

Shocking the Vulnerable: Job Insecurity, Local Sociotropism and Anti-Globalization Sentiment

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- ▶ Rising support for populists among those whose lose from globalization in advanced industrial democracies
 - ▶ Less educated
 - ▶ More rural
 - ▶ White
- ▶ But little evidence that *those who have lost* are driving the backlash
- ▶ Current consensus: it is “status threat”, not economic hardship (Mutz, 2018)

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- ▶ We operationalize with **occupational risk**

Populism \sim Occupational Risk + Globalization Shocks

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- ▶ Measure “occupational risk” as the costs to finding a new job
- ▶ The more dissimilar are the available jobs, the more at-risk is one’s occupation

Occupational Risk: Skill Distance

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$$d_{o,p} = \left(\frac{1}{2} \sum_d (t_d^o - t_d^p)^2 \right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

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- 2) Weight each state s by flow of jobs that go to it from respondent's home state s^H

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- ▶ **Intuition:** Occupations that are more **dissimilar** from those most physically proximate are more **risky**.

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$$R_{O,IND} = \sum_p \sum_n \left(d_{o,p} * \frac{L_{p,n}}{L_n} * \frac{L_{n^H \rightarrow n}}{\sum_n L_{n^H \rightarrow n}} \right)$$

Visual Example

To shiny!

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$$y_{i,n,t} = \lambda + \delta + \beta_1 IPW_{i,n,t} + \beta_2 R_i + \beta_3 IPW * R + \beta_4 X_{i,t} + \varepsilon_{i,n,t}$$

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 - 1) Exposure to trade shocks increases anti-globalism ($\beta_1 > 0$)

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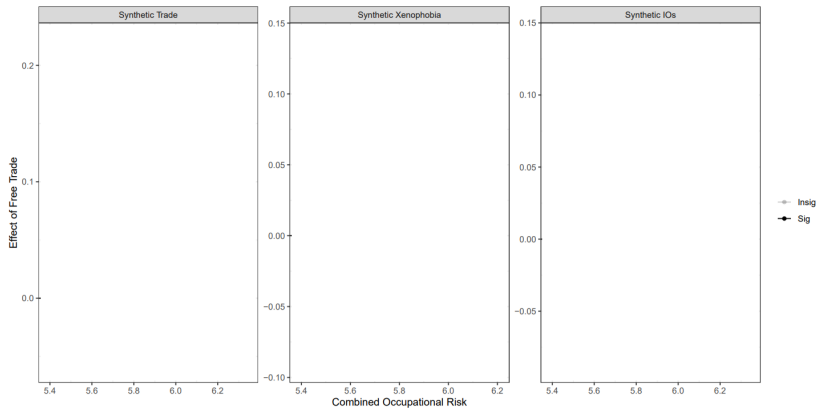
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- ▶ Expectations:
 - 1) Exposure to trade shocks increases anti-globalism ($\beta_1 > 0$)
 - 2) Stronger reaction among those with occupational risk ($\beta_3 > 0$)

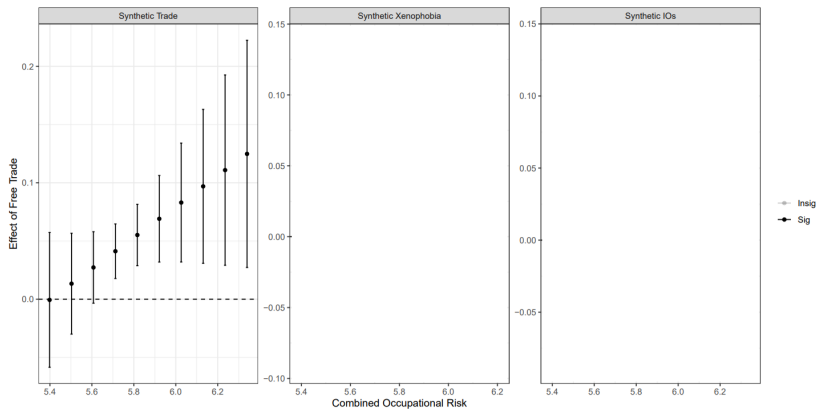
Anti-Globalist Bundle

- ▶ PCA across component questions to calculate “synthetic” latent measures of views on trade, immigration, and IOs



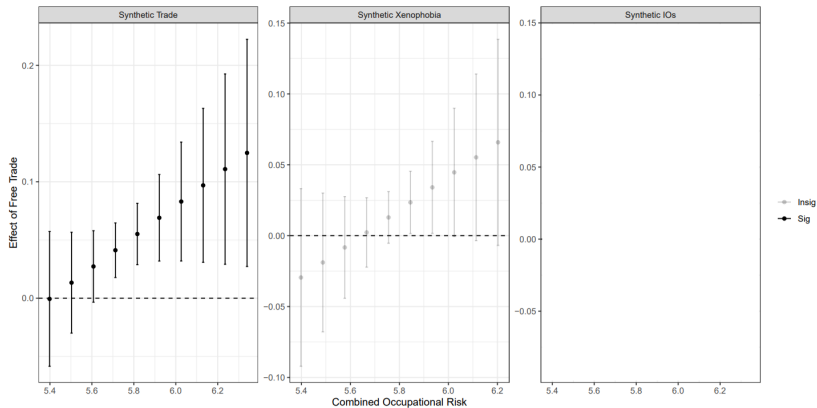
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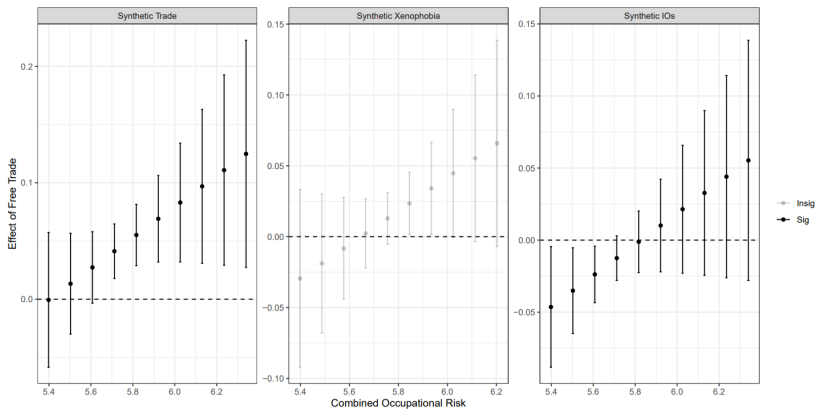
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Unpacking Anti-Globalist Views

- ▶ Instrumental beliefs

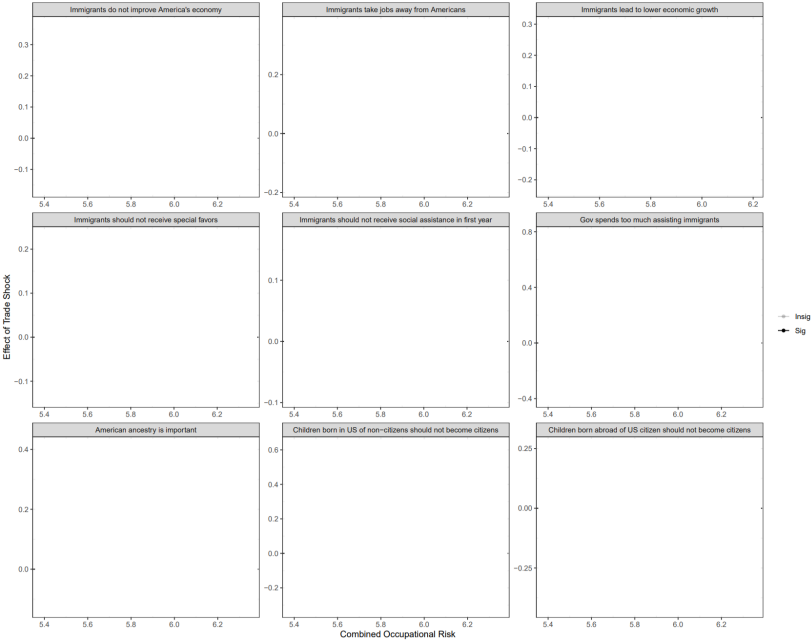
Unpacking Anti-Globalist Views

- ▶ Instrumental beliefs
 - ▶ Policy-relevant views
 - ▶ Explicit connections to economic conditions

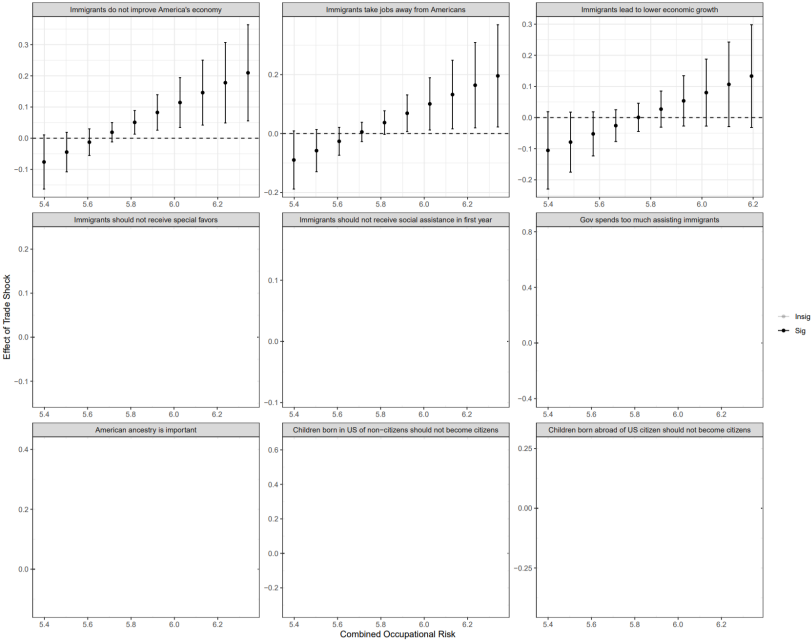
Unpacking Anti-Globalist Views

- ▶ Instrumental beliefs
 - ▶ Policy-relevant views
 - ▶ Explicit connections to economic conditions
- ▶ Populism
 - ▶ Insecurity over national identity
 - ▶ Status threat

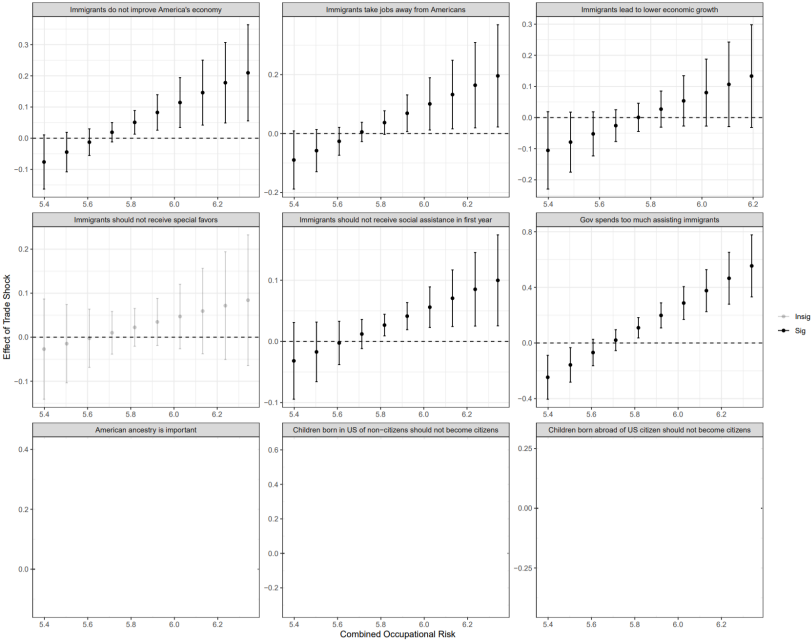
Dimensions of Xenophobia



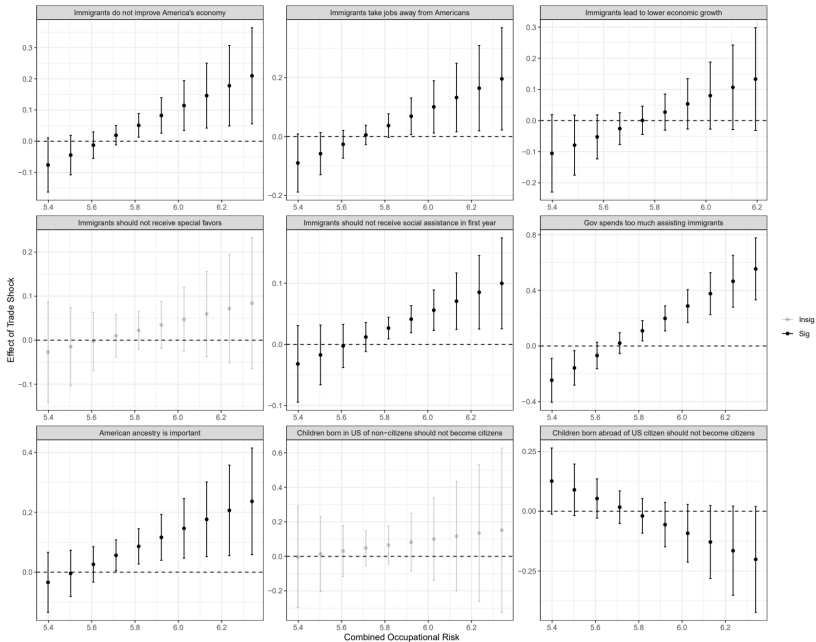
Economic Xenophobia



Resource Competition Xenophobia



Nativism



Discussion

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- ▶ Anti-globalist backlash is couched in the *threat* of economic hardship
- ▶ Status threat and economic hardship are not mutually exclusive
- ▶ Political entrepreneurs who explicate sources of hardship most convincingly can shape dominant dimension of response
 - ▶ But this doesn't mean it's either/or!

Thank you!

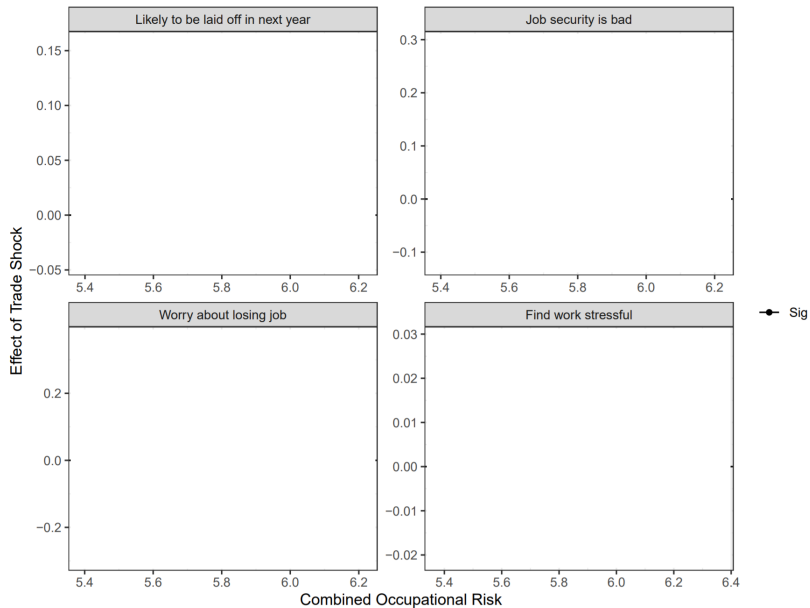
▶ jhb362@nyu.edu

▶ bpr1@nyu.edu

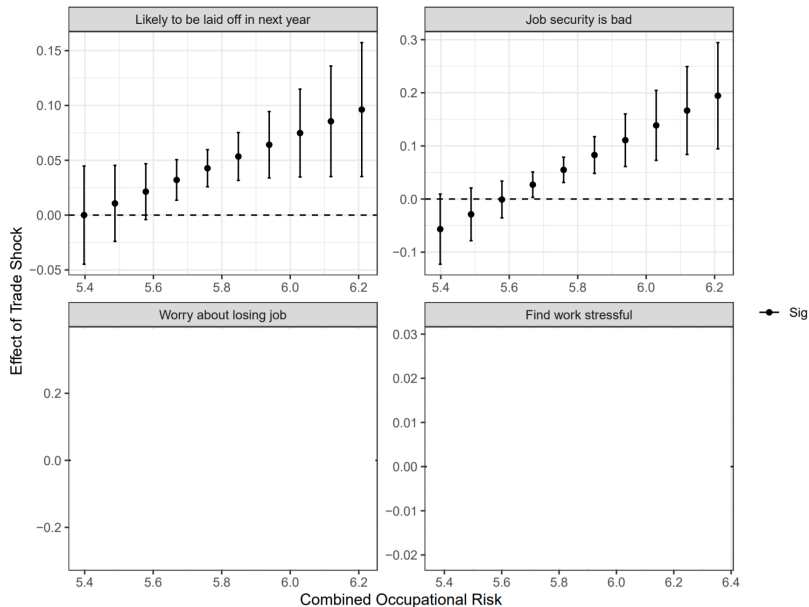
Supporting Material

- ▶ Validating risk
- ▶ Dimensions of protectionism & isolationism
- ▶ Empirical evidence of the populist political movement being strongest among globalization's losers
- ▶ Industry versus geography

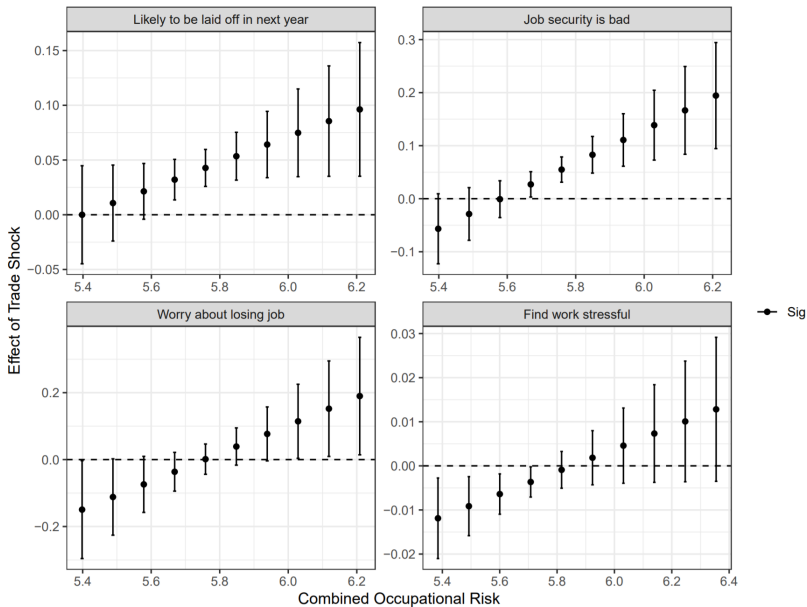
Validating R_i



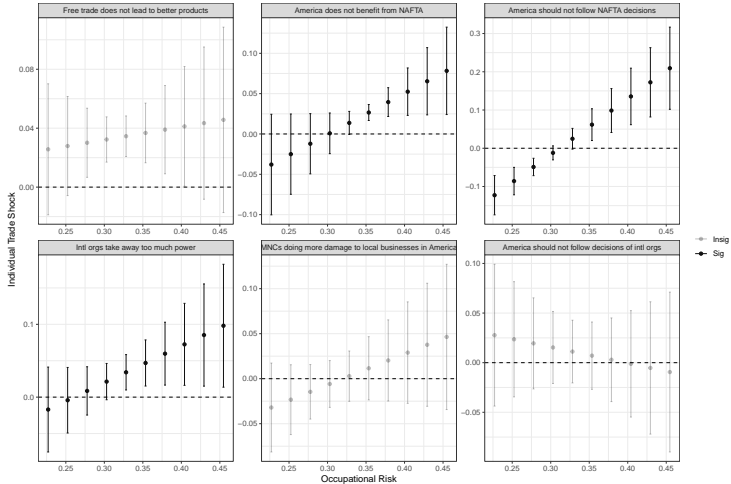
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Dimensions of Protectionism and Isolationism

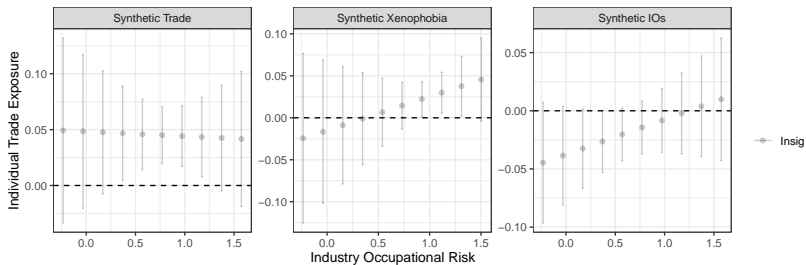


Decomposing Industry versus Geography

▶ $R_{i,IND}$

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Decomposing Industry versus Geography

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