Online Appendix

for

Does Receiving Government Assistance Shape Political Attitudes? Evidence from Agricultural Producers

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A Data Availability

Materials to replicate most tables and figures are in the Dataverse. Table 2 from the main text, Online Appendix Table 1, and Online Appendix Table 2 are not covered by the replication materials available on Dataverse. We are unable to post replication data for these three tables due to the need to withhold personally identifiable information, in addition to stipulations of data use agreements for proprietary data sources. Researchers interested in obtaining the source data for any of these three tables may reach out to the authors directly.

B Further Details on Constructing the Sampling Frame

As of late 2019, USDA payment files obtainable via FOIA request no longer contain unique customer identifiers, and so we used a combination of recipient name and state to denote an individual within our 2012-2019 dataset. However, the FSA has historically attached "customer numbers" to distinct recipient profiles, and the Environmental Working Group (EWG) maintains a farm subsidy database that links this identifier to recipient names and annual payment histories.[1] For all recipients in the top half of the ARC/PLC programs and the CRP, we looked up the individual's yearly payment history in the EWG Farm Subsidy Database and constructed a sampling frame from the individuals for whom we could match annual payment totals for 2015-2018.[2] This process yielded 43,941 distinct payment recipients. The merge with the EWG database allowed us to validate our data build and

[1]https://farm.ewg.org

[2]At the time of our survey, the EWG database did not have complete information for 2019.

assign a unique identifier to each payment profile in our sampling frame.

After constructing our sampling frame and conducting our survey, we collected additional data on the population of farm program participants—and our sampling frame in particular—to examine how our 1,072 survey respondents compared to the overall sampling frame. We made additional FOIA requests, which allowed us to obtain payment records for nearly the entire universe of recipients between 2004 and 2020. As explained in "Further Supplemental Information" in this article's Dataverse, we then merged this broader set of payment records with the L2 national voter file and consumer file, thereby obtaining demographics and political affiliations for our full population of interest, as well as our sampling frame. It is important to note that, because survey responses were fully anonymous, we were unable use this newly merged data to analyze the demographics and political affiliations of the respondent subsample. As such, Table 2 in the main text compares L2 demographics for the sampling frame and population with self-reported survey respondent demographics.

C Additional Details on Respondents

In this section we present additional details on the respondents to our survey.

C.1 Respondent Ideology and Partisanship

Figures 1 and 2, respectively, depict the distribution of respondent ideology and party identification. Respondent ideology is measured on a seven-point scale (from "Extremely Liberal" to "Moderate" to "Extremely Conservative") while respondent party ID is measured on a six-point scale ("Strong Democrat" to "Strong Republican"). Respondents indicated their ideology by directly picking an option from the seven-point scale. Party ID was

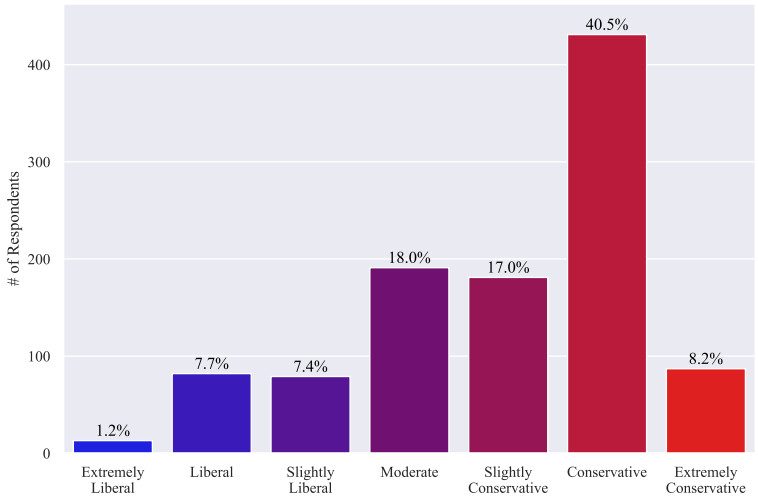

Figure 1: Ideology of Survey Respondents

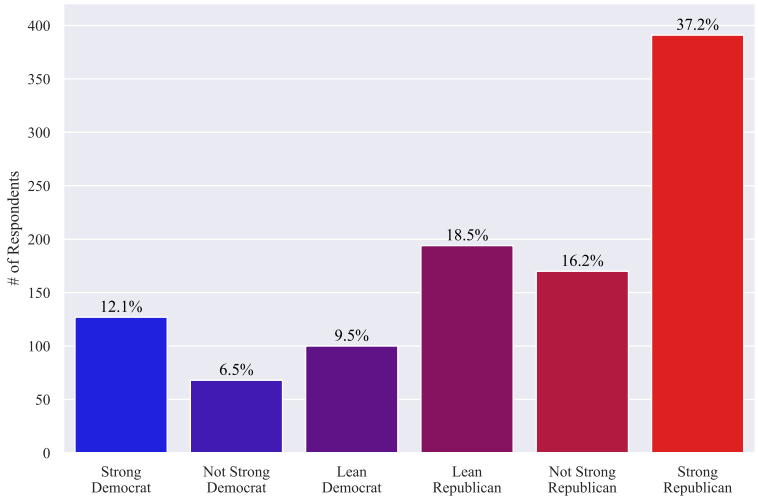

Figure 2: Party ID of Survey Respondents

measured by first inquiring whether a respondent primarily identified as a Democrat, Republican, independent, or third-party supporter. Self-identified Republicans and Democrats were then asked whether they considered themselves to be "strong" Democrats/Republicans or "not strong" Democrats/Republicans, while self-identified independents and third-party supporters were asked whether they "lean Democrat" or "lean Republican."

Responses to these items confirm that our sample is highly conservative and Republican. Nonetheless, our respondents do vary significantly across both of these dimensions, with

"moderate" being the second most popular ideological label, and Democrats and Democrat-leaning independents making up over a quarter of the sample.

C.2 Support for USDA Programs

In Figure 3, we plot respondents' views on the level of "farm subsidies" in general, as well as their support for the particular programs we analyze. Interestingly, respondents support cutting farm subsidies to increasing them at a 2-to-1 ratio, but they otherwise are generally supportive of specific programs.

C.3 Descriptive Statistics for Respondent Farm Characteristics

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics on the size and value of respondents' farms, as well as respondents' total program receipts for 2015–2019. Even though all members of our sampling frame were among the top half of ARC/PLC and CRP recipients for 2015–2019, we nonetheless see extensive variation in benefit size and farm value across our respondents. Indeed, extreme outliers in payment size lead us to operationalize respondent payments in terms of quintiles in each of our main regression analyses.

Figure 3: Support for USDA Programs

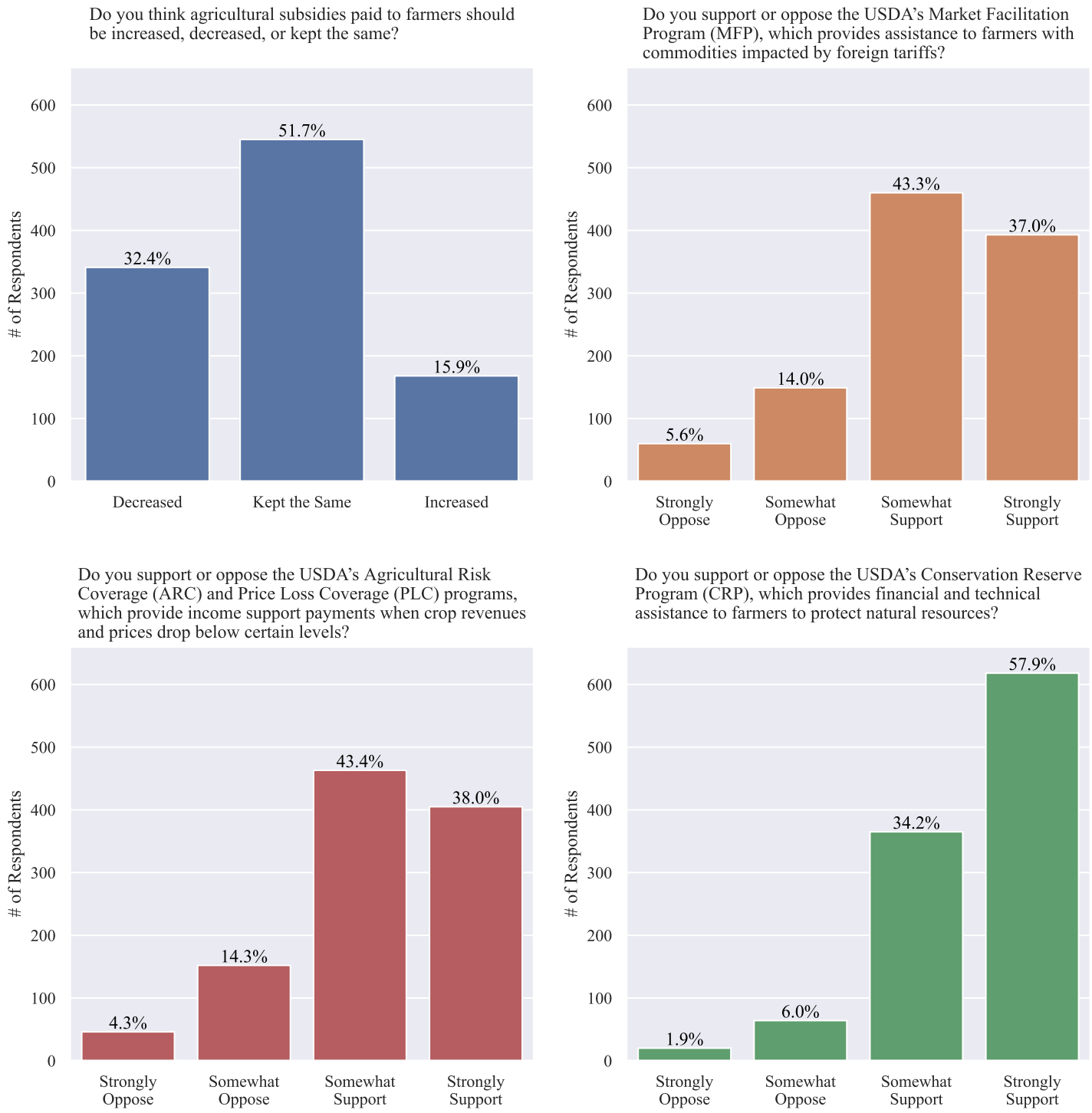

Table 1: Distribution of Farm Size and Payments

	Mean	Min	20%	40%	60%	80%	Max
MFP (2018-2019)	$47,149	$0	$2,467	$12,468	$30,039	$73,664	$880,524
ARC/PLC (2015-2019)	$58,739	$4,891	$9,201	$17,255	$36,506	$83,910	$1,076,883
DCP/ACRE (2008-2014)	$66,924	$0	$8,440	$20,046	$47,177	$109,314	$1,415,530
CRP (2015-2019, Total)	$41,695	$6,475	$11,412	$16,971	$27,968	$56,895	$765,400
CRP (2015-2019, Rental)	$37,812	$0	$9,769	$15,263	$25,297	$51,194	$740,425
CRP (2008-2014, Rental)	$39,254	$0	$3,981	$12,821	$25,476	$53,592	$684,486
Disaster Prog (2015-2019)	$1,105	$0	$0	$0	$0	$0	$232,624
Disaster Prog (2008-2014)	$12,436	$0	$0	$0	$1,382	$13,599	$478,082
Crop Acres	1,180	0	200	400	800	1,600	20,000
Livestock Acres	387	0	0	0	0	85	43,000
Farmland Value ($/acre)	$5,967	$457	$2,670	$4,717	$6,589	$7,908	$298,000
Total Land Value	$7,924,487	$0	$1,170,921	$2,659,834	$5,092,047	$10,409,777	$391,426,825

Notes: All monetary values are in 2020 dollars. Farmland prices per acre are county-level estimates from the 2017 Census of Agriculture in 2020 dollars; these figures use the county associated with each recipient's mailing address, and may be fairly rough approximations for recipients with very large farms or farms in multiple counties. Total CRP receipts for 2015-2019 (including annual rental, cost-share, and incentive payments) were used for defining the sampling frame, providing information in experimental treatments, and defining quintiles for regression analyses.

D Sample Characteristics

D.1 Geographic Distribution of Sampling Frame and Respondents

Figure 4 depicts the geographic distribution of the sampling frame. The area of each dot is proportional to the number of members within a given county. This map is created using recipients' most recent mailing addresses listed in the USDA's payment data, but the figure is largely unchanged if we instead use recipients' most recent FSA county office.

In particular, we see that major payment recipients are concentrated in the Midwest and Great Plains, with another significant scattering across the South and eastern Washington state. This visualization corresponds well to the modern paradigms of farm bill coalitions and conflicts. In recent decades, federal budget discipline has increasingly turned the farm bill into a regional competition between the Midwest (corn and soybeans), South (cotton, rice, and peanuts), and Great Plains (wheat)[3]. Since the 2014 farm bill removed cotton from the list of commodities receiving income-support payments, it is unsurprising that our sample is dominated by farmers in the Midwest and Great Plains.

In Figure 5, we plot the number of respondents within each county. We see the same major geographic patterns as in Figure 4: the heaviest concentration of responses came from the Midwest and Great Plains, with a non-trivial number of responses coming in from the South and eastern Washington state.

[3]See Coppess, Jonathan. 2018. *The Fault Lines of Farm Policy: A Legislative and Political History of the Farm Bill.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

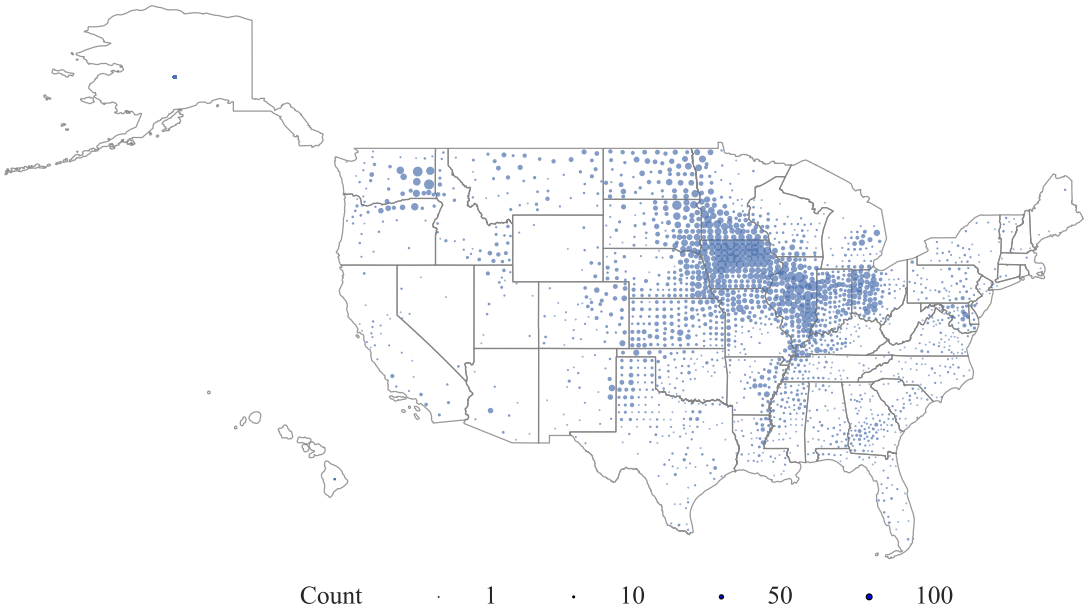

Figure 4: Sampling Frame Members by County

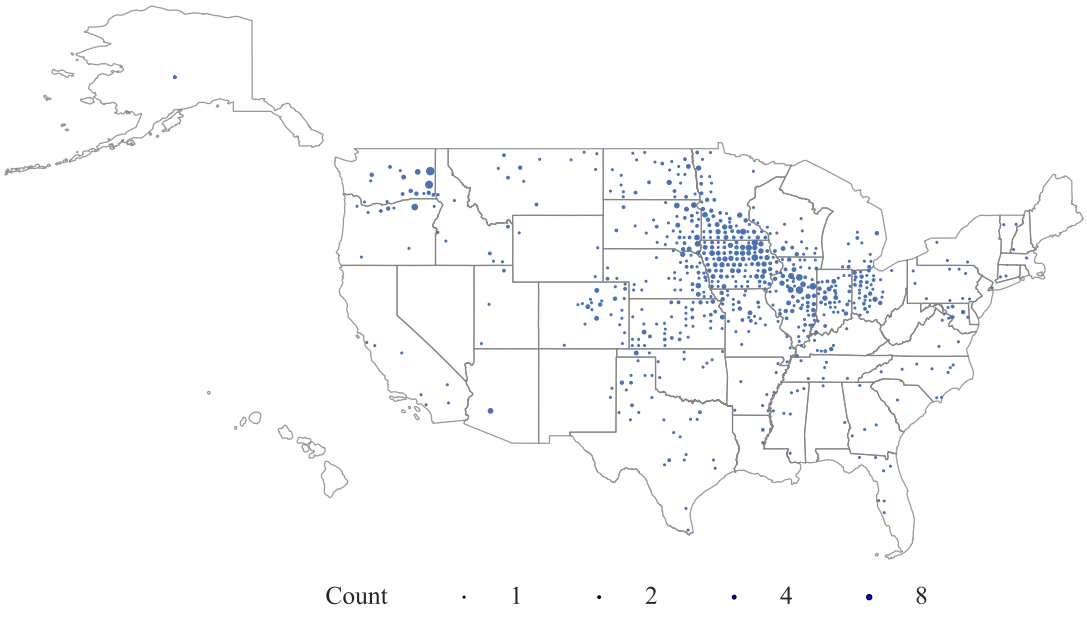

Figure 5: Survey Respondents by County

E Balance Checks

In Table 2 we plot the means of respondent covariates by experimental treatment cell. We examine differences between the three experimental conditions (control, ARC/PLC treatment, CRP treatment) in terms of individual payments received, pre-treatment responses regarding farm characteristics and political views, post-treatment responses to demographics, respondent ZIP code characteristics, and respondent county-level presidential two-party vote share. Note that the numbers in this table are computed for the sample of "complete" responses used in our regression analyses.

We see strong balance between the control group and the CRP treatment group in terms of payments, but respondents in the ARC/PLC treatment group appear to have smaller farms and receive smaller payments on average. All three groups look similar in terms of self-reported demographics, and they also appear to live in ZIP codes and counties with similar demographic, economic, and political characteristics.

The most notable difference between the groups is that the control group appears to be significantly less conservative, Republican, and supportive of Trump than the ARC/PLC group and the CRP group. Our Qualtrics survey randomly assigns respondents to a treatment condition before they answer a single question. Hence, these differences are due to chance. Nonetheless, ex-post imbalance along ideology and party leads us to regression adjust for observable respondent characteristics in all of our main analyses.

Table 2: Survey Experiment Balance Checks

	Control Group	ARC/PLC Group	CRP Group	One-Way ANOVA P-Value
Individual Payments				
MFP (2018-2019)	\$48,081	\$42,003	\$51,378	0.27
ARC/PLC (2015-2019)	\$63,061	\$52,260	\$60,872	0.30
DCP/ACRE (2008-2014)	\$72,319	\$61,642	\$66,766	0.38
CRP (2015-2019, Total)	\$44,551	\$35,439	\$45,091	0.04
CRP (2015-2019, Rental).	\$40,065	\$32,455	\$40,914	0.06
CRP (2008-2014, Rental)	\$43,684	\$32,552	\$41,502	0.04
Disaster Prog (2015-2019)	\$1,522	\$1,229	\$556	0.34
Disaster Prog (2008-2014)	\$12,754	\$11,426	\$13,129	0.78
Pre-Treatment Items				
Crop Acreage	1,157	985	1,398	0.01
Livestock Acreage	426	480	254	0.38
Highly Rural County	53%	52%	53%	0.95
Republican	45%	57%	55%	< 0.01
Conservative	61%	67%	69%	0.09
Voted for Trump in 2016	51%	64%	63%	< 0.01
Post-Treatment Demographics				
Military Service	22%	19%	19%	0.65
Male	90%	88%	87%	0.58
Age	65	65	64	0.31
Bachelor's or Higher	58%	59%	57%	0.85
White, Not Hispanic	98%	97%	98%	0.61
ZIP Code Demographics				
Median HH Income	\$59,126	\$58,516	\$60,077	0.51
Per Capita Income	\$31,082	\$29,936	\$31,347	0.09
Age 60 or Older	34%	34%	33%	0.25
White Not Hispanic	89%	90%	89%	0.54
Bachelor's or Higher	25%	24%	25%	0.39
County Voting History				
GOP Pres. 2PVS 2008	54%	55%	55%	0.79
GOP Pres. 2PVS 2012	58%	59%	58%	0.70
GOP Pres. 2PVS 2016	65%	66%	66%	0.53
GOP Pres. 2PVS 2020	64%	65%	65%	0.46

Notes: All stated figures are sample means computed for all non-missing values. Among all respondents who completed the survey, group sizes were $N = 360$, 357, 355 for control, ARC/PLC, and CRP, respectively. Minimum response counts by group were $N = 334$, 336, and 334, respectively. ZIP code demographics are sourced from 2014–2018 ACS estimates. Age and race/ethnicity figures are % of the population age 18+; education % is out of population age 25+.

F Robustness Checks

In Tables 3–8 we predict responses to the individual survey items that constitute the government positivity index. Although some scattered coefficients are statistically significant, there is no overall pattern to the results. Further, some coefficients are positive and other are negative, indicating that any significant results are likely reflecting noise. Overall, there is little relationship between program participation and general views of government outside of support for the specific agricultural policies in question.

Table 3: Receiving MFP Support Does Not Improve Overall Evaluations of Government

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
MFP Receipt (binary)	0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Conservative	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.04***	-0.12***	-0.08***	-0.19***	-0.06***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Veteran	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	-0.04*	-0.01	-0.01	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Female	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04*	0.01	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Age	0.06	0.20***	0.15***	0.21***	0.22***	0.19***	0.12***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)
Education	-0.08***	-0.05	0.04*	0.11***	0.05*	0.08**	0.12***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Total Acres Farmed	0.06**	0.04	0.03	-0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)
Farm Value	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01*	-0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	0.74***	0.54***	0.33***	0.10**	0.25***	0.07	0.72***
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Observations	1,042	1,040	1,042	1,044	1,043	1,034	1,041
R-squared	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.06

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables for columns (1)-(7) are individual survey items that comprise the pro-government index: (1) "Government programs have helped me in times of need."; (2) "Government has given me opportunities to improve my standard of living."; (3) "How often can you trust the government to do what is right?"; (4) "Do you think that government wastes a lot of the money we pay in taxes, wastes some of it, or doesn't waste very much of it?"; (5) "When it comes to paying federal income taxes, do you feel you are asked to pay your fair share, more than your fair share, or less than your fair share?"; (6) "What do you think is the best way to deal with the federal budget deficit?"; (7) "Government should support investments and activities that are important to society but that individuals and businesses might not provide on their own, such as scientific research and national defense."

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 4: Receiving MFP Support Does Not Improve Overall Evaluations of Government (Continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
MFP Receipt (binary)	-0.00	-0.00	0.01	-0.07***	-0.04*	-0.02	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Conservative	-0.12***	0.02	-0.07***	-0.19***	-0.35***	-0.25***	-0.29***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Veteran	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.04**	-0.00	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Female	0.05***	-0.04*	0.03	-0.03	0.00	0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Age	0.21***	-0.03	0.16***	0.09*	0.31***	0.28***	0.22***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Education	-0.01	0.07***	-0.04	0.09***	0.02	-0.02	0.06*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Total Acres Farmed	0.03	0.01	0.03	-0.05	-0.03	0.03	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Farm Value	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.02***	-0.01*
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Constant	0.73***	0.24***	0.55***	0.81***	0.70***	0.44***	0.48***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Observations	1,042	1,041	1,041	1,042	1,041	1,044	1,044
R-squared	0.09	0.01	0.04	0.18	0.31	0.21	0.22

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables for columns (1)-(7) are individual survey items that comprise the pro-government index: (1) "Government should step in to provide relief to individuals and businesses after natural disasters like hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes."; (2) "When government supports particular investments and economic activities, special interests usually benefit at the expense of society as a whole."; (3) "Government should step in and support individual industries in times of economic distress."; (4) "Government should be active in efforts to conserve the natural environment and protect wildlife populations."; (5) "Government should ensure that every citizen receives adequate medical care."; (6) "Government should ensure that every citizen has adequate income in retirement."; (7) "Government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep."

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 5: Receiving ARC/PLC Program Support Does Not Improve Overall Evaluations of Government

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ARC Receipt (quintile)	0.02***	0.01**	0.00	0.01	-0.00	-0.02**	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Conservative	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.04***	-0.12***	-0.08***	-0.19***	-0.06***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Veteran	-0.01	-0.00	0.02	-0.04*	-0.01	-0.02	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Female	0.00	-0.01	-0.01	-0.02	-0.05*	-0.00	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Age	0.08	0.21***	0.16***	0.22***	0.21***	0.17***	0.12***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)
Education	-0.07**	-0.04	0.04*	0.11***	0.05*	0.07**	0.11***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Total Acres Farmed	0.04	0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)
Farm Value	-0.00	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01*	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	0.70***	0.50***	0.31***	0.09**	0.27***	0.14***	0.73***
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Observations	1,042	1,040	1,042	1,044	1,043	1,034	1,041
R-squared	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.09	0.05	0.12	0.06

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables for columns (1)-(7) are individual survey items that comprise the pro-government index: (1) "Government programs have helped me in times of need."; (2) "Government has given me opportunities to improve my standard of living."; (3) "How often can you trust the government to do what is right?"; (4) "Do you think that government wastes a lot of the money we pay in taxes, wastes some of it, or doesn't waste very much of it?"; (5) "When it comes to paying federal income taxes, do you feel you are asked to pay your fair share, more than your fair share, or less than your fair share?"; (6) "What do you think is the best way to deal with the federal budget deficit?"; (7) "Government should support investments and activities that are important to society but that individuals and businesses might not provide on their own, such as scientific research and national defense."

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 6: Receiving ARC/PLC Program Support Does Not Improve Overall Evaluations of Government (Continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ARC Receipt (quintile)	0.00	0.01	-0.00	-0.02***	-0.01**	-0.01*	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Conservative	-0.12***	0.02	-0.07***	-0.19***	-0.35***	-0.25***	-0.29***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Veteran	-0.00	-0.00	0.01	0.04*	-0.01	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Female	0.05***	-0.03	0.02	-0.03	-0.00	0.00	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	0.21***	-0.03	0.16***	0.08	0.30***	0.27***	0.22***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Education	-0.00	0.07***	-0.05*	0.07***	0.01	-0.03	0.06*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Total Acres Farmed	0.03	0.01	0.03	-0.03	-0.02	0.04	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Farm Value	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.00	-0.02***	-0.01*
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Constant	0.71***	0.22***	0.57***	0.83***	0.72***	0.46***	0.49***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Observations	1,042	1,041	1,041	1,042	1,041	1,044	1,044
R-squared	0.09	0.02	0.04	0.18	0.31	0.21	0.22

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables for columns (1)-(7) are individual survey items that comprise the pro-government index: (1) "Government should step in to provide relief to individuals and businesses after natural disasters like hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes."; (2) "When government supports particular investments and economic activities, special interests usually benefit at the expense of society as a whole."; (3) "Government should step in and support individual industries in times of economic distress."; (4) "Government should be active in efforts to conserve the natural environment and protect wildlife populations."; (5) "Government should ensure that every citizen receives adequate medical care."; (6) "Government should ensure that every citizen has adequate income in retirement."; (7) "Government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep."

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 7: Receiving CRP Program Support Does Not Improve Overall Evaluations of Government

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
CRP Receipt (quintile)	0.01**	0.01	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.01	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Conservative	-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.04***	-0.12***	-0.08***	-0.19***	-0.06***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Veteran	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	-0.04*	-0.01	-0.01	0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Female	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03	-0.05*	0.01	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Age	0.05	0.19***	0.15***	0.21***	0.22***	0.20***	0.12***
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)
Education	-0.08***	-0.05	0.04*	0.11***	0.05*	0.08**	0.11***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Total Acres Farmed	0.05*	0.03	0.03	-0.03	0.02	0.03	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)
Farm Value	-0.00	-0.01	-0.00	0.00	-0.01*	-0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	0.74***	0.53***	0.32***	0.10***	0.27***	0.09**	0.70***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Observations	1,042	1,040	1,042	1,044	1,043	1,034	1,041
R-squared	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.09	0.05	0.12	0.06

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables for columns (1)-(7) are individual survey items that comprise the pro-government index: (1) "Government programs have helped me in times of need."; (2) "Government has given me opportunities to improve my standard of living."; (3) "How often can you trust the government to do what is right?"; (4) "Do you think that government wastes a lot of the money we pay in taxes, wastes some of it, or doesn't waste very much of it?"; (5) "When it comes to paying federal income taxes, do you feel you are asked to pay your fair share, more than your fair share, or less than your fair share?"; (6) "What do you think is the best way to deal with the federal budget deficit?"; (7) "Government should support investments and activities that are important to society but that individuals and businesses might not provide on their own, such as scientific research and national defense."

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 8: Receiving CRP Program Support Does Not Improve Overall Evaluations of Government (Continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
CRP Receipt (quintile)	-0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.01	-0.02***	-0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Conservative	-0.12***	0.02	-0.07***	-0.19***	-0.35***	-0.25***	-0.29***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Veteran	-0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.04**	-0.00	-0.02	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.05***	-0.04*	0.03	-0.02	0.00	0.01	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age	0.21***	-0.03	0.16***	0.10**	0.32***	0.29***	0.23***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Education	-0.01	0.07***	-0.04	0.09***	0.02	-0.02	0.06*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Total Acres Farmed	0.03	0.01	0.03	-0.05*	-0.03	0.04	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Farm Value	-0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01	-0.02***	-0.01*
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Constant	0.72***	0.24***	0.56***	0.74***	0.68***	0.46***	0.53***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Observations	1,042	1,041	1,041	1,042	1,041	1,044	1,044
R-squared	0.09	0.01	0.04	0.17	0.30	0.21	0.22

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variables for columns (1)-(7) are individual survey items that comprise the pro-government index: (1) "Government should step in to provide relief to individuals and businesses after natural disasters like hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes."; (2) "When government supports particular investments and economic activities, special interests usually benefit at the expense of society as a whole."; (3) "Government should step in and support individual industries in times of economic distress."; (4) "Government should be active in efforts to conserve the natural environment and protect wildlife populations."; (5) "Government should ensure that every citizen receives adequate medical care."; (6) "Government should ensure that every citizen has adequate income in retirement."; (7) "Government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep."

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

In Table 9, we demonstrate the robustness of the conditional relationship between MFP receipt and MFP support by political predispositions to various operationalizations of predispositions. In columns (1)-(3), we interact program participation with a binary indicator of partisan identification rather than ideology, comparing Republican producers to all others. For all three operationalizations of MFP receipt presented in the main text, we find that the interaction term between party identification and program receipt is negative and statistically significant. The feedback effects are concentrated among Democrats and Independents, groups which are least predisposed to support the Trump-associated program. We estimate similar models in columns (4)-(6) using a continuous measure of ideology (i.e., the full seven-point scale) rather than the bifurcation presented in the main text. As mentioned in the paper, this is not the ideal specification since there are very few strong liberals in the data. Nonetheless, all of the interaction terms are negative and statistically significant.

In Tables 10 and 11 we include interaction terms between the payment receipt variables and the experimental treatments to ensure that the overall effects reported in the main text are not conditioned by the treatment information seen by respondents. As seen in the tables, none of the interaction terms are statistically significant.

Lastly, in Tables 12-14 we demonstrate the robustness of the main results to an alternative operationalization of quintiles based on survey completion instead of initial survey engagement.

Table 9: Political Predispositions Condition the Effect of MFP Receipt and MFP Support (Robustness to Measures of Political Predispositions)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
MFP Receipt (binary)	0.162***	—	—	0.231***	—	—
	(0.051)			(0.069)		
Republican x MFP (binary)	-0.123**	—	—	—	—	—
	(0.058)					
MFP Receipt (years)	—	0.071***	—	—	0.101***	—
		(0.025)			(0.035)	
Republican x MFP (years)	—	-0.058**	—	—	—	—
		(0.028)				
MFP Receipt (quintile)	—	—	0.039***	—	—	0.054**
			(0.014)			(0.021)
Republican x MFP (quintile)	—	—	-0.035**	—	—	—
			(0.016)			
Ideology x MFP (binary)	—	—	—	-0.253***	—	—
				(0.097)		
Ideology x MFP (years)	—	—	—	—	-0.113**	—
					(0.050)	
Ideology x MFP (quintile)	—	—	—	—	—	-0.064**
						(0.029)
Ideology (continuous)	—	—	—	0.339***	0.284***	0.305***
				(0.087)	(0.078)	(0.088)
Republican (binary)	0.165***	0.140***	0.157***	—	—	—
	(0.053)	(0.045)	(0.050)			
Veteran	0.002	0.002	0.004	-0.004	-0.004	-0.002
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Female	0.084***	0.086***	0.093***	0.082***	0.082***	0.089***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.026)
Age	0.157**	0.157**	0.165***	0.166***	0.168***	0.172***
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.064)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.062)
Education	-0.158***	-0.156***	-0.154***	-0.153***	-0.151***	-0.148***
	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Total Acres Farmed	0.003	0.005	-0.002	0.019	0.018	0.012
	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.041)
Farm Value	-0.006	-0.006	-0.006	-0.008	-0.008	-0.008
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Constant	0.536***	0.572***	0.557***	0.434***	0.484***	0.468***
	(0.063)	(0.058)	(0.063)	(0.074)	(0.070)	(0.078)
Observations	1,028	1,028	1,028	1,037	1,037	1,037
R-squared	0.054	0.052	0.052	0.060	0.057	0.056

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable for columns (1)-(6) is support for the MFP.
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 10: The Relationship Between MFP Support and Policy Support Is Consistent Across Experimental Conditions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
MFP Receipt (binary)	0.081*	—	—	-0.007
	(0.043)			(0.015)
MFP (binary) x ARC Treat.	-0.056	—	—	-0.017
	(0.060)			(0.025)
MFP (binary) x CRP Treat.	0.015	—	—	0.022
	(0.060)			(0.024)
MFP Receipt (years)	—	0.032	—	—
		(0.021)		
MFP (years) x ARC Treat.	—	-0.031	—	—
		(0.029)		
MFP (years) x CRP Treat.	—	0.018	—	—
		(0.029)		
MFP Receipt (quintile)	—	—	0.011	—
			(0.011)	
MFP (quintile) x ARC Treat.	—	—	-0.009	—
			(0.016)	
MFP (quintile) x CRP Treat.	—	—	0.014	—
			(0.016)	
ARC Treatment	0.056	0.053	0.036	0.020
	(0.056)	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.023)
CRP Treatment	-0.002	-0.012	-0.031	-0.010
	(0.055)	(0.046)	(0.052)	(0.022)
Conservative	0.033*	0.033*	0.031	-0.138***
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.008)
Veteran	0.000	-0.002	0.000	-0.006
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.010)
Female	0.078***	0.075***	0.082***	-0.010
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.012)
Age	0.162***	0.165***	0.172***	0.171***
	(0.062)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.028)
Education	-0.164***	-0.163***	-0.160***	0.033**
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.014)
Total Acres Farmed	0.020	0.022	0.016	0.012
	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.017)
Farm Value	-0.007	-0.007	-0.008	-0.004
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.002)
Constant	0.623***	0.644***	0.653***	0.476***
	(0.060)	(0.056)	(0.061)	(0.023)
Observations	1,037	1,037	1,037	1,045
R-squared	0.047	0.047	0.045	0.271

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable for columns (1)-(3) is support for MFP. Dependent variable for column (4) is pro-government index. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 11: The Relationship Between ARC/PLC and CRP Support and Policy Support Is Consistent Across Experimental Conditions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ARC Receipt (quintile)	0.014	-0.002	—	—
	(0.010)	(0.005)		
ARC (quintile) x ARC Treat.	-0.004	0.003	—	—
	(0.014)	(0.006)		
ARC (quintile) x CRP Treat.	-0.020	-0.002	—	—
	(0.014)	(0.006)		
CRP Receipt (quintile)	—	—	0.016**	-0.005
			(0.008)	(0.005)
CRP (quintile) x ARC Treat.	—	—	-0.000	0.002
			(0.011)	(0.007)
CRP (quintile) x CRP Treat.	—	—	-0.001	0.010
			(0.012)	(0.007)
ARC Treatment	-0.000	-0.005	-0.022	-0.002
	(0.047)	(0.022)	(0.040)	(0.023)
CRP Treatment	0.052	0.015	-0.020	-0.023
	(0.047)	(0.022)	(0.043)	(0.023)
Conservative	-0.031*	-0.138***	-0.106***	-0.138***
	(0.018)	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.008)
Veteran	-0.005	-0.007	0.001	-0.006
	(0.023)	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.011)
Female	0.065**	-0.010	0.002	-0.009
	(0.027)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.012)
Age	0.251***	0.170***	0.162***	0.174***
	(0.063)	(0.028)	(0.052)	(0.028)
Education	-0.101***	0.032**	-0.024	0.033**
	(0.032)	(0.014)	(0.027)	(0.014)
Total Acres Farmed	0.072**	0.014	-0.101**	0.014
	(0.034)	(0.017)	(0.041)	(0.017)
Farm Value	-0.018**	-0.004	0.009*	-0.004*
	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.002)
Constant	0.630***	0.477***	0.804***	0.486***
	(0.057)	(0.025)	(0.045)	(0.025)
Observations	1,040	1,045	1,042	1,045
R-squared	0.046	0.270	0.092	0.272

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable for columns (1) and (3) is support for program. Dependent variable for columns (2) and (4) is pro-government index. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 12: Results for MFP Are Robust to the Operationalization of Quintiles

	(1)	(2)
MFP Receipt (quintile)	0.014**	0.028**
	(0.007)	(0.012)
Conservative x MFP (quintile)	—	-0.022
		(0.014)
Conservative	0.032*	0.097**
	(0.019)	(0.046)
Veteran	0.001	0.002
	(0.025)	(0.025)
Female	0.083***	0.085***
	(0.026)	(0.026)
Age	0.172***	0.170***
	(0.063)	(0.063)
Education	-0.159***	-0.158***
	(0.033)	(0.033)
Total Acres Farmed	0.020	0.017
	(0.043)	(0.042)
Farm Value	-0.009	-0.008
	(0.009)	(0.009)
Constant	0.650***	0.607***
	(0.052)	(0.059)
Observations	1,037	1,037
R-squared	0.043	0.045

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable is support for the MFP.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 13: Results for ARC/PLC Are Robust to the Operationalization of Quintiles

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ARC/PLC Receipt	0.008	0.018*	-0.001	0.002
(quintile)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Conservative x	—	-0.016	—	-0.005
ARC/PLC Receipt		(0.012)		(0.006)
Conservative	-0.032*	0.014	-0.138***	-0.124***
	(0.018)	(0.039)	(0.008)	(0.019)
Veteran	-0.007	-0.007	-0.006	-0.007
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Female	0.065**	0.066**	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Age	0.255***	0.255***	0.170***	0.170***
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Education	-0.102***	-0.101***	0.032**	0.032**
	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Total Acres Farmed	0.068**	0.068**	0.013	0.013
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Farm Value	-0.018**	-0.018**	-0.004*	-0.004
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Constant	0.644***	0.613***	0.479***	0.470***
	(0.049)	(0.054)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Observations	1,040	1,040	1,045	1,045
R-squared	0.044	0.045	0.269	0.270

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable for columns (1)-(2) is support for the ARC/PLC program. Dependent variable for columns (3)-(4) is the pro-government index.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)

Table 14: Results for CRP Are Robust to the Operationalization of Quintiles

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
CRP Receipt	0.015***	0.018***	-0.001	0.002
(quintile)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.005)
Conservative x	—	-0.004	—	-0.005
CRP Receipt		(0.009)		(0.006)
Conservative	-0.108***	-0.096***	-0.138***	-0.121***
	(0.014)	(0.033)	(0.008)	(0.020)
Veteran	0.001	0.001	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Female	0.000	0.000	-0.009	-0.009
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Age	0.164***	0.164***	0.173***	0.173***
	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Education	-0.023	-0.023	0.033**	0.033**
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Total Acres Farmed	-0.102**	-0.101**	0.013	0.014
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Farm Value	0.009*	0.009*	-0.004*	-0.004*
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Constant	0.790***	0.782***	0.477***	0.467***
	(0.037)	(0.041)	(0.020)	(0.024)
Observations	1,042	1,042	1,045	1,045
R-squared	0.089	0.089	0.269	0.270

Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses. Dependent variable for columns (1)-(2) is support for the CRP program. Dependent variable for columns (3)-(4) is the pro-government index.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 (two-tailed)