

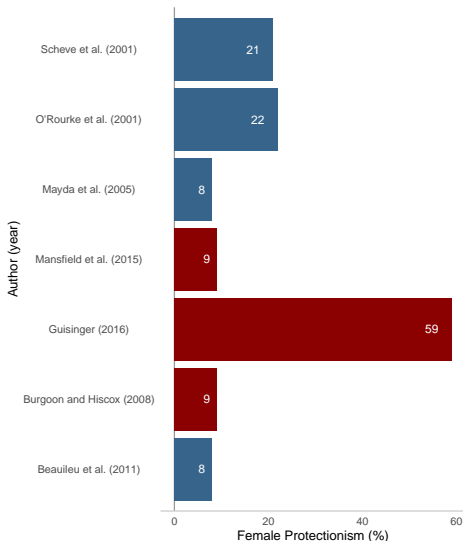
Female Protectionism: Women's Responses to the Gendered Labor Market

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A Gender Gap in Trade Attitudes



- A consistent trend finds a gender gap in trade attitudes and female protectionism
- Not many studies have examined the gender gap
- Men's economic concerns and women's values?

Research Question

Existing Literature

▷ Open Economy Politics

▷ Psychological Approach

Existing Literature

▷ Open Economy Politics

- **economic interests**

(Mayda and Rodrik 2005; O'Rourke, Sinnott and Richardson 2001; Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Rho and Tomz 2017)

▷ Psychological Approach

Existing Literature

▷ Open Economy Politics

- economic interests

(Mayda and Rodrik 2005; O'Rourke, Sinnott and Richardson 2001; Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Rho and Tomz 2017)

- gender gap in economics
knowledge and information

(Burgoon and Hiscox 2008; Guisinger 2016)

▷ Psychological Approach

Existing Literature

▷ Open Economy Politics

- economic interests
(Mayda and Rodrik 2005; O'Rourke, Sinnott and Richardson 2001; Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Rho and Tomz 2017)
- gender gap in economics knowledge and information
(Burgoon and Hiscox 2008; Guisinger 2016)

▷ Psychological Approach

- cultural concerns
(Mansfield and Mutz 2009; Naoi and Kume 2011)

Existing Literature

▷ Open Economy Politics

- economic interests
(Mayda and Rodrik 2005; O'Rourke, Sinnott and Richardson 2001; Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Rho and Tomz 2017)
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(Burgoon and Hiscox 2008; Guisinger 2016)

▷ Psychological Approach

- cultural concerns
(Mansfield and Mutz 2009; Naoi and Kume 2011)
- women's values such as compassion, reluctance to relocate, or compete
(Mansfield, Mutz and Silver 2015)

Empirical Puzzle

- ① Why would women **not** appreciate the effects of trade as men do, even when the **predicted** effects of trade are positive for them?
- ② What makes women activate **some of the women's values** (e.g., **compassion, risk-aversion, other-regarding concerns, etc.**) that are more relevant to protectionist attitudes?

Empirical Puzzle

▷ *Previous studies...*

- individual characteristics

▷ *My study...*

- discrimination mechanism

Empirical Puzzle

▷ *Previous studies...*

- individual characteristics
- responding to individual characteristics **identically**

▷ *My study...*

- discrimination mechanism
- **gendered labor market** and different DGPs

Empirical Puzzle

▷ *Previous studies...*

- individual characteristics
- responding to individual characteristics **identically**
- economic concerns **versus** cultural concerns

▷ *My study...*

- **discrimination mechanism**
- **gendered labor market** and different DGPs
- **coexistence** of economic and cultural concerns

Discrimination Mechanism: Perceived Effects of Trade

- Another dimension of preference formation: **perceived effects of trade**
 - ① **Discrimination mechanism** distorts the theoretically **predicted** positive effects of trade into the **perceived** negative effects of trade.
 - ② Feelings of being discriminated and **protectionist attitudes**.

Discrimination Mechanism: Perceived Effects of Trade

		<i>Predicted Effects of Trade</i>		<i>Preferences Approaches</i>
		+	-	
<i>Perceived Effects of Trade</i>	+	Support Trade	② Support Trade	<i>By Economic</i>
	-	① Protectionism	Protectionism	
	+	Protectionism	Protectionism	<i>By Cultural</i>
	-	Protectionism	Protectionism	

Discrimination Mechanism and Trade Attitudes

Discrimination mechanism and the economic origin of cultural concerns

- 1 Gender inequality \Rightarrow economic insecurity $\uparrow\uparrow \Rightarrow$ activating **cultural concerns** to maximize the **perceived** trade effects \Rightarrow trade preferences
- 2 Gender equality \Rightarrow activating **economic concerns** to maximize **predicted** trade effects \Rightarrow trade preferences

Research Design

Study 1: Why do we observe the gender gap in trade attitudes?

Study 2: *How* do women prefer protectionism?

Study 1: Decomposition Method

Hypothesis 1

When women face a high level of gender discrimination, the gender gap in trade preferences widens.

- Reanalyzing Mansfield, Mutz and Silver (2015)

Study 1: Decomposition Method

- The **decomposition method** examines whether the gender gap is driven by **individual characteristics** or the **discrimination mechanism**
- How would women shape their trade preferences if they shared equal characteristics with men?

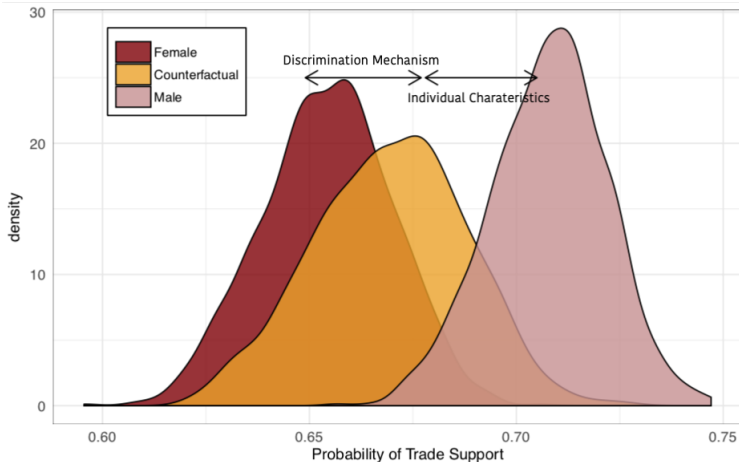
Study 1: Decomposition Method

$$\begin{aligned}\Delta Y &= \bar{Y}_{Women[W]} - \bar{Y}_{Men[M]} \\ &= \bar{X}_W \hat{\beta}_W - \bar{X}_M \hat{\beta}_M \\ &= \bar{X}_W \hat{\beta}_W - \bar{X}_W \hat{\beta}_M + \bar{X}_W \hat{\beta}_M - \bar{X}_M \hat{\beta}_M \\ &= \underbrace{(\bar{X}_W - \bar{X}_M) \hat{\beta}_M}_{(A) \text{ Individual Characteristics}} + \underbrace{\bar{X}_W (\hat{\beta}_W - \hat{\beta}_M)}_{(B) \text{ Discrimination Mechanism}}\end{aligned}$$

- If $\hat{\beta}_W = \hat{\beta}_M$, the gender gap by (A) individual characteristic
- If $\bar{X}_W = \bar{X}_M$, the gender gap by (B) the discrimination mechanism

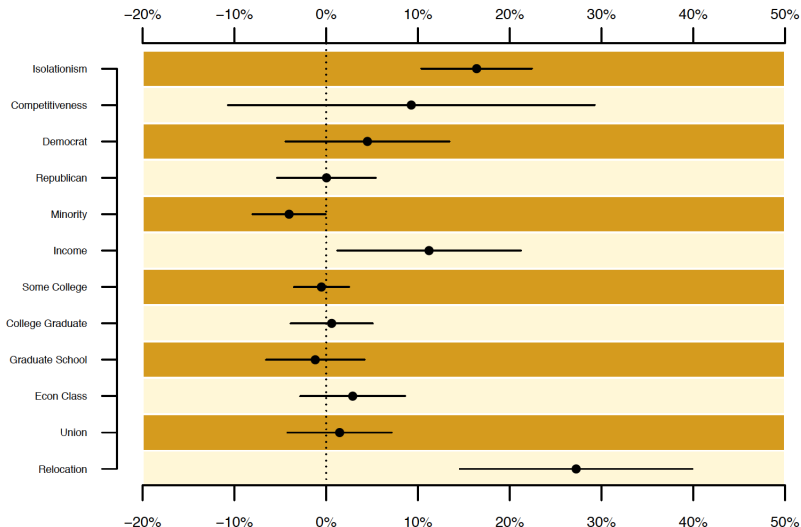
Decomposition Method

Discrimination Mechanism and Gender Gap



Decomposition Method

Individual Characteristic Effects



Research Design

Study 1: Why do we observe the gender gap in trade attitudes?

Study 2: How do women prefer protectionism?

Study 2: Experimental Design

Hypothesis 2

Where there are **high levels of gender discrimination**, women will tend to rely on **cultural** concerns to maximize their perceived benefits.

Hypothesis 3

Where there are **low levels of gender discrimination**, women will tend to rely on **economic** concerns to form trade preferences, and maximize their benefits.

Study 2: Experimental Design

- Mediation analysis (Imai et al. 2011)
- discrimination mechanism (T) \longrightarrow economic (M_1)/cultural concerns (M_2) \longrightarrow trade attitudes (Y)

Study 2: Experimental Design

- conduct experiments in the U.S. and South Korea
- randomly assign respondents to **three different groups**
 - ① Control Group
 - ② Gender Inequality Treatment
 - ③ Gender Equality Treatment

Description of Vignettes

Control Group

“Free trade is the movement of goods and services with low tariffs (i.e., taxes on imports or exports between countries). [...] Some have argued that the U.S. should encourage free trade in goods and services between the U.S. and foreign countries, since free trade can increase some employment and reduce producer prices. Others have argued that the U.S. should discourage free trade, since free trade can decrease some employment and increase producer prices.”

Description of Vignettes

Treatment 1: Gender Inequality

“A study by a senior lawmaker with years of economic policy experience reports that free trade can even make **the gender pay gap** wider and worsen **gender inequalities** in the labor market where people like you are employed. According to a recent analysis by the U.S. Census Bureau, [...] With more gender disparities and free trade, women with advanced degrees are paid less than men with bachelors degrees. When men with four-year degrees are paid \$38.60 per hour, women with advanced-degrees earn \$37.07 per hour. [...]”

Description of Vignettes

Treatment 2: Gender Equality

“A study by a senior lawmaker with years of economic policy experience reports that free trade could affect **gender equality** in the labor market. It reveals that gender equality in the current labor market has increased, making it more likely that both female and male workers get treated in the same way in terms of recruitment, pay, benefits and promotion. According to a recent analysis by the U.S. Census Bureau, there is **no gender pay gap** in the labor market where people like you are employed. Moreover, greater gender equality has helped break gender stereotypes in the labor market. ”

Study 2: Experimental Design

- DV: trade support
 - “Do you support or oppose the U.S. adopting policies that would encourage trade with foreign countries?”
- IV: gender inequality, gender equality treatments, control group

Study 2: Experimental Design

- **Mediators**

- **Economic concerns:** *Self-interest Concerns, Consumer Price Concerns, Manufacturing Jobs*
- **Cultural concerns:** *Sociotropic Concerns, Compassion, Competitiveness, National Attachment, Isolationism, Risk Aversion, Social Dominance Orientation*

- **Controls**

- *Age, Gender, Education, Occupation, Income, Employment (Unemployment), Job Situation, Current State (Ladder of life), Ethnicity, Political ideology, Trump Support, Region, Union Membership*

Conclusion

- ① **Discrimination in the labor market** plays a significant role in women's preference formation on trade
- ② We should explore **beyond the “economic vs. cultural explanations” framework**
- ③ This study suggests a direction for future research: **social identity in IPE** (Bush and Clayton 2020)
 - Frontiers 1: perception of gender inequality rather than gender demographics
 - Frontiers 2: a racial gap in trade attitudes

Q&A

Thank You!

Questions & Comments

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