flow

- 1. Pre-treatment section: questions about sociodemographics, partisanship, ideology, and measures preexisting levels of nationalism.
- 2. Three experimental conditions/prompts:

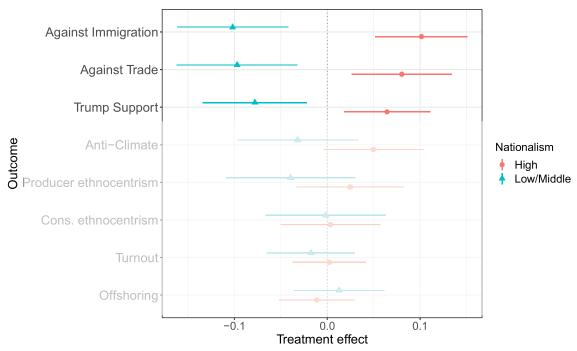
American-domestic European-foreign Asian-foreign

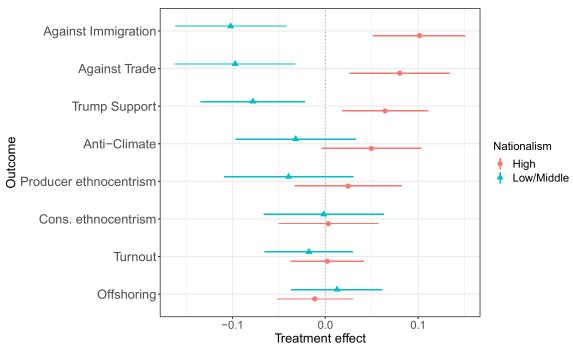
3. Post-treatment section: questions about consumption (i.e., brand), political, and public policy preferences + attention and manipulation checks.

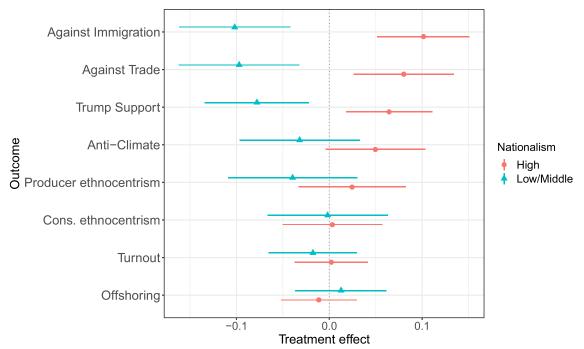
# **Implementation**

- IRB granted exemption (Aug 12, 2022)
- Preregistered @: https://osf.io/y8nrm
- Sample comes from CloudResearch MTurk Toolkit
- Respondents are paid \$1.50 (15 min  $\sim$  PA MW).
- Fielded on October-November, 2022
- -N = 3.299

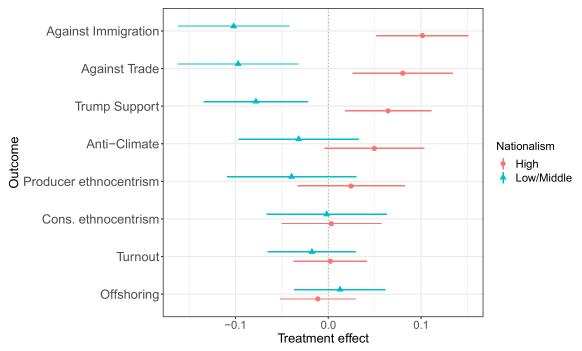
# Results



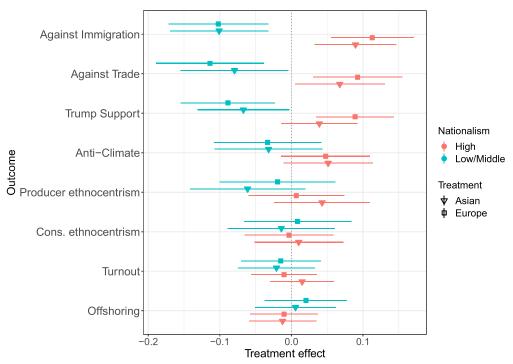


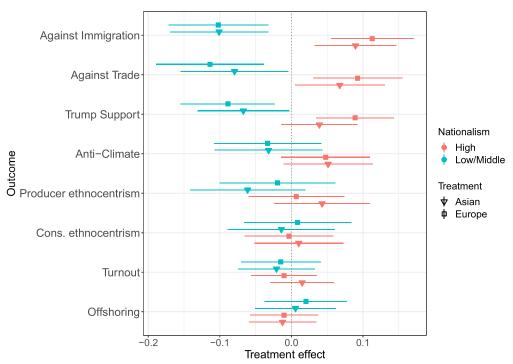


Nationalist: ↑ anti-immigrants, ↑ anti-trade, ↑ Trump



Nationalist: ↑ anti-immigrants, ↑ anti-trade, ↑ Trump Cosmopolitans: ↓ anti-immigrants, ↓ anti-trade, ↓ Trump





**Status threat?** Not quite! European brands' effects >= Asian brands' effects.

Then what?

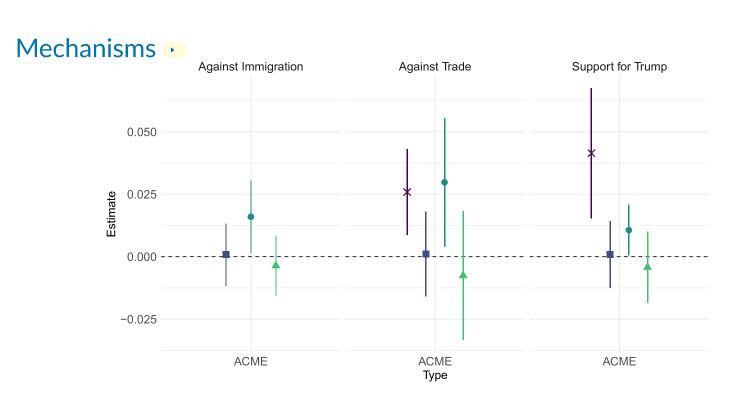
### Then what?

	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

### Then what?

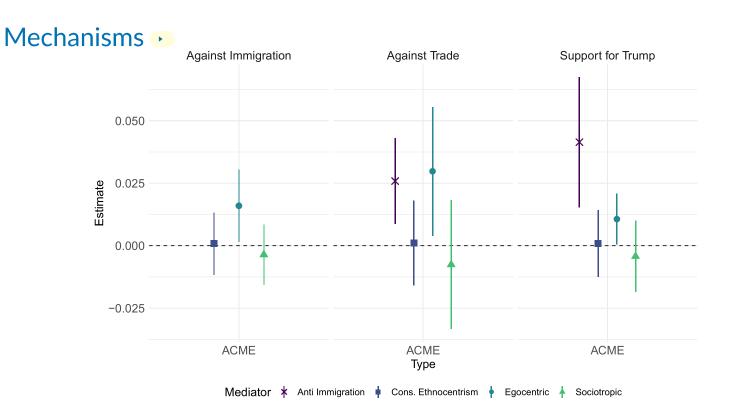
	American	European	Asian
Luxurious	8.17	55.35	17.61
Powerful	12.17	3.62	4.82
Safe	44	27.51	43.85
Reliable	35.67	13.51	33.72
$\chi_3 = 9.348$		1811.591	93.02105

[If anything] European brands are more associated with luxuriousness



Mediator ★ Anti Immigration ♦ Cons. Ethnocentrism ♦ Egocentric ♦

Sociotropic



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

- Consumer Preferences: Not all consumers love variety.

- Consumer Preferences: Not all consumers love variety.
- Daily exposure can subtly shape attitudes toward trade and politics.

- Consumer Preferences: Not all consumers love variety.
- Daily exposure can subtly shape attitudes toward trade and politics.
- **Bottom-up Polarization:** Trade-related polarization can *originate from the grassroots*, not just elites.

- Consumer Preferences: Not all consumers love variety.
- Daily exposure can subtly shape attitudes toward trade and politics.
- **Bottom-up Polarization:** Trade-related polarization can *originate from the grassroots*, not just elites.
- Methodological Insights: Include heterogeneous effects and real-world experiences in trade exposure studies.

- Consumer Preferences: Not all consumers love variety.
- Daily exposure can subtly shape attitudes toward trade and politics.
- **Bottom-up Polarization:** Trade-related polarization can *originate from the grassroots*, not just elites.
- Methodological Insights: Include heterogeneous effects and real-world experiences in trade exposure studies.

Thank you! **③** gonzalez-rostani.com <sup>⋈</sup> gonzalezrostano@pitt.edu