

Appendix of Supplementary Information

1 Measuring Support for Globalization

Previous questions that have been used to measure support for globalization appear here:

- International Social Survey Programme: “Now we would like to ask a few questions about relations between (respondent’s country) and other countries. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: (Respondent’s country) should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.” also “Should the number of immigrants to (respondent’s country) be increased a lot / a little / remain the same / be reduced a little/ or reduced a lot.”
- World Values Survey: “Do you think it is better if (1) goods made in other countries can be imported and sold here if people want to buy them, or that (0) there should be stricter limits on selling foreign goods here to protect the jobs of people in this country?”
- Latinobarometro: “Generally speaking, do you think that trade with other countries, both the buying and selling of products, helps [nation’s] economy or harms [nation’s] economy?”

2 Public Sector Employees

Table A1: Comparing education levels of public sector and non-public sector employees

	Education level										Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Afrobarometer Round 6											
Not public sector	1733	562	2599	2887	3695	3147	1272	463	867	193	4.7
Public sector	59	19	112	126	419	717	739	330	821	180	6.9
Afrobarometer Round 8											
Not public sector	1556	567	1790	2130	2499	2540	940	522	853	177	4.8
Public sector	26	14	80	86	257	487	500	240	735	137	7.1
Ghana (2016)											
Not public sector	51	127	249	122	142	13	21	3			3.4
Public sector	1	2	3	0	3	0	1	0			3.6
Uganda (2017)											
Not public sector	22	149	111	304	86	28	35				3.7
Public sector	1	0	0	2	0	0	3				5
Uganda (2018)											
Not public sector	103	517	339	634	89	172	100				3.5
Public sector	0	1	1	9	4	14	21				5.8

Note: Table reports frequency of observations in each cross-tabulation, along with the average level of education for each group. Only employed individuals reflected in this table. Afrobarometer coded using the question “Do you work for yourself, for someone else in the private sector or the non-governmental sector, or for government?” Original surveys coded using the question “In the past month, what was your primary source of income?” where one of the responses was “In a government job or a political position.”

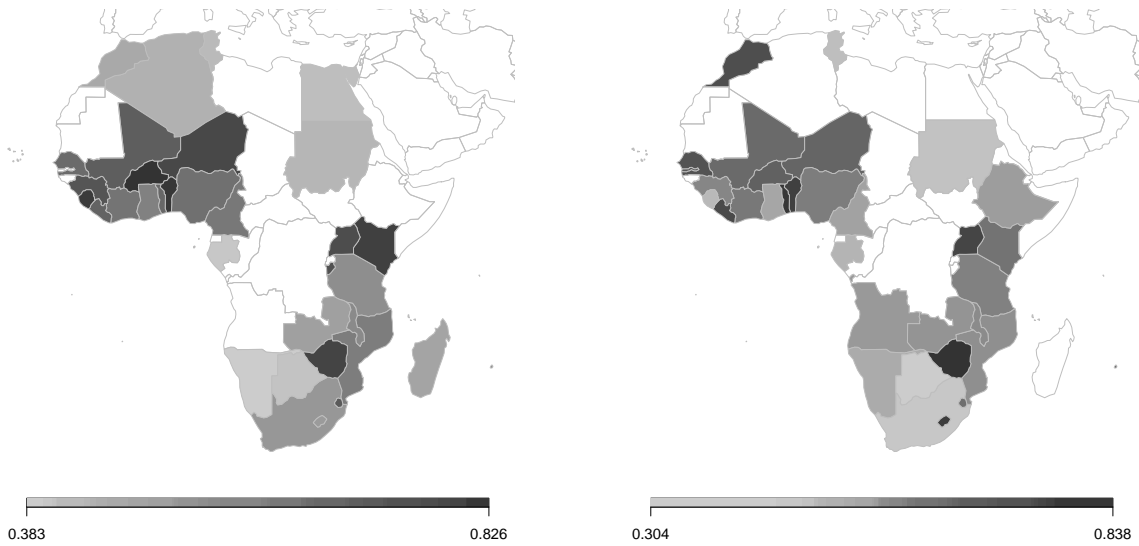
3 Afrobarometer Findings

3.1 The Afrobarometer Sample

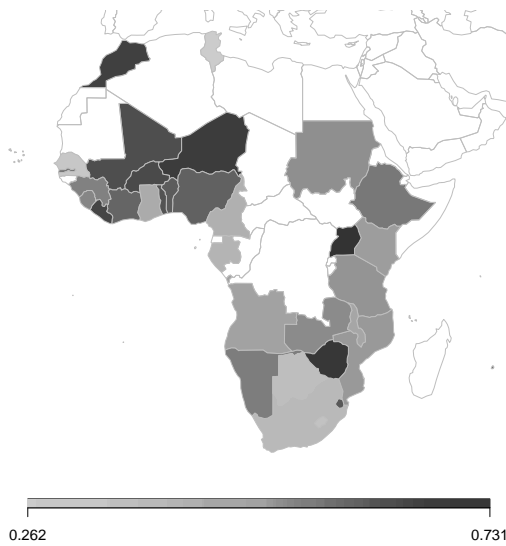
Figure A1: Average level of support for globalization/trade by country

(a) Globalization (round 6)

(b) Globalization (round 8)



(c) Trade (round 8)



Note: Countries in white were not included in the Afrobarometer sample. *Source:* Afrobarometer.

Table A2: Selection into Afrobarometer sample

(a) Round 6

Characteristic	Included, N = 36¹	Excluded, N = 18¹
Democracy (Polity)	3.9 (4.8)	-0.3 (4.6)
(NA)	1	1
Conflict Incidence (UCDP)	8 / 36 (22%)	4 / 18 (22%)
Freedom of Expression (vDem)	0.71 (0.20)	0.45 (0.22)
(NA)	1	0
Trade as % of GDP (WDI)	75 (26)	83 (39)
(NA)	3	3

¹Mean (SD); n / N (%)

(b) Round 8

Characteristic	Included, N = 34¹	Excluded, N = 20¹
Democracy (Polity)	3.4 (5.1)	0.8 (4.7)
(NA)	0	2
Conflict Incidence (UCDP)	5 / 34 (15%)	7 / 20 (35%)
Freedom of Expression (vDem)	0.70 (0.21)	0.48 (0.22)
(NA)	0	1
Trade as % of GDP (WDI)	76 (26)	79 (39)
(NA)	2	4

¹Mean (SD); n / N (%)

Figure A2: Distribution of education variable (Afrobarometer)

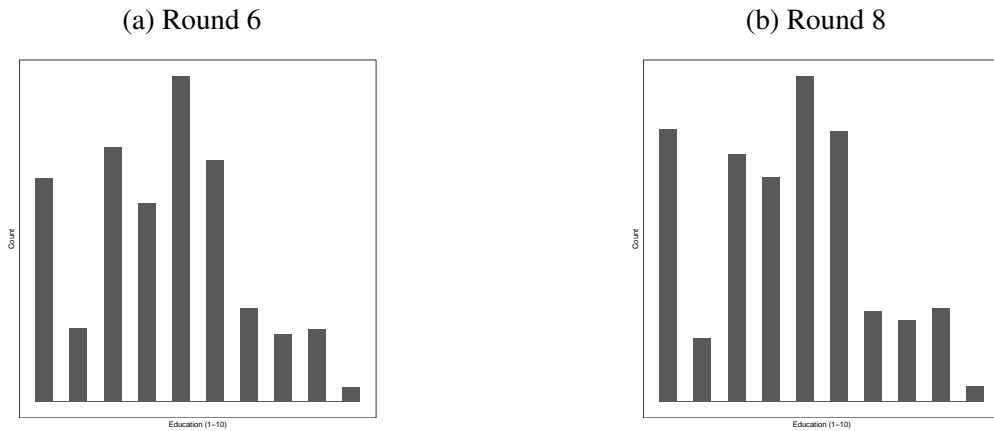
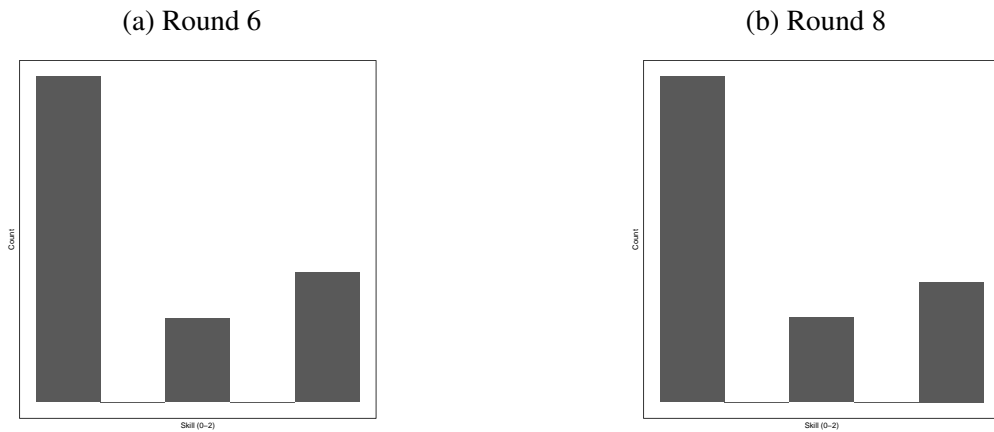


Figure A3: Distribution of skill variable (Afrobarometer)



3.2 Descriptive Statistics

3.3 Robustness Checks and Alternative Explanations

We report the full results of the cross-national test by employment status and with non-linearities. We do not report these in the main text because it is difficult to interpret how heterogeneity within the sample interacts with cross-national heterogeneity. Hainmueller and Hiscox (2006) investigate within-country heterogeneity but not cross-national heterogeneity, and Mayda and Rodrik (2005) investigate cross-national but not within-country heterogeneity. Table A5 and A6 break down the cross-national results by employment status. The round 6 results continue to be driven by employed individuals. The round 8 results are not driven by any particular group. Table A7 illustrates that

Table A5: Cross-national test of factor endowment model by employment status (round 6)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support for globalization (0-1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.102* (0.055)	-0.189*** (0.071)	-0.051 (0.068)	-0.062 (0.093)
Edu*GDPpc (log)	0.012* (0.007)	0.023*** (0.009)	0.006 (0.009)	0.007 (0.013)
GDPpc (log)	-0.751*** (0.039)	-0.928*** (0.052)	-0.921*** (0.059)	-0.543*** (0.060)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	48,395	19,033	11,242	17,954

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3.

there are not strong non-linearities of education in the cross-national test of the factor endowment model.

We replicate our cross-national test for alternative measures of a country’s abundance of skilled labor. First, we use the ratio of skilled to unskilled labor, using education estimates from Barro and Lee (2013). All data are from 2014, as data from 2019 are not yet available. Table A8 illustrates similar results to those reported in the main text, with positive and statistically significant interaction terms. The round 8 results are not robust to this (Table A9).

Second, we use the revealed human capital intensity. We assume that a country is abundant in skill if it exports a product that intensively uses skilled labor. We identify each country’s top export category (SITC1 classification). Next, we identify how intensively that category utilizes skilled labor. Shirotori et al. (2010) provide estimates of the “revealed human capital intensity” of product categories at the SITC1 level. There are only four top export categories among African economies: Food (RHCI=6.27), Ores and metals (RHCI=6.37), Fuel (RHCI=6.94), Manufactures/Textiles (RHCI=7.06). We assign them ordinal scores of 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. We then interact this ordinal measure of RHCI with education. The interaction between education and

Table A6: Cross-national test of factor endowment model by employment status (round 8)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.193*** (0.058)	-0.132* (0.068)	-0.108* (0.057)	-0.261*** (0.086)
Edu*GDPpc (log)	0.025*** (0.008)	0.017* (0.009)	0.012 (0.008)	0.035*** (0.011)
GDPpc (log)	-1.315*** (0.039)	-1.435*** (0.051)	-1.616*** (0.044)	-0.941*** (0.061)
Sample Observations	Full 46,200	Employed 15,723	Looking 12,056	Not Looking 18,325

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3.

RHCI remains positive and statistically significant for round 6 (Table A10), although not for round 8 (Table A11).

Tables A12 and A13 test the factor endowment model by looking at landowner status and the country's land abundance. Landowner status is a dummy variable coded as 1 if the individual lists their industry as "Agriculture / farming / fishing / forestry" and also lists their employer as "Works for self." We have substantial concerns about this as a measure of landowner status because casual (day) laborers also meet these criteria, and there are likely to be far more of them than there are landowners. We calculate the land abundance of the country in a similar manner to Baker (2005): we create a ratio between the hectares of arable land (World Development Indicators) and the capital stock of the country (Penn World Table). The round 6 patterns generally match the expectations of the theory: landowners in land-abundant countries (land abundance above the median) are more supportive of globalization and landowners in land-scarce countries (below the median) are less supportive of globalization. None of these results are statistically significant at conventional levels. We do not put much stock in these findings because our measure of landowner status is particularly poor. If we are capturing mostly casual laborers, Heckscher-Ohlin would be

Table A7: Cross-national test of factor endowment model with non-linearities

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Support for globalization (0-1)	Support for free trade (0-1)
	(1)	(2)
Primary	0.125 (0.231)	-0.367 (0.276)
GDPpc (log)	-0.700*** (0.028)	-1.246*** (0.031)
Secondary	-0.139 (0.222)	-0.636*** (0.214)
Higher Ed	-0.387 (0.336)	-0.127 (0.422)
College	-0.053 (0.323)	0.019 (0.557)
Primary*GDPpc (log)	-0.028 (0.031)	0.049 (0.038)
Secondary*GDPpc (log)	0.020 (0.029)	0.087*** (0.027)
Higher Ed*GDPpc (log)	0.047 (0.041)	0.006 (0.055)
College*GDPpc (log)	0.012 (0.041)	-0.0004 (0.072)
Sample	round 6	round 8
Observations	48,395	46,200

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3.

Table A8: Cross-national test of factor endowment model using skilled labor ratio (round 6)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for globalization (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.018*	-0.034**	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.015)
Edu*Skill Ratio	0.018***	0.035***	0.012*	0.004
	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.007)	(0.014)
Skill Ratio	0.874***	0.892***	1.186***	0.718***
	(0.043)	(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.074)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	38,559	15,211	8,859	14,340

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3 *Sources:* Afrobarometer and Barro and Lee (2013).

Table A9: Cross-national test of factor endowment model using skilled labor ratio (round 8)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.012	-0.010	-0.018*	-0.009
	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.014)
Edu*Skill Ratio	0.010	0.004	0.002	0.030*
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.018)
Skill Ratio	0.241***	0.289***	0.456***	0.062
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.078)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	34,653	11,870	8,962	13,760

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3 *Sources:* Afrobarometer and Barro and Lee (2013).

Table A10: Cross-national test of factor endowment model using revealed human capital intensity (round 6)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for globalization (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.037** (0.016)	-0.051** (0.022)	-0.021 (0.018)	-0.035 (0.024)
Edu*RHCI	0.009* (0.005)	0.013** (0.006)	0.004 (0.007)	0.010 (0.009)
RHCI	-0.962*** (0.026)	-1.130*** (0.035)	-1.198*** (0.045)	-0.726*** (0.042)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	45,235	18,069	9,963	17,094

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and *Worldwide Integrated Trade Solutions* (N.d.).

Table A11: Cross-national test of factor endowment model using revealed human capital intensity (round 8)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.030* (0.015)	-0.012 (0.020)	-0.032 (0.020)	-0.041* (0.021)
Edu*RHCI	0.007 (0.007)	0.001 (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)	0.016 (0.010)
RHCI	-0.175*** (0.026)	-0.162*** (0.036)	-0.257*** (0.031)	-0.156*** (0.031)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	37,398	12,720	9,215	15,406

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table 3. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and *Worldwide Integrated Trade Solutions* (N.d.).

Table A12: Cross-national test of factor endowment model using land abundance (round 6)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support for globalization (0-1)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Landowner	-0.016 (0.100)	0.065 (0.065)	0.010 (0.036)
Landowner*Land Abundance (log)	0.018 (0.033)		
Land Abundance (log)	0.322*** (0.003)		
Sample Observations	Full 48,501	Land Abundant 24,263	Land Scarce 24,238

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the relationship between landowner status and support for globalization. Controls include age, gender, rural, GDP per capita, and country fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the country level. Weights described in Table 1. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators. *Sources:* Afrobarometer, World Development Indicators, and Penn World Table.

agnostic about how their attitudes toward trade relate to the land abundance of their country, so this null result would be consistent.

We use occupation to generate an alternative measure of skill in the Afrobarometer data (Mayda and Rodrik 2005; O’Rourke and Sinnott 2006; Hainmueller and Hiscox 2006). Individuals are asked “What is your main occupation?” Table A14 provides the category mappings we applied. Using this new measure of skill (0-2), we replicate the main findings in Tables A15 and A16. In the round 6 results, the coefficients on skill are no longer statistically significant, slightly weakening support for hypothesis 1 (models 1-4). We do observe a positive and statistically significant coefficient on the interaction term for employed individuals, improving support for hypothesis 2 (model 6). In the round 8 results, the relationship between skill and support for trade is negative and statistically significant for the full sample and for employed individuals, improving support for hypothesis 1 (models 1-2). We see a strong positive and statistically significant coefficient on the

Table A13: Cross-national test of factor endowment model using land abundance (round 8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Support for free trade (0-1)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Landowner	-0.052 (0.060)	0.052* (0.028)	0.040 (0.027)
Landowner*Land Abundance (log)	0.032 (0.020)		
Land Abundance (log)	0.202*** (0.004)		
Sample	Full	Land Abundant	Land Scarce
Observations	46,332	22,820	23,512

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the relationship between landowner status and support for globalization. Controls include age, gender, rural, GDP per capita, and country fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the country level. Weights described in Table 2. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators. *Sources:* Afrobarometer, World Development Indicators, and Penn World Table.

Table A14: Coding an alternative measure of skill in Afrobarometer

skill	response to occupation
0	Agriculture / farming / fishing / forestry Unskilled manual worker Trader / hawker / vendor Never had a job
1	Security services Artisan or skilled manual worker Retail / shop
2	Supervisor / Foreman / Senior Manager Clerical or secretarial Mid-level professional Upper level professional Student
NA	Housewife / homemaker

interaction term, improving support for hypothesis 2 (models 5-8). Taken together, these findings are largely similar to what we report in the main text using education to measure skill.

We also try using income to proxy for skill in Tables A17 and A18. In round 6, the asset index negatively predicts support for globalization, consistent with hypothesis 1. The result is statistically significant in the full and employed samples, although it is also significant in the sample of people not looking for work, which is not consistent with hypothesis 3. There is also a negative and statistically significant (at the .1 level) interaction term for individuals not looking for work, the opposite of what hypothesis 2 expects, and for the wrong subgroup. The results from round 8 are more in line with Heckscher-Ohlin. There is a negative and statistically significant coefficient on the asset index for individuals who are looking for work, consistent with hypotheses 1 and 3. There is a statistically significant and positive coefficient on the interaction term for the full sample, consistent with hypothesis 2. We suspect the asset index may be a poorer proxy in round 6 than round 8 because the question wording involved immigration. Immigration affects tax burdens, and so an individual's income may independently shape their preferences over immigration. All told, we view these results as mostly consistent with our main findings.

We also consider whether our results change when we model “don't know” responses. Kleinberg and Fordham (2018) point out that ignorance and indifference are in fact part of foreign policy

Table A15: Substituting an alternative measure of skill (round 6)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
Support for globalization (0-1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Skill	-0.014 (0.011)	-0.025 (0.019)	-0.026 (0.019)	0.008 (0.020)	-0.030 (0.113)	-0.403** (0.179)	0.161 (0.190)	0.180 (0.155)
GDPpc (log)					-0.694*** (0.014)	-0.840*** (0.018)	-0.864*** (0.025)	-0.429*** (0.027)
Skill*GDPpc (log)					0.002 (0.014)	0.050** (0.021)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.023 (0.020)
Sample Observations	Full 42,937	Employed 18,189	Looking 9,955	Not Looking 14,663	Full 42,037	Employed 17,902	Looking 9,705	Not Looking 14,307

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 1 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A16: Substituting an alternative measure of skill (round 8)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
Support for free trade (0-1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Skill	-0.030** (0.013)	-0.050** (0.021)	-0.010 (0.018)	-0.012 (0.018)	-0.455*** (0.097)	-0.262 (0.174)	-0.300* (0.168)	-0.670*** (0.147)
GDPpc (log)					-1.119*** (0.017)	-1.388*** (0.022)	-1.474*** (0.031)	-0.662*** (0.028)
Skill*GDPpc (log)					0.057*** (0.013)	0.028 (0.024)	0.039* (0.023)	0.089*** (0.019)
Sample Observations	Full 40,628	Employed 15,248	Looking 10,593	Not Looking 14,724	Full 40,628	Employed 15,248	Looking 10,593	Not Looking 14,724

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 2 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A17: Using income to proxy for skill (round 6)

		<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
		Support for globalization (0-1)							
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Asset Index		-0.018**	-0.033**	0.002	-0.026**	0.048	-0.074	0.111	0.155
		(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.084)	(0.119)	(0.085)	(0.134)
GDPpc (log)						-0.650***	-0.793***	-0.853***	-0.425***
						(0.031)	(0.049)	(0.032)	(0.046)
Asset Index*GDPpc (log)						-0.009	0.006	-0.014	-0.025
						(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.018)
Sample Observations	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	
	49,556	19,375	11,568	18,422	48,501	19,053	11,263	18,004	

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 1 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *Asset Index:* Includes whether the individual (1 point) or household member (2 points) owns a radio, television, motor vehicle (car or motorbike), and mobile phone, so the variable ranges between 0 (none) and 8 (all). *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A18: Using income to proxy for skill (round 8)

		<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
		Support for free trade (0-1)							
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Asset Index		-0.005	-0.008	-0.016***	0.007	-0.090**	-0.080	-0.069	-0.082
		(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.038)	(0.055)	(0.059)	(0.059)
GDPpc (log)						-1.231***	-1.404***	-1.518***	-0.848***
						(0.033)	(0.059)	(0.056)	(0.049)
Asset Index*GDPpc (log)						0.011**	0.010	0.007	0.012
						(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Sample Observations	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	
	46,332	15,755	12,083	18,378	46,332	15,755	12,083	18,378	

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 2 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *Asset Index:* Includes whether the individual (1 point) or household member (2 points) owns a radio, television, motor vehicle (car or motorbike), computer, bank account, and mobile phone, so the variable ranges between 0 (none) and 12 (all). *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A19: Controlling for the public sector

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support for globalization (0-1)		Support for free trade (0-1)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.018** (0.008)	-0.194*** (0.071)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.128* (0.068)
GDPpc (log)		-0.938*** (0.051)		-1.432*** (0.052)
Public Sector	0.059* (0.036)	0.058 (0.036)	-0.065 (0.062)	-0.065 (0.069)
Edu*GDPpc (log)		0.023*** (0.009)		0.017* (0.009)
Round	Round 6	Round 6	Round 8	Round 8
Sample	Employed	Employed	Employed	Employed
Observations	19,355	19,033	15,723	15,723

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 1 (model 1), 2 (model 3, and 3 (models 2, 4). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1 and 3 and country in models 2 and 4. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A20: Testing the consumption model (round 6)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
Support for globalization (0-1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Edu	-0.009*	-0.013	-0.008	-0.006	-0.097*	-0.183**	-0.058	-0.051
	(0.005)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.056)	(0.074)	(0.069)	(0.092)
GDPpc (log)					-0.745***	-0.922***	-0.923***	-0.532***
					(0.039)	(0.052)	(0.060)	(0.059)
High Prices	-0.034	-0.024	-0.023	-0.054	-0.031	-0.015	-0.013	-0.061
	(0.021)	(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.043)	(0.039)
Edu*GDPpc (log)					0.012*	0.022**	0.007	0.006
					(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	48,367	18,852	11,370	17,987	47,315	18,530	11,065	17,571

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 1 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *High Prices:* “How well or badly would you say the government is doing at keeping prices down?” Variable is 1 if individuals reply badly or very badly, and a 0 otherwise. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A21: Testing the consumption model (round 8)

		<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
		Support for free trade (0-1)							
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Edu		-0.011** (0.005)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.019** (0.008)	-0.004 (0.008)	-0.196*** (0.058)	-0.131* (0.067)	-0.114** (0.057)	-0.265*** (0.085)
GDPpc (log)						-1.362*** (0.041)	-1.450*** (0.052)	-1.639*** (0.045)	-1.017*** (0.062)
High Prices		0.032 (0.020)	0.010 (0.037)	0.046 (0.035)	0.035 (0.030)	0.032 (0.021)	0.010 (0.035)	0.046 (0.042)	0.035 (0.031)
Edu*GDPpc (log)						0.025*** (0.008)	0.017* (0.009)	0.013 (0.008)	0.036*** (0.011)
Sample		Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations		45,296	15,491	11,813	17,904	45,296	15,491	11,813	17,904

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Tables 2 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *High Prices:* “How well or badly would you say the government is doing at keeping prices down?” Variable is 1 if individuals reply badly or very badly, and a 0 otherwise. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A22: Testing non-economic models (round 6)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Support for globalization (0-1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Edu	-0.021*** (0.006)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.023** (0.010)	-0.022** (0.009)	-0.129*** (0.046)	-0.189*** (0.066)	-0.075 (0.069)	-0.084 (0.067)
GDPpc (log)					-0.064 (0.131)	-0.241 (0.207)	0.924*** (0.125)	-0.958*** (0.246)
National ID	0.035* (0.019)	0.015 (0.026)	0.055* (0.029)	0.035 (0.029)	0.043* (0.023)	0.024 (0.033)	0.068** (0.032)	0.041 (0.028)
Ethnocentrism	-0.137** (0.054)	-0.032 (0.061)	-0.170*** (0.065)	-0.185** (0.080)	-0.129* (0.069)	-0.039 (0.076)	-0.146** (0.057)	-0.185* (0.099)
Xenophobia	-0.176*** (0.031)	-0.170*** (0.040)	-0.170*** (0.050)	-0.191*** (0.043)	-0.178*** (0.032)	-0.171*** (0.044)	-0.180*** (0.043)	-0.189*** (0.038)
Supports Democracy	0.095*** (0.025)	0.104*** (0.035)	0.100** (0.040)	0.086** (0.037)	0.085*** (0.025)	0.091*** (0.034)	0.096** (0.040)	0.073* (0.038)
Edu*GDPpc (log)					0.015** (0.006)	0.023*** (0.008)	0.007 (0.009)	0.008 (0.010)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	39,008	15,416	9,471	14,012	38,084	15,129	9,203	13,649

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See notes for Tables 1 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *National ID:* “Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a [NATIONALITY] and being a [R’s ETHNIC GROUP].” Variable is a 2 if individual reports “I feel only (national identity)” or “I feel more (national identity) than (ethnic group)”, a 1 if individual reports “I feel equally (national identity and (ethnic group))”, and a 0 if individual feels more or only ethnic group. *Ethnocentrism:* “Please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care: people from other ethnic groups.” Variable is a 1 if individual reports strongly or somewhat disliking people from this group, and a 0 if they don’t care or strongly or somewhat like people from this group. *Xenophobia:* Same construction as ethnocentrism, except group is “immigrants or foreign workers.” *Democracy:* “Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable. Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have.” 1 if respondent supports statement 1, 0 otherwise. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A23: Testing non-economic models (round 8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Support for free trade (0-1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Edu	-0.015*** (0.005)	-0.013* (0.007)	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.005 (0.008)	-0.180*** (0.058)	-0.136** (0.068)	-0.108* (0.065)	-0.226*** (0.086)
GDPpc (log)					-1.430*** (0.035)	-1.652*** (0.051)	-1.531*** (0.046)	-1.095*** (0.058)
National ID	0.002 (0.013)	-0.006 (0.022)	0.014 (0.023)	0.006 (0.020)	0.003 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.023)	0.014 (0.024)	0.006 (0.021)
Ethnocentrism	-0.028 (0.043)	-0.043 (0.063)	-0.027 (0.076)	-0.015 (0.061)	-0.025 (0.052)	-0.043 (0.071)	-0.025 (0.083)	-0.010 (0.069)
Xenophobia	-0.107*** (0.037)	-0.080 (0.058)	-0.129** (0.059)	-0.111** (0.049)	-0.106*** (0.039)	-0.080 (0.061)	-0.128** (0.050)	-0.110* (0.059)
Supports Democracy	0.143*** (0.021)	0.149*** (0.035)	0.130*** (0.035)	0.144*** (0.031)	0.141*** (0.025)	0.147*** (0.041)	0.129*** (0.040)	0.144*** (0.034)
Edu*GDPpc (log)					0.022*** (0.008)	0.016* (0.009)	0.011 (0.009)	0.030*** (0.012)
Sample Observations	Full 39,317	Employed 13,582	Looking 10,182	Not Looking 15,485	Full 39,317	Employed 13,582	Looking 10,182	Not Looking 15,485

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See notes for Tables 2 (models 1-4) and 3 (models 5-8). Standard errors are clustered by region in models 1-4 and country in models 5-8. *National ID:* “Let us suppose that you had to choose between being a [NATIONALITY] and being a [R’s ETHNIC GROUP].” Variable is a 2 if individual reports “I feel only (national identity)” or “I feel more (national identity) than (ethnic group)”, a 1 if individual reports “I feel equally (national identity and (ethnic group))”, and a 0 if individual feels more or only ethnic group. *Ethnocentrism:* “Please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care: people from other ethnic groups.” Variable is a 1 if individual reports strongly or somewhat disliking people from this group, and a 0 if they don’t care or strongly or somewhat like people from this group. *Xenophobia:* Same construction as ethnocentrism, except group is “immigrants or foreign workers.” *Democracy:* “Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? Statement 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government. Statement 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable. Statement 3: For someone like me, it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have.” 1 if respondent supports statement 1, 0 otherwise. *Sources:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A24: Modeling don't knows in pooled results (round 6)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support	Support	Neither	DK
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.017*** (0.006)	-0.016*** (0.006)	-0.040** (0.019)	-0.298*** (0.013)
Age	-0.0001 (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.001)	0.007** (0.003)	0.005*** (0.002)
Female	-0.050** (0.022)	-0.053** (0.022)	-0.121* (0.073)	0.419*** (0.047)
Rural	0.036 (0.024)	0.034 (0.024)	0.150* (0.080)	0.148*** (0.052)
Model	Without DKs	With DKs	With DKs	With DKs
N	49447	53479	53479	53479

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use multinomial logit models to estimate the relationship between education and support for globalization. Controls include country fixed effects. Standard errors are not clustered. Observations are weighted by taking Afrobarometer's combinwt variable. *Source:* Afrobarometer.

public opinions and should not be treated simply as missing data. We follow suit by modeling our results using a multinomial logit model, first by omitting “don't know” and “agree with neither” responses, and then including them. The results in Tables A24-A27 indicate that including these responses in our model does not change our findings. This is unsurprising given the infrequency of these responses in the Afrobarometer data.

Last, we consider the role of the pandemic. Half of the round 8 sample interviews occurred before the pandemic, but the other half occurred after Afrobarometer resumed operations in November 2020. We do not have a theory for how the pandemic may have changed the relationship between skill and support for trade, but we imagine that a major global health crisis that affected employment could be relevant for the issues we study. As such, we present our results for both the

Table A25: Modeling don't knows in cross-national results (round 6)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support	Support	Neither	DK
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.165*** (0.045)	-0.162*** (0.045)	-0.291* (0.159)	-0.530*** (0.113)
Edu*GDPpc (log)	0.020*** (0.006)	0.019*** (0.006)	0.033 (0.021)	0.031** (0.015)
GDPpc (log)	-0.303*** (0.027)	-0.302*** (0.027)	0.052 (0.076)	-0.070 (0.057)
Age	0.0002 (0.001)	0.0002 (0.001)	0.007*** (0.003)	0.006*** (0.002)
Female	-0.049** (0.022)	-0.053** (0.022)	-0.130* (0.074)	0.423*** (0.048)
Rural	0.040* (0.024)	0.038 (0.024)	0.168** (0.082)	0.138*** (0.053)
Model	Without DKs	With DKs	With DKs	With DKs
N	49447	53479	53479	53479

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use multinomial logit models to estimate the relationship between education and support for globalization. Controls include country fixed effects. Standard errors are not clustered. Observations are weighted by taking Afrobarometer's combinwt variable. *Source:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A26: Modeling don't knows in pooled results (round 8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support	Support	Neither	DK
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.019*** (0.005)	-0.011 (0.024)	-0.302*** (0.022)
Age	0.001 (0.001)	0.001* (0.001)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)
Female	-0.050** (0.021)	-0.050** (0.021)	0.122 (0.095)	0.520*** (0.081)
Rural	0.085*** (0.023)	0.086*** (0.023)	-0.378*** (0.105)	0.085 (0.087)
Model	Without DKs	With DKs	With DKs	With DKs
N	49447	53479	53479	53479

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Note: Regressions use multinomial logit models to estimate the relationship between education and support for trade. Controls include country fixed effects. Standard errors are not clustered. Observations are weighted by taking Afrobarometer's within-country weighting variable and standardizing so that all countries are weighted as if they have equal populations (replicating the combinwt variable).
Source: Afrobarometer.

Table A27: Modeling don't knows in cross-national results (round 8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support	Support	Neither	DK
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.311*** (0.044)	-0.310*** (0.044)	-0.219 (0.182)	-0.482** (0.190)
Edu*GDPpc (log)	0.040*** (0.006)	0.040*** (0.006)	0.028 (0.024)	0.024 (0.024)
GDPpc (log)	-0.128*** (0.017)	-0.129*** (0.017)	0.075 (0.056)	0.353*** (0.044)
Age	0.001* (0.001)	0.001** (0.001)	0.010*** (0.003)	0.010*** (0.003)
Female	-0.054** (0.021)	-0.053** (0.021)	0.119 (0.095)	0.518*** (0.081)
Rural	0.076*** (0.023)	0.077*** (0.023)	-0.385*** (0.105)	0.080 (0.087)
Model	Without DKs	With DKs	With DKs	With DKs
N	49447	53479	53479	53479

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use multinomial logit models to estimate the relationship between education and support for globalization. Controls include country fixed effects. Standard errors are not clustered. Observations are weighted by taking Afrobarometer's within-country weighting variable and standardizing so that all countries are weighted as if they have equal populations (replicating the combinwt variable). *Source:* Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

Table A28: Splitting results by pre/post COVID (round 8)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.020*** (0.005)	-0.247*** (0.039)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.157*** (0.038)
Edu*GDPpc (log)		0.030*** (0.005)		0.021*** (0.005)
GDPpc (log)		-0.774*** (0.062)		3.582*** (0.707)
Sample	Pre-COVID	Pre-COVID	Post-COVID	Post-COVID
Observations	25,466	25,466	20,734	20,734

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Sources: Afrobarometer and World Development Indicators.

pre- and post-COVID round 8 samples.

We find that the round 8 results are stronger for the pre-COVID than the post-COVID sample. The results appear in Table A28. In Models 1 and 2, we see the same results in the main text in the prepandemic sample: education negatively predicts support for trade, and there is a positive and statistically significant interaction term with GDP per capita. In the postpandemic sample, there is no relationship between education and support for free trade (Model 3). There continues to be, however, a positive and statistically significant interaction term in the postpandemic sample (Model 4), in line with the factor endowment model.

A possible explanation for our findings is that the postpandemic countries are somewhat wealthier than the prepandemic countries by about \$200 per capita. The logic behind the sequence of country operations in Afrobarometer is not clear but is unlikely to be random. Since the result that fails to replicate in the postpandemic sample is the one that is driven by the composition of the sample, this could explain our findings. We are reassured that we continue to observe the

cross-national patterns associated with Heckscher-Ohlin.

3.4 Round 8 Support for Globalization Results

In addition to the new question on support for free trade, round 8 of the Afrobarometer also fielded the same question on support for globalization that appeared in round 6. In this section, we present the round 8 results for this question.

We do not find that the results testing hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 3 replicate very well when we use this as the outcome measure. Table A29 shows that education does not predict support for globalization in the full sample. Education is positively related to support for free trade for employed individuals at the .1 level of statistical significance. These models are identical to the ones we used to analyze the round 6 data, and the questions are worded identically, so it is surprising that we do not observe our round 6 findings very robustly in round 8. Since the questions and our specifications are identical, this means that our results can only be explained by changes in the world. In 2015-16, education strongly predicted support for globalization. In 2019-21, it did not, but it did predict support for trade, as we report in the main text.

We do find that our results for hypothesis 2 mostly replicate. We continue to observe a positive coefficient on the interaction between education and GDP per capita as a predictor of support for globalization, and it is statistically significant at the .1 level (Table A30). This is reassuring to us, because for reasons note in the main text, hypothesis 2 is in fact the stronger test of Heckscher-Ohlin. In both 2015-16 and 2019-21, education becomes a more positive predictor of support for globalization as the country's skill endowment increases.

Why do our tests of hypothesis 1 and 3 hold with support for globalization in round 6, support for trade in round 8, but not support for globalization in round 8? Our best guess is that the true relationship between skill and support for trade in the pooled sample of African respondents was more negative in 2015-16 than it was in 2019-21 because of over-time improvements in development, consistent with Heckscher-Ohlin. This would make it harder to empirically observe a negative and statistically significant coefficient on education in the later survey round. However,

Table A29: Education does not predict support for globalization (round 8)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>								
Support for globalization (0-1)								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Edu	0.007 (0.005)	0.012* (0.007)	-0.0002 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)				
Primary					-0.023 (0.022)	-0.022 (0.039)	-0.023 (0.041)	-0.015 (0.032)
Secondary					0.001 (0.023)	0.018 (0.038)	-0.030 (0.036)	0.006 (0.049)
Any Higher Ed					0.051 (0.038)	0.022 (0.054)	0.050 (0.058)	0.093 (0.074)
College					0.054 (0.038)	0.076 (0.050)	0.063 (0.072)	0.016 (0.082)
Female	-0.071*** (0.015)	-0.135*** (0.027)	-0.077*** (0.029)	-0.016 (0.027)	-0.072*** (0.014)	-0.138*** (0.027)	-0.076*** (0.029)	-0.018 (0.026)
Sample	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking	Full	Employed	Looking	Not Looking
Observations	45,885	15,643	12,033	18,116	45,885	15,643	12,033	18,116

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the relationship between education and support for globalization. Controls include age, gender, rural, and country fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the region level. Observations are weighted by taking Afrobarometer's within-country weighting variable and standardizing so that all countries are weighted as if they have equal populations (replicating the combinwt variable). *Source:* Afrobarometer.

Table A30: Cross-national test of factor endowment model holds (round 8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Support for globalization (0-1)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.091* (0.051)	-0.074 (0.073)	-0.021 (0.060)	-0.130* (0.069)
Edu*GDPpc (log)	0.013* (0.007)	0.012 (0.010)	0.003 (0.008)	0.019** (0.009)
GDPpc (log)	-1.618*** (0.045)	-2.072*** (0.069)	-1.856*** (0.049)	-1.191*** (0.062)
Sample Observations	Full 45,885	Employed 15,643	Looking 12,033	Not Looking 18,116

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: See table notes for Table3. *Source:* Afrobarometer.

the trade question is far more precise than the globalization question. This added precision allowed us to detect a negative relationship in round 8, even though the relationship is attenuating over time. Table A31 shows that support for globalization and support for trade are highly correlated, which improves our confidence that the round 6 support for globalization results reported in the main text are picking up on something meaningful about individuals' trade attitudes.

4 Original Surveys

4.1 Survey Samples

The original data in this paper comes from intake surveys of participants in lab experiments in Ghana and Uganda (2017) and a large survey fielded in Uganda in (2018). The experiments were on different topics than those raised in this paper, and we do not discuss them. These surveys, especially those collected in lab settings in a few central locations, are convenience samples. These responses should not be taken as nationally representative of Ghana or Uganda, but we nevertheless

Table A31: Correlation between outcome variables (round 8)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Support for free trade (0-1)
Support for globalization (0-1)	0.467*** (0.012)
Observations	44,949

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Source: Afrobarometer.

feel them to be informative.

The Ghana (2016) survey was administered June 18-July 28, 2016 to 1,235 participants in a lab experiment. The survey and subsequent experiment took place in Accra and recruited participants from eight constituencies, which were chosen to be a mix of “low” and “medium/high” constituencies. Individual subjects were selected using a random walk method that originated at a randomly selected polling station, and then they were transported to visit a field site on the following day, where they took the survey and participated in the experiment. When benchmarked against both a larger sample of households in Greater Accra (Fink, Weeks and Hill 2012) and the Afrobarometer surveys, the sample we study is remarkably representative. The questions on trade were asked at the end of the post-experimental survey.

The Uganda (2017) survey was administered January 28-March 2, 2017 to 1,245 participants in a lab experiment. The study took place at a set of field sites in and around Kampala, and participants were recruited from the surrounding neighborhoods, yielding a convenience sample. There are 23 constituencies represented in the data, but most of the respondents are from just four constituencies. The questions on trade were asked at the end of the post-experimental survey.

The Uganda (2018) survey was administered July 17-October 20, 2018 to 2,551 respondents. Unlike the previous surveys conducted in a lab-in-the-field setting, this survey was fielded as a survey to a national sample. Participants were drawn using a modified area probability sample that

oversampled urban areas. The questions on trade were asked at the end of the survey.

4.2 Ghana (2016)

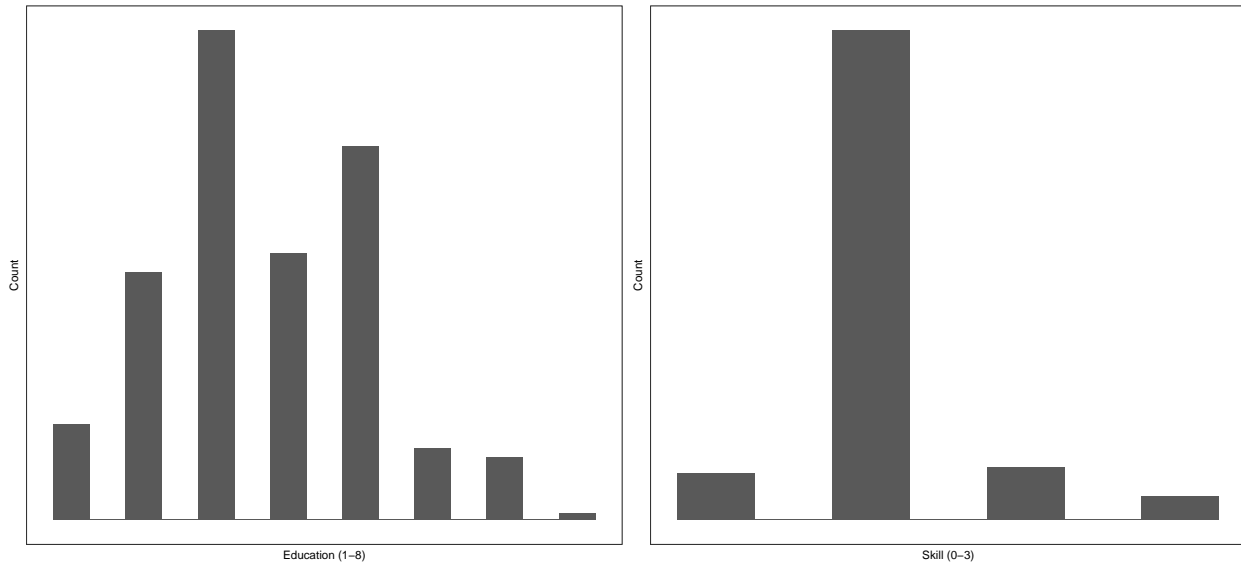
Table A32: Descriptive statistics for Ghana samples in Afrobarometer and original surveys

Characteristic	Afrobarometer round 6, N = 2,400 ¹	Afrobarometer round 8, N = 2,400 ¹	Ghana (2016), N = 1,235 ¹
Age			
Mean (SD)	38 (15)	39 (15)	32 (12)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[18,105]	[18,112]	[18,75]
(NA)	25	2	22
Education			
Mean (SD)	4.45 (2.07)	4.61 (2.17)	3.67 (1.47)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,10.00]	[1.00,10.00]	[1.00,8.00]
(NA)	10	1	22
Female	1,202 / 2,400 (50%)	1,203 / 2,400 (50%)	630 / 1,213 (52%)
(NA)	0	0	22
Lacked Cash Income			
Mean (SD)	2.35 (1.34)	2.59 (1.30)	2.90 (1.40)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]
(NA)	16	3	321
Lacked Food			
Mean (SD)	1.55 (0.98)	1.44 (0.86)	1.40 (0.90)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]
(NA)	7	1	242
National ID			
Mean (SD)	1.44 (0.68)	1.25 (0.62)	1.49 (0.54)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[0.00,2.00]	[0.00,2.00]	[0.00,2.00]
(NA)	44	0	71
Works in Agriculture	638 / 2,400 (27%)	682 / 2,400 (28%)	9 / 340 (2.6%)
(NA)	0	0	895

¹n / N (%)

Note: Education is 1-10 in Afrobarometer and 1-8 in the original survey. Across all surveys, the mean response falls between “Completed primary school” (4 in Afrobarometer and 3 in original survey) and “Intermediate or some secondary school” (5 in Afrobarometer and 4 in original survey). *Works in Agriculture* is coded a 1 if an individual lists their occupation as in agriculture, fishing, or farming, and a 0 otherwise. The alternative occupations listed differ between Afrobarometer and the original survey. In the original survey, this question was only asked of employed individuals. For all other variables, scales and responses are identical between the Afrobarometer and original surveys.

Figure A4: Distribution of education/skill variable (Ghana 2016)



Note: We have data on skill for 321 of 688 employed individuals in Ghana (2016), where the total sample size was 1,130. *Source:* Author's data.

Table A34: Relationship between education and support for free trade (Ghana 2016)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	Support for free trade (0-1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Edu	-0.094*** (0.029)		-0.114*** (0.027)		-0.071* (0.043)		-0.111*** (0.027)
Primary		-0.048 (0.075)		-0.057 (0.081)		-0.035 (0.180)	
Secondary		-0.297*** (0.083)		-0.231*** (0.084)		-0.358** (0.159)	
College		0.175 (0.125)		-0.170 (0.202)		0.439*** (0.142)	
Occ:Student							-0.589 (0.429)
Occ:Retired							0.546 (0.871)
Occ:Unemployed							-0.208 (0.180)
Occ:Other							0.671* (0.355)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.006* (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)
Female	-0.009 (0.099)	0.009 (0.099)	0.014 (0.120)	0.029 (0.121)	-0.049 (0.125)	-0.021 (0.120)	-0.004 (0.097)
Pol Knowledge	0.412*** (0.087)	0.400*** (0.086)	0.416*** (0.083)	0.397*** (0.079)	0.414*** (0.116)	0.399*** (0.115)	0.416*** (0.088)
Edu*Occ:Student							0.156*** (0.058)
Edu*Occ:Retired							-0.049 (0.284)
Edu*Occ:Unemployed							0.022 (0.049)
Edu*Occ:Other							-0.183** (0.082)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Not Employed	Not Employed	Full
Observations	1,130	1,130	688	688	442	442	1,130

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. Source: Author's data.

Table A35: Alternative measure of skill (Ghana 2016)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.114*** (0.027)	-0.222*** (0.035)		
Skill (0-3)			-0.225** (0.098)	
High Skill (0-1)				-0.312** (0.131)
Age	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.006)	0.003 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)
Female	0.014 (0.120)	-0.036 (0.223)	0.096 (0.223)	0.094 (0.214)
Pol Knowledge	0.416*** (0.083)	0.484*** (0.145)	0.388*** (0.143)	0.383*** (0.139)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed (subset)	Employed (subset)	Employed (subset)
Observations	688	321	321	321

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author's data.

While the main contribution of our original surveys is that we are able to measure skill directly, we do investigate the relationship between income and trade attitudes, since income is frequently used to proxy for skill. Our results are quite sensitive to the measure of income used (Table A36). We first measure income using the frequency of internet use. This is meant to be as similar as possible to the asset index we generated for the Afrobarometer surveys. We do observe the expected negative relationship between internet use and support for trade attitudes. Next we use household income. We create this variable by taking the sum of the cash a respondent earned in the past month plus that earned by the household primary earner, if not the respondent. We find no relationship between this measure and trade attitudes. Last, we consider a different measure of income, which is the frequency with which the individual has lacked cash or food. This variable also does not predict trade attitudes. The variation in these results suggests that measures of income may be quite specific to context, and we do not have great confidence that they proxy for skill. In any case, we prefer the direct measure of skill that the original survey contributes.

Table A36: Using income to proxy for skill (Ghana 2016)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Support for free trade (0-1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Internet Use	-0.112*** (0.035)				-0.183** (0.084)			
HH Income (log)		0.011 (0.030)				-0.029 (0.045)		
Lacked Cash			-0.028 (0.041)				-0.016 (0.037)	
Lacked Food				-0.019 (0.051)				-0.036 (0.036)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.0001 (0.003)	-0.0003 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.009* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.008 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)
Female	0.006 (0.096)	0.061 (0.101)	0.139 (0.115)	0.070 (0.091)	0.004 (0.116)	0.079 (0.116)	0.183 (0.148)	0.093 (0.113)
Pol Knowledge	0.387*** (0.086)	0.359*** (0.087)	0.389*** (0.096)	0.406*** (0.077)	0.396*** (0.086)	0.369*** (0.089)	0.386*** (0.109)	0.436*** (0.066)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Employed	Employed
Observations	1,130	1,130	848	927	688	688	510	566

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the relationship between income and support for trade. The survey asks about TV use frequency, phone ownership, and internet use frequency. Only internet use frequency exhibits a normal distribution, as most individuals use a TV frequently and own a phone. We code internet use as an ordinal variable that best maps this distribution (1 = Never; 2 = Less than once a month, Once a month, 2-3 times a month, Once a week, or 2-3 times a week; 3 = Daily). Household income is the logged sum of the cash a respondent earned in the past month plus that earned by the household primary earner, if not the respondent. Lacked cash/food are ordinal variables indicating the frequency that this happens. Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author's data.

Table A37: Controlling for the public sector (Ghana 2016)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
Support for free trade (0-1)		
	(1)	(2)
Edu	-0.114*** (0.027)	-0.114*** (0.027)
Public Sector		0.421 (0.443)
Age	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.007** (0.003)
Female	0.014 (0.120)	0.016 (0.121)
Pol Knowledge	0.416*** (0.083)	0.410*** (0.082)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed
Observations	688	687

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author's data.

4.3 Uganda (2017)

Table A38: Controlling for political connections (Ghana 2016)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Support for free trade (0-1)	
	(1)	(2)
Edu	-0.114*** (0.027)	-0.119*** (0.031)
Community Member:Inactive		0.202 (0.176)
Community Member:Active		0.066 (0.265)
Community Member:Leader		4.456*** (0.197)
Holds Political Position		0.626 (0.448)
Family Holds Political Position		-0.074 (0.141)
Age	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)
Female	0.014 (0.120)	0.006 (0.135)
Pol Knowledge	0.416*** (0.083)	0.416*** (0.081)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed
Observations	688	664

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level.
Source: Author's data.

Table A39: Testing non-economic models (Ghana 2016)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
Support for free trade (0-1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Edu	-0.094*** (0.029)	-0.084*** (0.026)	-0.114*** (0.027)	-0.104*** (0.023)		
Skill					-0.225** (0.098)	-0.238** (0.104)
Natl ID		0.133 (0.086)		0.054 (0.085)		0.238** (0.120)
Pride		0.098** (0.043)		0.136*** (0.037)		0.148*** (0.034)
Age	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.007 (0.004)	0.003 (0.007)	0.004 (0.006)
Female	-0.009 (0.099)	-0.021 (0.105)	0.014 (0.120)	0.009 (0.134)	0.096 (0.223)	0.022 (0.225)
Pol Knowledge	0.412*** (0.087)	0.351*** (0.077)	0.416*** (0.083)	0.335*** (0.066)	0.388*** (0.143)	0.225 (0.162)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Employed (subset)	Employed (subset)
Observations	1,130	1,087	688	667	321	314

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the effects of education, skill, assets, and income on attitudes toward free trade. *Natl ID:* “I feel only (national identity)” or “I feel more (national identity) than (ethnic group).” Variable is 2 if feels only national identity, 1 if equally national and ethnic identity, and 0 if ethnic identity only. *Pride:* “How proud are you to be Ghanaian?” Variable is 1-10. Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author’s data.

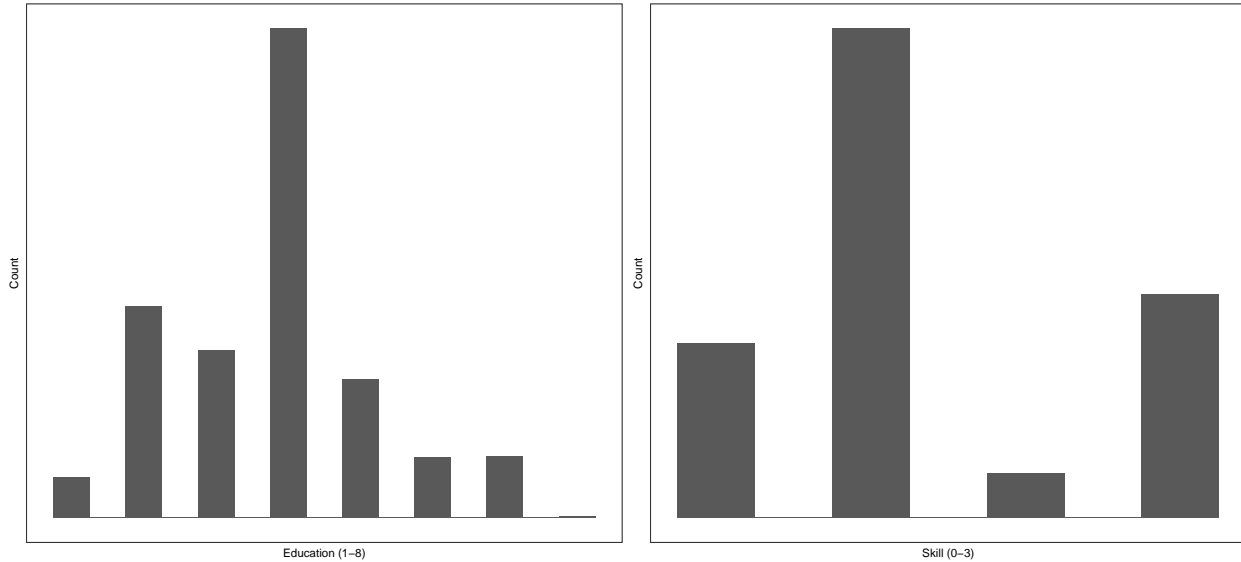
Table A40: Descriptive statistics for Uganda samples in Afrobarometer and 2017 original survey

Characteristic	Afrobarometer round 6, N = 2,400 ¹	Afrobarometer round 8, N = 1,200 ¹	Uganda (2017), N = 1,245 ¹
Age			
Mean (SD)	37 (15)	36 (15)	31 (9)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[18,96]	[18,96]	[12,87]
(NA)	13	0	0
Education			
Mean (SD)	3.95 (1.85)	4.21 (1.86)	3.78 (1.40)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,10.00]	[1.00,10.00]	[1.00,8.00]
(NA)	3	1	0
Female	1,203 / 2,400 (50%)	599 / 1,200 (50%)	640 / 1,241 (52%)
(NA)	0	0	4
Lacked Cash Income			
Mean (SD)	3.18 (1.23)	3.21 (1.24)	3.10 (1.08)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]
(NA)	4	2	6
Lacked Food			
Mean (SD)	1.80 (1.06)	2.18 (1.14)	2.50 (1.14)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,5.00]	[1.00,5.00]	[-7.00,5.00]
(NA)	1	1	15
National ID			
Mean (SD)	1.13 (0.69)	0.93 (0.58)	1.33 (0.68)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[0.00,2.00]	[0.00,2.00]	[0.00,2.00]
(NA)	17	0	24
Works in Agriculture	1,108 / 2,400 (46%)	535 / 1,200 (45%)	29 / 975 (3.0%)
(NA)	0	0	270

¹n / N (%)

Note: Education is 1-10 in Afrobarometer and 1-8 in the original survey. Across all surveys, the mean response is “Completed primary school” (4 in Afrobarometer and 3 in original survey). Works in Agriculture is coded a 1 if an individual lists their occupation as in agriculture, fishing, or farming, and a 0 otherwise. The alternative occupations listed differ between Afrobarometer and the original survey. For all other variables, scales and responses are identical between the Afrobarometer and original surveys.

Figure A5: Distribution of education/skill variable (Uganda 2017)



Note: We have data on skill for 687 of 691 employed individuals in Uganda (2017), where the total sample size was 1,012.

As in Ghana, we also investigate the relationship between income and support for trade. We measure income as internet use, household income, and the frequency of lacking cash or food. We find no evidence that these variables are significant predictors of trade attitudes. As with the Ghana survey, we prefer our direct measure of skill rather than using income to proxy for skill. Income may not be a reliable predictor of skill.

4.4 Uganda (2018)

Table A42: Relationship between education and support for free trade (Uganda 2017)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
Support for free trade (0-1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Edu	0.007 (0.012)		-0.012 (0.012)		0.054 (0.045)		-0.019** (0.008)
Primary		0.052 (0.077)		0.072 (0.081)		-0.002 (0.131)	
Secondary		0.206 (0.139)		0.121 (0.111)		0.371 (0.394)	
College		-0.056 (0.090)		-0.209 (0.135)		0.388*** (0.133)	
Postgrad		-5.086*** (0.233)				-5.509*** (0.256)	
Occ:Student							-0.183 (0.676)
Occ:Homemaker							0.666 (0.604)
Occ:Retired							-9.683*** (0.410)
Occ:Unemployed							-0.201 (0.215)
Occ:Other							-0.104 (0.645)
Age	0.003 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.009* (0.005)	0.010** (0.005)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.002 (0.002)
Female	-0.146 (0.107)	-0.127 (0.120)	-0.215** (0.109)	-0.212* (0.109)	-0.082 (0.157)	-0.032 (0.197)	-0.165 (0.132)
Pol Knowledge	0.089*** (0.024)	0.086*** (0.025)	0.117** (0.049)	0.117** (0.051)	0.059 (0.112)	0.053 (0.112)	0.093*** (0.026)
Edu*Occ:Student							0.045 (0.115)
Edu*Occ:Homemaker							-0.660*** (0.122)
Edu*Occ:Retired							2.082*** (0.074)
Edu*Occ:Unemployed							0.068** (0.034)
Edu*Occ:Other							0.158 (0.130)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Not Employed	Not Employed	Full
Observations	1,012	1,012	691	691	321	321	1,012

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. Source: Author's data.

Table A43: Alternative measure of skill (Uganda 2017)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Edu	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.012 (0.012)		
Skill (0-3)			-0.404*** (0.047)	
High Skill (0-1)				-0.799*** (0.101)
Age	0.009* (0.005)	0.009* (0.005)	0.009 (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)
Female	-0.215** (0.109)	-0.215** (0.109)	-0.295** (0.140)	-0.313** (0.137)
Pol Knowledge	0.117** (0.049)	0.117** (0.049)	0.045 (0.053)	0.033 (0.051)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed	Employed	Employed
Observations	691	691	687	687

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level.

Source: Author's data.

Table A44: Using income to proxy for skill (Uganda 2017)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
	Support for free trade (0-1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Internet Use	0.029 (0.025)				0.096* (0.050)			
HH Income (log)		0.017 (0.021)				0.022 (0.034)		
Lacked Cash			0.005 (0.117)				-0.012 (0.109)	
Lacked Food				-0.072 (0.071)				-0.059 (0.053)
Age	0.004 (0.003)	0.005 (0.004)	0.003 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.011** (0.005)	0.010** (0.005)	0.009** (0.004)	0.010** (0.004)
Female	-0.137 (0.109)	-0.136 (0.106)	-0.149 (0.095)	-0.131 (0.112)	-0.169 (0.117)	-0.212* (0.110)	-0.210** (0.106)	-0.192* (0.115)
Pol Knowledge	0.089*** (0.024)	0.083*** (0.027)	0.090*** (0.026)	0.075** (0.032)	0.121** (0.052)	0.107** (0.050)	0.121** (0.049)	0.111** (0.044)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Employed	Employed
Observations	1,012	984	1,010	1,005	691	679	690	687

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the effects of education, skill, and non-economic factors on attitudes toward free trade. The survey asks about TV use frequency, phone ownership, and internet use frequency. Only TV and internet use frequency exhibit a normal distribution, as most individuals own a phone. We use internet use to be consistent with the Ghana survey. Household income is the logged sum of the cash a respondent earned in the past month plus that earned by the household primary earner, if not the respondent. Lacked cash/food are ordinal variables indicating the frequency of this. Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author's data.

Table A45: Controlling for public sector (Uganda 2017)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
Support for free trade (0-1)		
	(1)	(2)
Edu	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.014)
Public Sector		-0.574 (0.383)
Age	0.009* (0.005)	0.009* (0.005)
Female	-0.215** (0.109)	-0.220** (0.109)
Pol Knowledge	0.117** (0.049)	0.116** (0.049)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed
Observations	691	690

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author's data.

Table A46: Controlling for political connections (Uganda 2017)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Support for free trade (0-1)	
	(1)	(2)
Edu	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.021 (0.015)
Community Member:Inactive		-0.254 (0.456)
Community Member:Active		0.230*** (0.079)
Community Member:Leader		4.808*** (0.151)
Age	0.009* (0.005)	0.007 (0.005)
Female	-0.215** (0.109)	-0.235** (0.116)
Pol Knowledge	0.117** (0.049)	0.115*** (0.039)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed
Observations	691	690

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level.

Source: Author's data.

Table A47: Testing non-economic models (Uganda 2017)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
Support for free trade (0-1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Edu	0.007 (0.012)	0.010 (0.016)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.014)		
Skill					-0.404*** (0.047)	-0.419*** (0.045)
Natl ID		-0.098 (0.060)		-0.089 (0.058)		0.009 (0.044)
Age	0.003 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.009* (0.005)	0.008* (0.005)	0.009 (0.006)	0.010* (0.006)
Female	-0.146 (0.107)	-0.169* (0.102)	-0.215** (0.109)	-0.222** (0.106)	-0.295** (0.140)	-0.312** (0.134)
Pol Knowledge	0.089*** (0.024)	0.083*** (0.026)	0.117** (0.049)	0.103** (0.046)	0.045 (0.053)	0.033 (0.051)
Addtl Controls	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth	Rel, Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Employed	Employed
Observations	1,012	995	691	679	687	675

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the effects of education, skill, and non-economic factors on attitudes toward free trade. *Natl ID:* “I feel only (national identity)” or “I feel more (national identity) than (ethnic group).” Variable is 2 if feels only national identity, 1 if equally national and ethnic identity, and 0 if ethnic identity only. Standard errors are clustered at the constituency level. *Source:* Author’s data.

Table A48: Descriptive statistics for Uganda samples in Afrobarometer and 2018 original survey

Characteristic	Afrobarometer round 6, N = 2,400 ¹	Afrobarometer round 8, N = 1,200 ¹	Uganda (2018), N = 2,551 ¹
Age			
Mean (SD)	37 (15)	36 (15)	36 (13)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[18,96]	[18,96]	[-8,87]
(NA)	13	0	0
Education			
Mean (SD)	3.95 (1.85)	4.21 (1.86)	3.64 (1.58)
[Minimum,Maximum]	[1.00,10.00]	[1.00,10.00]	[1.00,7.00]
(NA)	3	1	29
Female	1,203 / 2,400 (50%)	599 / 1,200 (50%)	1,174 / 2,551 (46%)
Owns Phone	1,538 / 2,400 (64%)	923 / 1,200 (77%)	1,942 / 2,551 (76%)
Works in Agriculture	1,108 / 2,400 (46%)	535 / 1,200 (45%)	693 / 2,551 (27%)

¹n / N (%)

Note: Education is 1-10 in Afrobarometer and 1-8 in the original survey. Across all surveys, the mean response is “Completed primary school” (4 in Afrobarometer and 3 in original survey). *Works in Agriculture* is coded a 1 if an individual lists their occupation as in agriculture, fishing, or farming, and a 0 otherwise. The alternative occupations listed differ between Afrobarometer and the original survey. For all other variables, scales and responses are identical between the Afrobarometer and original surveys.

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Table A50: Relationship between education and support for free trade (Uganda 2018)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	Support for free trade (0-1)						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Edu	-0.054** (0.023)		-0.053** (0.026)		-0.090 (0.055)		-0.050* (0.026)
Primary		-0.029 (0.084)		-0.030 (0.093)		-0.056 (0.206)	
Secondary		-0.165 (0.113)		-0.177 (0.126)		-0.192 (0.274)	
College		-0.239 (0.148)		-0.278 (0.169)		-0.207 (0.326)	
Occ:Homemaker							-0.746 (1.211)
Occ:Other							0.640 (0.418)
Occ:Retired							4.256 (381.527)
Occ:Student							-0.403 (1.190)
Occ:Unemployed							0.149 (0.297)
Age	0.005* (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.015** (0.007)	0.012* (0.006)	0.004 (0.003)
Female	-0.129* (0.072)	-0.120* (0.071)	-0.110 (0.081)	-0.103 (0.081)	-0.219 (0.169)	-0.165 (0.166)	-0.110 (0.074)
Edu*Occ:Homemaker							0.069 (0.339)
Edu*Occ:Other							-0.090 (0.087)
Edu*Occ:Retired							0.041 (74.398)
Edu*Occ:Student							0.054 (0.235)
Edu*Occ:Unemployed							-0.040 (0.078)
Addtl Controls	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Not Employed	Not Employed	Full
Observations	1,670	1,692	1,333	1,349	337	343	1,670

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are not clustered due to missing geographic data. Source: Author's data.

Table A51: Relationship between education and opposition to free trade (Uganda 2018)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>							
Support for free trade (0-1)							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Edu	0.058*** (0.022)		0.048** (0.024)		0.103** (0.050)		0.052** (0.024)
Primary		0.029 (0.078)		0.0002 (0.086)		0.170 (0.190)	
Secondary		0.236** (0.105)		0.192 (0.118)		0.467* (0.250)	
College		0.265* (0.140)		0.266 (0.162)		0.223 (0.304)	
Occ:Homemaker							0.061 (1.194)
Occ:Other							0.200 (0.337)
Occ:Retired							-2.375 (2.438)
Occ:Student							-0.268 (1.127)
Occ:Unemployed							-0.015 (0.278)
Age	-0.005* (0.003)	-0.005** (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.003)
Female	0.042 (0.067)	0.026 (0.066)	0.014 (0.076)	-0.008 (0.076)	0.004 (0.153)	-0.012 (0.153)	0.041 (0.069)
Edu*Occ:Homemaker							0.080 (0.336)
Edu*Occ:Other							0.017 (0.074)
Edu*Occ:Retired							0.328 (0.422)
Edu*Occ:Student							0.090 (0.221)
Edu*Occ:Unemployed							-0.007 (0.074)
Addtl Controls	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed	Not Employed	Not Employed	Full
Observations	1,654	1,676	1,318	1,334	336	342	1,654

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are not clustered due to missing geographic data. Source: Author's data.

Table A52: Using income to proxy for skill (Uganda 2018)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
Support for free trade (0-1)				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Phone Access	-0.051 (0.085)		-0.049 (0.095)	
Income (log)		0.009 (0.013)		-0.038 (0.024)
Age	0.006** (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.003)
Female	-0.105 (0.070)	-0.072 (0.077)	-0.089 (0.081)	-0.094 (0.083)
Addtl Controls	Eth	Eth	Eth	Eth
Sample	Full	Full	Employed	Employed
Observations	1,692	1,412	1,349	1,270

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Regressions use binary probit models to estimate the effects of education, skill, assets, and income on attitudes toward free trade. The survey asks about cell phone ownership, access to a smartphone, and access to the internet; however, the latter two variables are missing for a majority of the sample. Although most have a cell phone, this is the only asset for which we have complete data. Income is the logged cash a respondent earned divided by the period of time, scaled to a per day ratio (the survey does not ask about the partner's income). Standard errors are not clustered due to missing geographic data. *Source:* Author's data.

Table A53: Controlling for public sector (Uganda 2018)

<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
Support for free trade (0-1)		
	(1)	(2)
Edu	-0.053** (0.026)	-0.061** (0.027)
Public Sector		0.363 (0.294)
Age	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)
Female	-0.110 (0.081)	-0.118 (0.082)
Addtl Controls	Eth	Eth
Sample	Employed	Employed
Observations	1,333	1,333

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Standard errors are not clustered due to missing geographic data. *Source:* Author's data.