# Supplementary Materials

# 1 Congressional District Geography

We define the geographic unit of our main analysis to be the congressional district (henceforth, CD). Therefore, we need to address the issue of mapping economic shocks (defined at the commuting zone level) to CDs as well as the one of changing CD boundaries over time due to redistricting.

**CD-CZ crosswalk** To overcome the first issue, we follow Feigenbaum and Hall (2015) and we perform a spatial merge between CZs and CDs (as defined in Congress 106, corresponding to year 2000).<sup>1</sup> In so doing, we are able to determine the composition of each CD in terms of CZs. The exposure to import competition of each CD is defined as the weighted average of exposures of the corresponding CZs, with weights being equal to CZ's land area share of the CD. The same procedure is followed for other variables used in our analysis and measured at the CZ level such as the exposure to robot penetration or the indices of routine-task-intensity and offshorability.

**Time-invariant CD crosswalk** The issue of redistricting is addressed by fixing Congress 106 as our baseline geography and mapping all CDs of subsequent Congresses to it, as in Calderon et al. (2021). That is, for each Congress between 107 (2001-2003) and 114 (2015-2017), we perform a spatial merge between its districts and the map of districts in Congress 106 (1999-2001) and we calculate a weighed average of the variables under scrutiny that correspond to the area originally represented by CDs according to the 2000 map.<sup>2</sup> In particular, we adopt a weighting scheme that is population-based and that relies on the distribution of population at a finer level (i.e. county level).<sup>3</sup> Once obtained the intersecting cells between the two Congresses, we assign the 2000 county population to each cell in proportion to the cell's area

 $<sup>^1\</sup>mathrm{The}$  reason why we use the map of CDs in 2000 will be clearer later.

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$ A similar procedure is followed for Congresses prior to 2000 to compute variables used in the pre-trends analysis.

 $<sup>^{3}</sup>$ To construct our crosswalks of county-district cells, we draw on data of the Census Bureau and on maps provided by IPUMS National Historical Geographic Information Systems and Lewis et al. (2013).

share of the county. Then, for each district in Congress 106, we compute our final weights as the population share of each intersecting cell.

To further purge the noise caused by redistricting, we follow Autor et al. (2020) in computing a redistricting-adjusted version of congressional speeches outcomes. In particular, we build our outcome as:

$$\Delta Y_{d,\tau}^{adj} = \sum_{t \in \tau} (1 - R_{dt+2}) \left( \sum_{d'} \frac{p_{dd'}}{p_d} Y_{d't+2} - \sum_{d'} \frac{p_{dd'}}{p_d} Y_{d't} \right)$$
(1)

where  $\Delta Y_{d,\tau}^{adj}$  is the redistricting-adjusted change of the outcome Y over period  $\tau$  in Congressional district d (as defined in 2000). The variable  $Y_{d't}$  indicates the level of the outcome in a year t that is the start of a two-year period contained in  $\tau$ . It is measured for congressional districts d' with boundaries defined in year t. The fraction  $p_{dd'}/p_d$  indicates the population share of the initial congressional district d that maps to the new intersecting cell dd'.  $R_{dt+2}$  is a dummy variable equal to 1 if congressional district d experience redistricting in year t + 2.

Heterogeneity Analysis To test the prediction on party divergence on moral rhetoric we face the empirical challenge of distinguishing our data on congressional speeches according to the party of the elected Representative in our time-invariant map of Congressional districts. In Table 4 (columns 1 and 2), we split the sample by distinguishing between CDs represented by either a Republican or a Democrat in 2000 (Congress 106 is our baseline geography). In Table 4 (columns 3 and 4), we perform a slightly different exercise. That is, we isolate Republican and Democrat Representatives elected in Congress 114 (years 2015-2016) and we apply the time-invariant CD crosswalk to map their congressional districts to the ones in place in 2000.<sup>4</sup> For each district (as defined in 2000), we compute the outcome of main interest as the change in the political rhetoric index from Congress 106 to Congress 114. More formally, let  $Y_{d,106}$  be the index for Congress 106 referring to congressional district d and let  $\hat{Y}_{d,p,114}$  be the index for Congress 114 and party p - with  $p = \{\text{rep, dem}\}$  - referring to congressional district d (already mapped to the geography of Congress 106), the two party-specific outcomes are defined as:

$$\Delta Y_{d,p} = Y_{d,p,114} - Y_{d,106}$$

Regressions are weighted with the population-based weights of the time-invariant CD crosswalk that account for the portion of the congressional district in 2000 that is Republican (or, Democratic).

Next, in the remaining columns of Table 4, we only take into account the CDs where the party in office in 2016 was the same as in 2000. In columns (5) and (6), we define a

 $<sup>^4</sup>$ Note that we could map both Republicans and Democrats to the same district in 2000.

CD to be Republican (resp. Democratic) in 2016 if at least 50% of the population in that congressional district (after being mapped to our baseline geography) is represented by a Republican (resp. Democratic) Representative in 2016. Finally, in columns (7) and (8), we rely on the party-specific indices of political moral rhetoric constructed before,  $\Delta Y_{d,p}$ , and we allow the party of the second period - namely, year 2016 - to differ according to the representing party in year 2000. Hence, we define no-party-change outcome as the change between 2000 index and Republican (resp. Democratic) 2016 index in CDs that are represented by the Republican (resp. Democratic) party in 2000. Even in this case, we weight regressions with the population-based weights of the time-invariant CD crosswalk that account for the portion of the congressional district in 2000 that has not changed representing party.

# 2 Questionnaire

Answer options are in *italic*, separated by a semicolon.

## Age

1. What is your age in years?

... years

#### $\mathbf{Sex}$

2. What is your sex?

Male; Female

# Region

3. In which region of the US do you live? Northeast; Midwest; West; South

## Race

 Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be: White; Black or African American; Hispanic; Asian; Other; Mixed

#### Education

5. What level of education did you achieve?

Did not graduate from high school; High school graduate; Some college, but no degree; College degree; Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

#### Income

6. What was your TOTAL household income, before taxes, last year?

\$0 - \$9,999; \$10,000 - \$14,999; \$25,000 - \$34,999; \$35,000 - \$49,999; \$50,000 - \$74,999; \$75,000 - \$99,999; \$100,000 - \$149,999; \$150,000 - \$199,999; Above \$200,000

#### Attention

7. Many studies have found an association between excessive media use in children and reduced sleep, increased obesity, and language delays. To prove that you are reading carefully, just

go ahead and select somewhat disagree among the alternatives below, no matter what your opinion is.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Parents should limit the media use of their children".

Strongly disagree; Somewhat disagree; Somewhat agree; Strongly agree

#### Measuring Group Membership

8. What is your religion?

Protestantism; Catholicism; Islam; Judaism; Other; None

9. To what extent does your religion shape your choices in life? (0 = a little, 100 = a lot)
0 (a little) to 100 (a lot)

10. People have different views about how they relate to people at different physical distance and to the world at large. Would you tell us how close do you feel to other people who are in...? (0 = very far, 10 = very close)

your town or city (0 to 10); your state (0 to 10); your country (0 to 10); North America (0 to 10); the world

11. Which economic class do you belong to?

Working class; Lower Middle Class; Upper Middle class; Upper class

12. People have different views on how they relate to the traditions of their communities versus new ideas and values. Where do you place yourself on this scale? (0 = traditionalist, 100 = progressive)

0 (Traditionalist) to 100 (Progressive)

13. You have to choose how to divide a gift of \$100 between two individuals. How would you split this amount between a member of one of your past or current organizations (local church, leisure club or association, etc.) and a random person from the US or abroad?

The closer you drag the slider to one individual, the more money you allocate to that individual. Please assume that both individuals have the same income, and would not find out that it was you who sent them the money.

0 (Member of one of your past or current organizations) to 100 (A random person from the US)

14. What is your current employment status?

Employed; Unemployed and looking for work; Student; Not currently working and not looking for work Retiree

#### Measuring Identity

15. We have interviewed many people in the US and they all have described themselves in different ways. Some people describe themselves in terms of their religion, others in terms of their race, other in terms of their economic class, etc. What defines your identity, first and foremost? Please, select **only one** of the following.

My Religion; My Being Secular; My Race; My Local Community; My being a Citizen of the World; My Cultural Traditions; My Progressive Culture; My Economic Class (working class, middle class or upper class)

16. Consider your response to the previous question. How strong would you say your attachment is to the identity you chose? (0 = weak, 100 = strong)

0 (weak) to 100 (strong)

17. How hot or cold you do you feel toward these groups? Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group.

Protestants (0 to 100); Catholics (0 to 100); Muslims (0 to 100); Jews (0 to 100); Secular (0 to 100); Hindus (0 to 100)

18. How hot or cold you do you feel toward these groups? Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group.

White (0 to 100); African American (0 to 100); Hispanic (0 to 100); Asian (0 to 100)

19. How hot or cold you do you feel toward these groups? Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel

particularly warm or cold toward the group.

People attached to their local community and traditions (0 to 100); People who feel they are citizens of the world (0 to 100)

20. How hot or cold you do you feel toward these groups? Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group.

Traditionalists (0 to 100); Progressives (0 to 100)

21. How hot or cold you do you feel toward these groups? Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group.

Working Class (0 to 100); Middle Class (0 to 100); Upper Class (0 to 100); Trade Union (0 to 100); Business (0 to 100)

#### Measuring policy views and beliefs<sup>5</sup>

22. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Government should provide many fewer services (1) to Government should provide many more services (7)

23. Some people feel that the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on their own. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Government should see to jobs and standard of living (1) to Government should let each person get ahead on own (7)

24. In a perfectly equal society 1% of the population owns exactly 1% of total income. In an

 $<sup>{}^{5}</sup>$ In the questionnaire, in this section questions about policies are asked first. In the subsequent section, the order is reversed and questions about beliefs are asked first. For brevity, we will not report both sections, as they include the same questions.

unequal society, the richest 1% of the population owns more than 1% of total income. How has the share of total income that goes to the richest 1% of the US population evolved over the past 30 years?

Increased a lot; Increased a little; Stayed about the same; Decreased a little; Decreased a lot

25. The estate tax is a tax on the transfer of wealth from a deceased person to his/her heirs. This tax applies only to rich individuals (i.e. above a given level of wealth). Some people argue that the estate tax is fair since it reduces inequality, while others believe that it is unfair as it punishes success. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

I do not support the estate tax (1) to I strongly favor the estate tax (7)

26. Consider **100 children** from the poorest families of the US. These children are very determined and put in hard work both at school and later in life. How many of them do you think will grow up to be rich? ...

27. Some people think that, because of historical discrimination, women should be given preference in hiring and promotion. Others oppose such policy, arguing that it would give women advantages they haven't earned. Where do you place yourself on this scale?

I am against preferential hiring and promotion of women (1) to I am in favor of preferential hiring and promotion of women (7)

28. Consider a black man and a white man with the same experience and education doing the same job in the same geographic location. Who do you think has a lower pay and gets treated worse?

The black man has a lower pay and gets treated worse (1) to The white man has a lower pay and gets treated worse (7)

29. Some people think that the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to live in the United States should be increased. Others think that it should be decreased. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

The number of immigrants who are permitted to come to the US to live should be <u>increased a lot</u> (1) to The number of immigrants who are permitted to come to the US to live should be <u>decreased a lot</u> (7)

30. Consider all crimes committed in the US in the past 12 months. Out of **100 crimes**, how

many do you think were committed by immigrants?

...

31. There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Some people think that abortion should never be permitted, others think that abortion is a personal choice and women should always be able to obtain it, other believe that abortion should be permitted only in some cases. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

By law, abortion should never be permitted (1) to By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice (7)

32. Consider all the women who get pregnant in the US every year. Out of 100 such women, how many do you think have an abortion every year?

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33. Some people think that the US government should impose tariffs in order to reduce imports from China and other countries, so as to protect US jobs. Others oppose import tariffs on the grounds that they increase the prices consumers pay and that they are not effective at creating jobs. What is your view on this issue?

Government should impose tariffs (1) to Government should not impose tariffs (7)

34. Every year in the US many jobs are lost due to various reasons. Out of 100 lost jobs, how many do you think are lost due to globalization?

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35. Some people argue that carbon emissions should be taxed, even if it means losing some income and jobs, in order to protect the environment. Others think that taxing carbon emissions is economically too costly. What is your view on this issue?

Carbon emissions should be taxed (1) to Carbon emissions should not be taxed (7)

36. Some people think that climate change is man-made, others think that it is a natural phenomenon. Which position is closest to what you feel?

Carbon emissions should be taxed (1) to Carbon emissions should not be taxed (7)

# Econ conditions

37. Do you think your economic situation has deteriorated over time?

A lot; A bit; Not at all

38. If your economic situation has deteriorated, do you think that it is due to globalization or new technologies?

Yes, entirely; Yes, only in part; No

39. Has the economic situation of people around you deteriorated due to globalization or new technologies?

Yes, entirely; Yes, only in part; No

## Politic preferences and secondary identity

40. Are you Republican, Democrat, Independent?

Republican; Democrat; Independent

41. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Religion'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Religion or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my Religion; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

42. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Religion'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Religion or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my Religion; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

43. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Being Secular'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your being Secular or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my being Secular; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

44. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Being Secular'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your being Secular or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my being Secular; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat 45. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My race'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Race or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my Race; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

46. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My race'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Race or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my Race; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

47. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Local Community'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Local Community or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my Local Community; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

48. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Local Community'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Local Community or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my Local Community; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

49. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My being a Citizen of the World'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your being a Citizen of the World or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my being a Citizen of the World; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

50. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My being a Citizen of the World'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your being a Citizen of the World or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my being a Citizen of the World; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

51. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number

of alternatives. You replied 'My Cultural Traditions'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Cultural Traditions or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my Cultural Traditions; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

52. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Cultural Traditions'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Cultural Traditions or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my Cultural Traditions; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

53. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Progressive Culture'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Progressive Culture or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my Progressive Culture; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

54. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Progressive Culture'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Progressive Culture or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my Progressive Culture; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

55. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Economic Class'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Economic Class or with being a Republican?

I would mostly identify with my Economic Class; I would mostly identify with being a Republican

56. Earlier in the survey we asked you what defines your identify the most within a number of alternatives. You replied 'My Economic Class'. If you had to choose, would you say that you mostly identify with your Economic Class or with being a Democrat?

I would mostly identify with my Economic Class; I would mostly identify with being a Democrat

57. Which other group have you also identified with in the past? Please, click only one

 $option^6$ 

My Being Secular; My Race; My Local Community; My being a Citizen of the World; My Cultural Traditions; My Progressive Culture; My Economic Class (working class, middle class or upper class); Being Republican; Being Democrat; None

- 58. Please indicate what other economic class you identified with in the past<sup>7</sup> Lower Middle Class; Upper Middle Class; Upper Class
- 59. Which party did you vote for in the 2016 presidential elections, if any? Republican party; Democratic party; Other; None
- 60. Which party did you vote for in the 2020 presidential elections, if any? Republican party; Democratic party; Other; None

61. How hot or cold you do you feel toward these parties? Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group.

Republican party (0 to 100); Democratic party (0 to 100)

62. In which ZIP code do you live?

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 $<sup>^{6}</sup>$ The answer options to this question vary according to the answer given to question 15. Here the omitted category is "My Religion".

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$ The answer options to this question vary according to the answer given to question 11. Here the omitted category is "Working Class".