# SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX TO:

*Fairness to Whom?*
*Divergent Perceptions of Fairness Among White and Black Americans*
*and its Effect on Trade Attitudes*

## Contents

# 1 Demographics of "Meaning of Fairness" Sample

In the paper, we present results from an original survey, which was designed in partnership with **(Redacted for anonymity in the review process)**. We used the survey firm Survey Sampling International in the fall of 2017, and recruited nearly 6,000 Americans, 5,310 of whom identified as white or Black and answered our question about what fairness means to them. The demographics of this sample are reported in Table 1. The racial breakdown of this sample mirrors Brutger and Rathbun's (2021) sample, with eight percent of the respondents identifying as Black.

Table 1: Meaning of Fairness Study Demographics

|  | Proportion of Sample |
| --- | --- |
| Age 18-29 | 0.15 |
| Age 30-44 | 0.25 |
| Age 45-59 | 0.29 |
| Age 60+ | 0.31 |
| Women | 0.55 |
| White | 0.92 |
| Black | 0.08 |
| Income 0-50k | 0.47 |
| Income 50-100k | 0.34 |
| Income 100-150k | 0.12 |
| Income 150k+ | 0.07 |
| Democrat | 0.33 |
| Republican | 0.29 |
| Independent | 0.29 |
| N | 5310 |

# 2 Experimental Study Demographics and Balance

The data for the experimental analysis is from Brutger and Rathbun (2021). The only difference between our sample and the sample used by Brutger and Rathbun, is that we subset their sample to those who identify as "White/Caucasian" or "African American." Brutger and Rathbun recruited their sample in 2017 using the survey firm Survey Sampling International. Below we report the sample demographics, and the demographics within each treatment group. For most demographic characteristics, the sample is well-balanced across treatment groups. With regards to race, we find that the distribution of Black respondents across treatment conditions is reasonably well balanced, as shown in Table 5. For each treatment condition the proportion of Black respondents is between 0.07 and 0.09, with the proportion of Black respondents for the full sample being 0.08. This distribution of respondents is consistent with what we would expect, and hope for, with random assignment, and does not raise concerns for us about imbalance across the main treatments of interest.

Table 2: Experimental Sample Demographics

| | Full Sample | Proportion of Sample in Each Condition | | |
| | | Favorable Cond. | Unfavorable Cond. | Equal Cond. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age18-29 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.14 | 0.16 |
| Age 30-44 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.26 |
| Age 45-59 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.30 | 0.28 |
| Age 60+ | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 0.29 |
| Women | 0.55 | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.56 |
| White | 0.92 | 0.93 | 0.93 | 0.91 |
| Black | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.09 |
| Income 0-50k | 0.47 | 0.47 | 0.47 | 0.48 |
| Income 50-100k | 0.33 | 0.32 | 0.35 | 0.33 |
| Income 100-150k | 0.13 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.12 |
| Income 150k+ | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.07 |
| Democrat | 0.33 | 0.34 | 0.30 | 0.35 |
| Republican | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.32 | 0.29 |
| Independent | 0.28 | 0.28 | 0.29 | 0.28 |
| N | 2675 | 889 | 883 | 903 |

## 2.1 Balance of Black Respondents across Subtreatments

Though random assignment across treatment conditions provided a well balanced sample, we also probe further to examine whether there are any important imbalances across the sub-treatments within each condition. To assess the balance of sub-treatment assignment, we display the number of Black respondents assigned to each sub-treatment condition in Table 3. Not surprisingly, given the small sample size, there is some variation across sub-treatments.

We would be most concerned about bias in the results, if the assignment in the unfavorable or favorable condition was extremely unbalanced in a manner that over-weighted one of the extreme differences, such as the 90-30 or 30-90 tariff concessions. The breakdown shows that this is not the case, since there were slightly more Black respondents assigned to the middle-ground sub-treatments of 90-60 and 60-90, and so the sub-treatment assignment did not skew toward the extreme.

Table 3: Number of Black Resondents in Each Sub-treatment

| | Black Respondents |
|---|---|
| Favorable: | |
| 90-30 | 21 |
| 90-60 | 25 |
| 60-30 | 17 |
| Unfavorable: | |
| 30-90 | 19 |
| 60-90 | 28 |
| 30-60 | 18 |
| Equal: | |
| 30-30 | 31 |
| 60-60 | 25 |
| 90-90 | 27 |

## 2.2 Black Respondent Fairness Evaluations across Subtreatments

Lastly, we compared the average fairness scores within the sub-treatments, to see if there was additional reason to be concerned about a higher number of Black respondents being assigned to specific sub-treatments. In the favorable condition, the 90-60 treatment had the highest number of Black respondents, but we find that the average fairness evaluation in the 90-60 sub-treatment (0.12) falls between the average fairness evaluations of the other favorable sub-treatments. This suggests that the overrepresented sub-treatments' fairness evaluations are not skewing the results toward an extreme, alleviating our concern about potential bias. We also did the same analysis for the unfavorable condition, where the 60-90 sub-treatment has the largest number of Black respondents. We find that there is functionally no difference between the 60-90 treatment, where the average fairness score amongst Black respondents is effectively zero (-0.036), and the 30-90 treatment where the average fairness score is 0.00.[1] Given the distribution of Black respondents, and their average fairness evaluations, we do not find reason to be concerned that the distribution of respondents in the subtreatments would bias our results in a manner that would undermine the conclusions drawn from the analysis.

# 3 Survey Instrument

## 3.1 Self-Identification of Race

Both surveys used in this paper used the same question to gather self-reported race. The question was:

What is your Race?
- White/Caucasian
- African American
- Hispanic
- Asian
- Native American
- Pacific Islander
- Other

Though useful, this question has some limitations. Notably, it did not offer "Black" as a response category, which means that some respondents who identity as Black, but not African American, would have likely selected "Other" or chose not to respond.[2] Census.gov reported that in the 2020 census, "[m]ore than half of the Black alone population (53.7%) and the Black alone or in combination population (52.3%) reported being African American.[3] This means that only asking whether someone identifies as African American underreports the number of respondents who identity as Black. In both surveys reported in the paper, African American respondents (reported as "Black" in Tables 1 and 5) composed eight percent of the respondent sample (after subsetting to white and Black respondents). By contrast, census population estimates for 2023 report that 13.6 percent of the U.S. population is Black. This suggests that the use of "African American" may have underreported the number of Black respondents, but in a manner that roughly corresponds to the percentage of Black voters who identify as African American, if the true respondent population was

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[1]The average fairness score for Black respondents in the 30-60 treatment is 0.22. This means that any potential bias of over-representing Black respondents in the 60-90 treatment, which has the lower fairness evaluation, would bias against finding support for the principled fairness theory, since it would overrepresent the lower fairness scores in the unfavorable condition.

[2]A second limitation is that the question did not allow respondents to select multiple identities.

[3]https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2023/10/2020-census-dhc-a-black-population.html

roughly 13.6 percent Black. Regardless of the specific reason, the samples used in the paper have slightly fewer Black respondents than the national population, which is consistent with most online surveys.

## 3.2 Tariff Concessions Experiment

The following text of the experiment is reproduced from Brutger and Rathbun's (2021) paper.

> The U.S. is considering negotiating a trade agreement with one of its trading partners. The trade agreement will decrease the average tariffs – that is the tax charged by the American government on foreign goods entering the United States – by [30, 60, *or* 90] percent. In return the trade partner will decrease their tariffs on imports from the U.S. by [30, 60, *or* 90] percent.
>
> After reading about the trade agreement, participants were then asked whether they would support or oppose the agreement, with responses ranging from "strongly support" to "strongly oppose" on a five-point scale. Respondents were also asked to consider how fair they thought the trade agreement was, with responses ranging from "very unfair" to "very fair" on a five-point scale.

## 3.3 Additional Survey Questions

Which of these comes closest to capturing what fairness mean to you?
- Treating everyone equally
- Rewarding those who contribute the most and work the hardest
- Helping those most in need so that they can have the same opportunities as everyone else

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?
- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other

What is your gender?
- Male
- Female
- Other

What is your annual household income?
- $0 - $25,000
- $25,001 - $50,000
- $50,001 - $75,000
- $75,001 - $100,000
- $100,001 - $125,000
- $125,001 - $150,000
- $ 150,001 - $175,000
- $175,001 - $200,000
- $200,001+

What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- Less than High School

- High School / GED
- 2-year College Degree
- 4-year College Degree
- Masters Degree
- Doctoral Degree
- Professional Degree (JD, MD)

Overall, where would you place yourself on the following scale of liberalism-conservatism?
    1 = Extremely Liberal . . . 5 = Extremely Conservative

# 4    Fairness Evaluations of Men and Women

Our theory predicts that the history of gender discrimination in the U.S. should make women less concerned with falling behind, and less likely to view the world through an asymmetric fairness lens than men. To test this, we examine whether the difference in fairness evaluations is greater for men than women when comparing the favorable to the unfavorable treatment conditions. Indeed, we find that men have a much larger increase in their fairness assessments than women ($0.401$, $p < 0.001$). While women do not employ a principled fairness logic, women do exhibit less of an asymmetric fairness evaluation than their male counterparts. Figure 1 of the appendix shows that women view the favorable conditions as significantly fairer than the unfavorable condition ($0.357$, $p < 0.001$), though the magnitude of this effect is smaller than it is for men.

Figure 1: Fairness for Trade Agreement of Men and Women
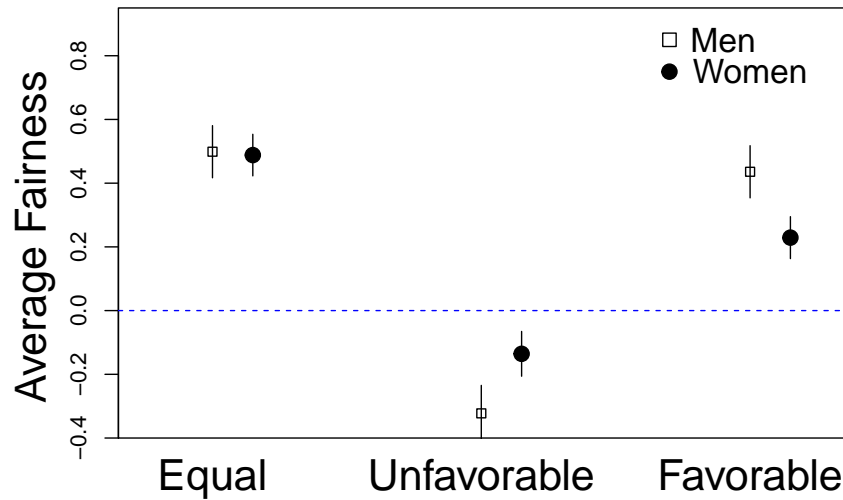


Note: Figure 1 displays the average fairness score by treatment type, measured from -2 (Very Unfair) to 2 (Very Fair), with 95 percent confidence intervals. Higher values represent greater perceived fairness of the trade agreement. The results are divided based on whether respondents identified as male or female (omitting those who selected other).

# 5 Individual Perceptions of What Fairness Means

To test the moderating effect of individual beliefs about what fairness means, we test the interaction effect of "Fairness as Rewarding Work" (compared to those who view Fairness as Equality) interacted with the treatment conditions. To evaluate whether asymmetric fairness is influenced by individual fairness beliefs, we focus on the interaction with the favorable treatment. As shown in Table 4 of the appendix, we find that those who perceive of fairness in terms of rewarding hard work exhibit significantly more asymmetric fairness. Conversely, this means that those who think of fairness in terms of equality exhibit significantly less asymmetric fairness, as expected. When coupled with the fact that Black respondents are significantly more likely to view fairness in terms of equality, this provides further support at the micro-level for the importance of fairness and race in shaping attitudes toward trade.

Table 4: OLS Regression of Fairness Assessment Interacted with Belief in Fairness as Rewarding Work

|  | Fairness |
| --- | --- |
| Equal Treatment | 0.702*** |
|  | (0.053) |
| Favorable Treatment | 0.471*** |
|  | (0.053) |
| Fairness as Rewarding Work | −0.107 |
|  | (0.073) |
| Favorable Treatment * Fairness as Rewarding Work | 0.264** |
|  | (0.103) |
| Equal Treatment * Fairness as Rewarding Work | 0.031 |
|  | (0.103) |
| Constant | −0.193*** |
|  | (0.038) |
| Observations | 2,664 |

| *Note:* | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |
| --- | --- |

Notes: The comparison group is the unfavorable condition. Fairness assessment based on a scale from -2 (Very Unfair) to 2 (Very Fair). Standard errors included in parentheses. The sample consists of those who identify as white or Black. "Fairness as Rewarding Work" is an indicator variable for those individuals who believe that fairness is about "rewarding those who work the hardest". The baseline group is those who view fairness as "treating everyone equally" or helping those in need to ensure they have the "same opportunities." Only 38 Black respondents selected "rewarding those who work the hardest," so we do not have sufficient power to evaluate subgroup heterogeneity for Blacks. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

## 5.1 Differences in "What Fairness Means to You" across Samples

Here we provide a comparison of the distribution of responses to the "what fairness means to you" question from our original sample of nearly 6,000 Black and White respondents, to the Black and White respondents included in Brutger and Rathbun's (2021) original study.

Table 5: Distribution of "What fairness means to you?"

| | Proportion of Respondents Selecting each Response by Race and Sample | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Lobo and Brutger Sample | | Brutger and Rathbun Sample | |
| | White | Black | White | Black |
| Treating Everyone Equally | 0.47 | 0.52 | 0.48 | 0.49 |
| Rewarding Work | 0.27 | 0.18 | 0.27 | 0.18 |
| Helping Those in Need - Same Opportunity | 0.26 | 0.29 | 0.25 | 0.33 |
| N | 4876 | 434 | 2456 | 209 |

Responses are shown for the question, "which of these comes closest to what fairness means to you" with the following response options: 1) "treating everyone equally," 2) "rewarding those who contribute the most and work the hardest," and 3) "helping those most in need so they can have the same opportunities as everyone else."
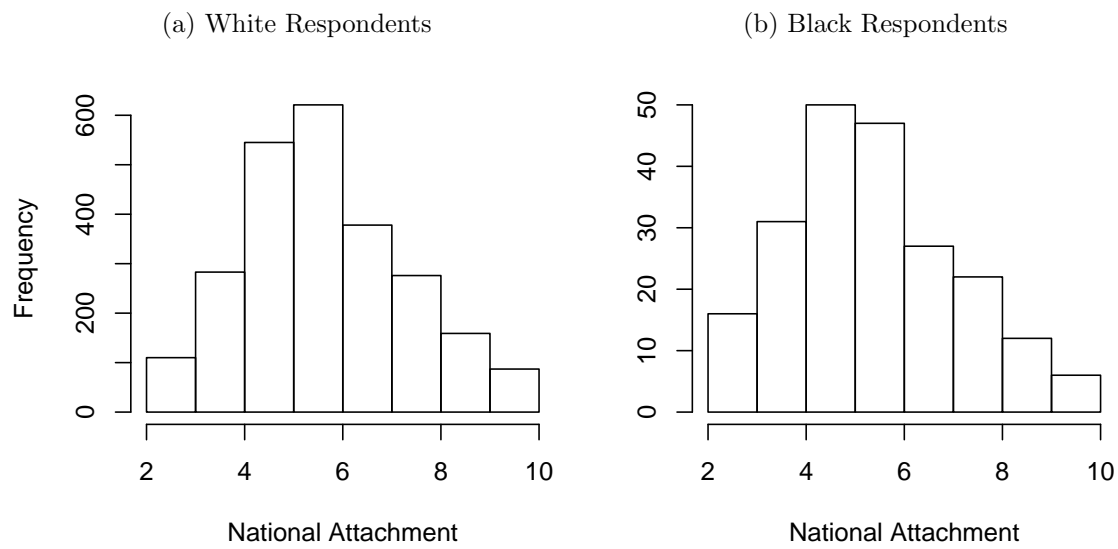
# 6 National Attachment

We begin our analysis of national attachment by comparing the distributions of national attachment for White and Black respondents. We find that the distributions are quite similar, having the same minimum, maximum and quartile cut-points (minimum=1, 1st quartile=5, median=6, 3rd quartile=7, maximum=10). The average measure of national attachment is slightly higher for White respondents than Blacks respondents (0.29, $p < 0.02$).

In Table 6 we interact our equal and favorable treatments with national attachment (rescaled from zero to one). To examine if nationalism has a significant effect on whether people interpret trade through an asymmetric or principled fairness lens, we focus on the interaction of the favorable treatment and nationalism (compared to the unfavorable baseline) in Table 6. We find that those who are highly nationalistic do respond with a larger shift in fairness evaluations to the favorable condition than respondents who are low in nationalism (0.473, $p < 0.026$), thus exhibiting more of an asymmetric fairness outlook than their low-nationalism counterparts. The magnitude of the interaction effect is about 20 percent smaller than the magnitude of the interaction between the favorable condition and the indicator for White respondents. We discuss the interpretation of the equal treatment and nationalism interaction in more detail in the paper, with the main takeaway being that nationalism does not have a significant interaction effect with the equal treatment, suggesting that race is not simply proxying for levels of nationalism.

Figure 2: National Attachment for whites and Blacks

(a) White Respondents                    (b) Black Respondents



National Attachment

Note: Figure 2 displays histograms of the national attachment measure for those who identify as white or Black. The national attachment measure is a composite of two questions, each of which could take a value from 1 to 5, meaning that the total measure can take a value from 2 to 10.

Table 6: OLS Regression of Fairness Assessment on Equal and Favorable Treatment Conditions and Nationalism

|                                    | Fairness      |
| ---------------------------------- | ------------- |
| Equal Treatment                    | 0.634***      |
|                                    | (0.119)       |
| Favorable Treatment                | 0.299**       |
|                                    | (0.118)       |
| Nationalism                        | 0.154         |
|                                    | (0.153)       |
| Equal Treatment* Nationalism       | 0.154         |
|                                    | (0.214)       |
| Favorable Treatment * Nationalism  | 0.473**       |
|                                    | (0.212)       |
| Constant                           | −0.299***     |
|                                    | (0.085)       |
| Observations                       | 2,670         |

| *Note:* | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |
| --- | --- |

Fairness assessment based on a scale from -2 (Very Unfair) to 2 (Very Fair). Standard errors included in parentheses. The sample consists of those who identify as white or Black. The unfavorable treatment is the baseline. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

# 7    Ideology and Partisanship

To supplement the analysis in the paper, we provide interaction models with ideology and partisanship, presented in table 7 of the appendix. The models interact the favorable and equal treatments with indicators for respondents who identify as liberal or Democrat. The comparison groups in each model are respondents who identify as conservative or Republican. Individuals are coded as liberal if they selected a 1 or 2 on the ideology scale and coded as conservative if they selected a 4 or 5. Consistent with the results presented in Table 3 of the paper, we find that respondents across the partisan and ideological spectrum exhibit asymmetric fairness evaluations, though the magnitude of the asymmetry is larger for Republicans and Conservatives.

Table 7: OLS Regression of Fairness Assessment on Equal and Favorable Treatment Conditions and Partisanship and Ideology

|  | Fairness | |
|---|---|---|
|  | (1) | (2) |
| Democrat | 0.048 | |
|  | (0.084) | |
| Liberal | | 0.008 |
|  | | (0.090) |
| Equal Treatment | 0.744*** | 0.755*** |
|  | (0.085) | (0.082) |
| Favorable Treatment | 0.682*** | 0.762*** |
|  | (0.085) | (0.082) |
| Equal Treatment * Democrat | −0.065 | |
|  | (0.118) | |
| Favorable Treatment * Democrat | −0.255** | |
|  | (0.118) | |
| Equal Treatment * Liberal | | −0.049 |
|  | | (0.124) |
| Favorable Treatment * Liberal | | −0.349*** |
|  | | (0.125) |
| Constant | −0.197*** | −0.212*** |
|  | (0.059) | (0.057) |
| Observations | 1,687 | 1,602 |

| Note: | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |
|---|---|

Note: Fairness assessment based on a scale from -2 (Very Unfair) to 2 (Very Fair). Standard errors included in parentheses. The sample consists of those who identify as white or Black, and also drops those who do not identify as a Democrat or Republican (Model 1) or a liberal or conservative (Model 2). The unfavorable treatment is the baseline. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

# 8 Education

In Table 8 of the appendix we interact our equal and favorable treatments with an indicator for whether the respondent earned a college degree. If education or numeracy are driving our divergent results, we would expect that those without a college degree would have a harder time interpreting the treatments, which would result in a null effect amongst these individuals. We find that having a college education does not have a significant interaction with the equal or favorable treatments. This suggests that even those without high levels of education understood the treatments and viewed the favorable and equal treatments as significantly fairer than the unfavorable condition.

Table 8: OLS Regression of Fairness Assessment on Equal and Favorable Treatment Conditions and Education

|  | Fairness |
| --- | --- |
| Equal Treatment | 0.664*** |
|  | (0.064) |
| Favorable Treatment | 0.480*** |
|  | (0.065) |
| College Degree | −0.021 |
|  | (0.065) |
| Equal Treatment * College Degree | 0.109 |
|  | (0.091) |
| Favorable Treatment* College Degree | 0.117 |
|  | (0.091) |
| Constant | −0.211*** |
|  | (0.046) |
| Observations | 2,669 |
| *Note:* | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

Note: Fairness assessment based on a scale from -2 (Very Unfair) to 2 (Very Fair). Standard errors included in parentheses. The sample consists of those who identify as white or Black. The unfavorable treatment is the baseline. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

# 9    Marginal Effects of Favorable Treatment by Race

In Figure 3 of the appendix we report the marginal effects of the favorable treatment from for white and Black respondents. We find that Black respondents view the favorable and unfavorable conditions as equally (un)fair, whereas white respondents believe the favorable treatment is much fairer.

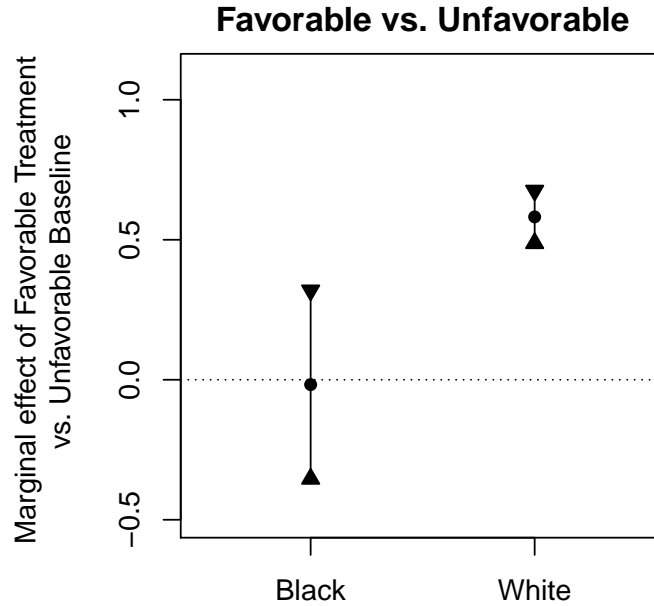Figure 3: Marginal Effect of Equal and Favorable Treatment by National Attachment



**Favorable vs. Unfavorable**

Figure 3 displays the marginal effects of the favorable treatment, compared to the unfavorable condition, by respondents' self-identified race.

# 10    Marginal Effects of Favorable Treatment by Employment in Import-Competing Industry

To test whether asymmetric fairness assessments differ based on respondents' industry of employment, we matched each respondent's employment industry to trade and production data from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), coding an indicator variable, called "import-competing," which equals one for sectors with an import-share in the top quartile of the import-shares for all sectors. As shown in Table 9 of the appendix, we do not find that working in an import-competing sector has a significant interaction with the favorable treatment condition, and so this does not appear to be driving the divergent results between white and Black respondents.

Table 9: OLS Regression of Fairness Assessment Interacted with Import-Competing Industry

|                                          | Fairness      |
|------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Equal Treatment                          | 0.675***      |
|                                          | (0.050)       |
| Favorable Treatment                      | 0.505***      |
|                                          | (0.051)       |
| Import Competing                         | −0.116        |
|                                          | (0.086)       |
| Equal Treatment * Import Competing       | 0.244**       |
|                                          | (0.122)       |
| Favorable Treatment * Import Competing   | 0.130         |
|                                          | (0.123)       |
| Constant                                 | −0.197***     |
|                                          | (0.036)       |
| Observations                             | 2,627         |
| *Note:*                                  | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 |

Note: Fairness assessment based on a scale from -2 (Very Unfair) to 2 (Very Fair). Standard errors included in parentheses. The sample consists of those who identify as white or Black. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

# 11 Mediation Analysis

We conducted mediation analysis, following the same specifications as Brutger and Rathbun (2021). The mediation analysis is implemented using the R package by Imai et al. (2010), using a potential outcome framework to evaluate how much of the effect of the treatment travels through the mediator of interest (fairness). Under a given set of demanding assumptions, this allows us to measure the average causal mediation effect (ACME), the average direct effect (ADE), and the total effect of the treatment. We focus our analysis on the direct and mediation effect of shifting from the unfavorable condition to the favorable condition, since this is where the asymmetric and principled fairness theories have distinct expectations. As discussed in the paper, we find that Black respondents' shift in support is not mediated by fairness in this comparison, which is consistent with the theory of principled fairness, since favorable and unfavorable agreements are viewed as equally (un)fair. By contrast, fairness plays a large and significant role in mediating white respondents' support for trade, and this result is robust to the sensitivity tests reported in Figure 4 of the appendix, which test the sensitivity of the results to violations of the sequential ignorability assumption.

Figure 4: Sensitivity Analysis for Mediation Results
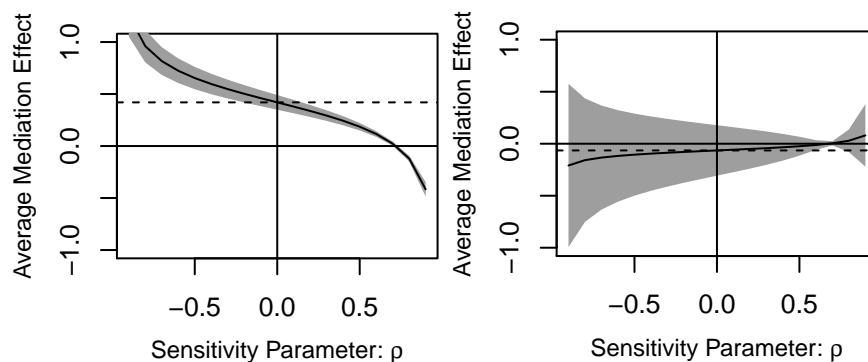


Note: Figure 4 reports results from sensitivity analysis conducted using the `mediation` package by Imai et al. (2010), and includes controls for the following pretreatment covariates: age, education, income, political party, gender, national attachment, and cooperative internationalism.

It is important to acknowledge that this type of mediation analysis relies on a sequential ignorability assumption, which is a strong assumption that may be violated by unobserved variables that affect both the mediator and the outcome. Given the strength of this assumption, some scholars prefer to examine the effect of the treatment on the mediator separately from the effect of the treatment on the dependent variable, as suggested by Keele (2015). In the main paper, our analysis presents the results separately in Figures 1 and 2. However, we also provide mediation analysis consistent with the original Brutger and Rathbun (2021) study and we conduct sensitivity tests to determine the robustness of our mediation results to violations of the sequential ignorability assumption. While we control for observed pretreatment variables – including age, education, income, political party, gender, national attachment, and cooperative internationalism – there are an infinite number of potentially unobserved confounding variables that could violate this assumption. Due to practical considerations in survey design, we cannot attempt to measure all potential confounders, and thus many remain unobserved. Although an imperfect solution, we present the sensitivity of the mediation results in Figure 4, which plots the the average causal mediation effect for each of our mediation tests against changes in $\rho$, which is the potential level of correlation between the error terms of the mediator and the outcome models. The plots illustrate that the ACMEs are robust to

significant changes in $\rho$, giving us greater confidence in the mediation analysis. As expected by the principled fairness lens, amongst Black respondents, it is nearly impossible for there to be a significant mediation effect of fairness across varying levels of $\rho$. By contrast, the significant mediation effect amongst whites will persist even at fairly extreme values of $\rho$.

## 12  Sociotropic Trade Attitudes

Theories of sociotropic trade preference formation typically focus on the economic wellbeing of the nation, though others focus on more local groups, such as the community level (Broz, Frieden and Weymouth, 2021; Guisinger, 2017). However, it is possible that sociotropic factors could cause White and Black Americans to think about fairness of trade agreements in terms of how the agreement affects their specific group. This is consistent with group identity influencing support for, and reactions to, trade (Baccini and Weymouth, 2021; Gaikwad and Suryanarayan, 2019). Though this is a very real possibility, in the experiment analyzed in this paper, this would require respondents inferring the distributional consequences of the trade agreement across racial groups, without any priming, since the study did not provide such information. Existing research suggests that most Americans are not aware of the specific effects of trade deals on their economic situation (Rho and Tomz 2017), which we would argue is one reason people evaluate trade through a moral lens, and not just an economic lens. However, to take seriously the possibility of sociotropic concerns affecting fairness at the level of the racial group, we consider the distributional effects of trade policy amongst White and Black Americans. Research shows that increased import competition disproportionately harms Black and Latino Americans (Watch, 2021). This means that the favorable condition in our study, which provides higher home-country tariffs and lower foreign-country tariffs (minimizing import competition), would provide proportionally more protection to Black Americans than White Americans. This suggests that a racially-biased sociotropic view of fairness would lead Black Americans to believe the favorable agreement is more fair, since it would provide Black Americans greater protection from import competition. However, we see Black Americans believing the favorable condition is an unfair outcome, consistent with a principled fairness perspective.

It is also possible that Americans differentially factor in the racial identity of the foreign country with whom the U.S. engages with when evaluating trade agreements. Brutger and Rathbun's experiment did not specify the name of the other country, or the racial composition of the other country, thus testing asymmetric and principled fairness evaluations in the abstract (Brutger et al., 2022) without having to condition on the perceived racial composition of the foreign country; however, it does not allow us to test the effect of concern for different racial groups across countries. Since existing work finds that the identity of the foreign country matters for public support for trade and foreign aid (Baker, 2015; Brutger and Li, 2022), future research should examine whether principled and asymmetric fairness evaluations are influenced by the perceived race of trade partners.

## 13  Discussion of Ethical and Human Subjects Principals

The human subjects research included in this paper complies with the Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research outlined by the APSA and was evaluated by the Institutional Review Board at the appropriate universities. The study was fielded with the survey firm Survey Sampling International and was reviewed by the IRB at [Name Redacted] (Protocol #: [Number Redacted]) and was approved. The risks to subjects were evaluated to be minimal and the researchers took steps to ensure that any potentially identifying information was protected and then redacted prior to making the data available for analysis and replication. There were no conflicts of interest identified for the researchers. The data for replication will be made available when the manuscript is published.

For this study respondents were initially asked to complete an electronic standard adult consent form that informed them they were being asked to participate in a voluntary study that had been

approved by [Redacted University Name] institutional review board. The consent form informed respondents they would be asked a variety of questions about their background, political preferences, and thoughts on government policies, the estimated length of time, the contact information for the investigator, and that the study was deemed to be of minimal risk. Respondents could select "If you wish to participate, please click the 'I Agree' button and you will be taken to the survey." or "If you do not wish to participate in this study, please select 'I Disagree'." If the later was selected, the survey was terminated.

As noted above, respondents were recruited by the survey company Survey Sampling International. Respondents voluntarily choose to opt in to participate in the survey firm's panels and are compensated based on the terms of the survey vendor, which can include cash, gift cards, and loyalty reward points. The respondents were all in the United States and respondents had free choice to opt in or out of the survey firms' panels. Respondents also had the opportunity to contact the researcher regarding any concerns about compensation or the survey itself, but we did not receive any complaints or concerns from participants.

Our study does not engage in deception since each component of the experiment provided information about a purely hypothetical trade agreement.

With regard to Principal 10 on the impact of the research on the political processes, we do not believe there is any reason to believe that our studies would have had an impact on political processes such as elections or policy creation. Respondents were only asked their opinion on the subject of hypothetical trade negotiations. We therefor do not see the survey as presenting any information to respondents that would alter their political behavior or political processes.

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