

Industry Representatives: How Deindustrialization Shapes Elite Messaging on Globalization

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Deindustrialization

A critical driver of political behavior and electoral outcomes in advanced democracies

(e.g., Autor, Dorn and Hanson 2016; Baccini and Weymouth 2021; Ballard-Rosa et al. 2021 Jensen, Goodwin and Milazzo 2017; Mansfield and Mutz 2009; Margalit 2011; Quinn and Weymouth 2017; Swank and Betz 2003; Walter 2010; 2021)

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Globalization Backlash

Economic shocks and anti-globalization attitudes

(e.g., Bisbee and Rosendorff Forthcoming; Walter 2021)

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Politicians' Responses

- Campaign messaging of anti-establishment challengers
- Campaign ads (e.g., Katitas 2023)
- Elected officials?

Research Question

Elite Responses to Deindustrialization

Do elites blame globalization when their constituencies experience manufacturing layoffs?

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Scope Conditions

If so, under what circumstances, are elected officials more likely to express negative views toward globalization?

Our Answers

- Partisanship
- Ideology

Messaging about Immigration in the US House of Representatives

- White anxiety

(e.g., Abrajano and Hajnal 2015; Jardina 2019)

- Deindustrialization

(e.g., Baccini and Weymouth 2021)

- Economic distress
- Racial hierarchy

The Republican Advantage

- Widespread voter perception about GOP's competence in immigration policy

(Pew Research Center 2022)

- More than 75% of voters say that securing the US-Mexico border is important to reduce unauthorized border crossings.

(Pew Research Center 2022)

- Independents express overwhelming support for increased border security.

Deindustrialization → The Democratic Dilemma

- Conservative Democrats seek to address the immigration issue.
- Liberal Democrats seek to avoid immigration scapegoating.

Hypothesis about Democrats

- Deindustrialization → Ideological division among Democrats over the immigration issue.
 - **Conservative** Democrats: Deindustrialization → **more** negative messaging about immigration
 - **Liberal** Democrats: Deindustrialization → **less** negative messaging about immigration

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Hypothesis about Republicans

- Deindustrialization → Less or little ideological division in immigration messaging within the party

Empirical Strategy

Data

- 526 Members of the United States House of Representatives
- Tweets from 2013-2020

Model

- Instrumental Variable Model with Poisson Outcome
- Interaction term to capture conditional effect of ideology on deindustrialization

Dependent Variable

Elite Messaging on Immigration

Count of negative immigration tweets per representative in a given year

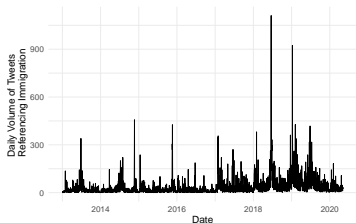


Figure: Immigration Tweets Daily Volume

Category	Number of Tweets
Immigration	99,240
Positive Immigration	28,671
Negative Immigration	13,885
Economy Immigration	5,218
Identity Immigration	3,361
Trade/Globalization	32,396
Total Tweets	3,427,869

Table: Summary of Immigration Tweets

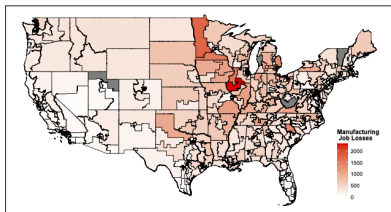
Dependent Variable

Example Immigration Tweets

Screen Shot 2023-10-25 at
10.52.20 AM.png

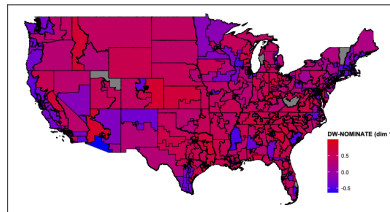


Independent Variables of Interest



Deindustrialization

Number of Manufacturing Job Losses (US Census Bureau)



Legislator Ideology

Measured by: DW-NOMINATE 1 (Nokken & Poole 2004)

Control Variables

District-level Controls

- Unemployment Rate
- % Foreign-born population
- % with a College degree or more
- % Nonwhite population
- % Male

Legislator Controls

- Total Immigration Tweets
- Total Tweets
- DW-NOMINATE (dim 2)
- Margin of Victory

Instrumental Variable

Manufacturing Job Losses are not exogenous. Following Baccini and Weymouth (2021), we constructed a Bartik (1991) instrument for the deindustrialization variable:

Bartik Instrument

$$Bartik_d = \frac{ManufacturingLayoffs_d}{TotalEmployment_d} \times \frac{ManufacturingLayoffs_{-d}}{TotalEmployment_{-d}}$$

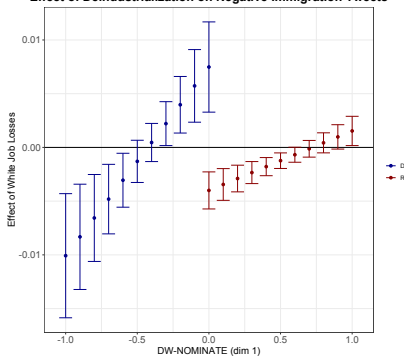
Results: White Manufacturing Job Losses Analysis

Key Findings

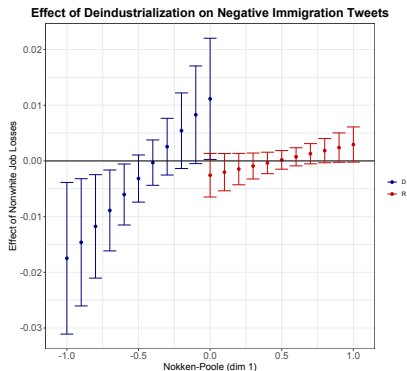
- The effect of deindustrialization is conditional on ideology for both Democrats and Republicans.
- Deindustrialization has a much stronger impact on more conservative Democrats than Conservative Republicans.

Variable	R	D
Unemployment Rate	-	-
% Nonwhite Population	+	-
% Foreign Born	-	+
% College Degree	-	-
% Male	+	-
Black Job Losses	-	-
Latinx Job Losses	+	+
Asian Job Losses	+	+
Margin of Victory	+	-
DW-NOMINATE (dim 2)	+	+
Immigration Tweets	+	+
Total Tweets	-	-

Effect of Deindustrialization on Negative Immigration Tweets



Results: Non-white Manufacturing Job Losses Analysis



Key Findings

- While Democrats and Republicans still differ, the effect is not statistically significant for most DW-NOMINATE (dim 1) scores.

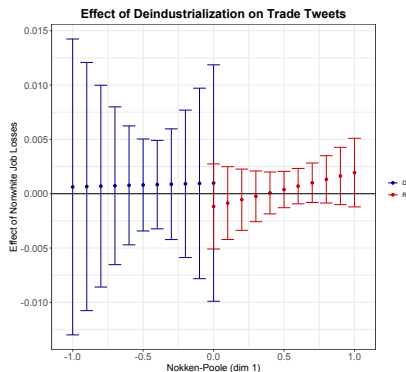
Variable	R	D
Unemployment Rate	-	-
% Nonwhite Population	+	-
% Foreign Born	-	+
% College Degree	-	-
% Male	+	-
White Job Losses	-	-
Margin of Victory	+	-
DW-NOMINATE (dim 2)	+	+
Immigration Tweets	+	+
Total Tweets	-	-

Results: Analysis of Trade Tweets

Key Findings

- Deindustrialization has no impact on Trade Tweets for either Democrats or Republicans of any ideology.

Variable	R	D
Unemployment Rate	-	+
% Nonwhite Population	+	-
% Foreign Born	-	-
% College Degree	-	-
% Male	+	-
Black Job Losses	-	-
Latinx Job Losses	-	-
Asian Job Losses	+	+
Margin of Victory	+	+
DW-NOMINATE (dim 2)	+	+
Total Tweets	+	+



Summary of Findings

- Two representative factors condition the effect of deindustrialization on their immigration tweets:
 - DW-NOMINATE dimension 1 score
 - Partisanship and voter perception about each party's immigration platform
- Escalating division within the Democratic Party, specifically relating to deindustrialization and immigration

Implications

- White manufacturing job losses as the main driving force behind the mechanism: our result is NOT due to the loss of pro-immigration (i.e., manufacturing) firms

(e.g., Peters 2014; 2015; 2017; Shin 2019; Peters and Shin 2023)

- Deindustrialization → a smaller pro-immigration coalition in Congress (as evidenced by their tweets)

Next Steps

- Does deindustrialization lead conservative Democrats to issue more identity-charged or economy-related tweets about immigration ?
- Analysis of positive and negative tweets about trade

Thank You!