The politics of the globalization backlash: Sources and implications

Jeffry Frieden
Department of Government
Harvard University

The political backlash

- ► Western Europe: Chinese imports → votes for nationalist, Right populist parties
- ▶ France: EM imports → votes for the Front National
- ▶ UK: Chinese imports → more authoritarianism;
 → votes for Brexit
- United States:
 - Chinese imports > political polarization
 - protectionist voting by legislators
 - →votes for Donald Trump

Long-standing trend

- Decline of low/semi-skilled mfg starts 1970s
- ▶ 1969-78: share of mfd imports from LDCs from 13→26%
- ▶ 1990: PRC still only fourth among LDC imports to US
- Crisis massive catalyst: US, EU
- Impact on communities, not individuals
 - ▶ Direct economic effects: wages, employment
 - Indirect economic effects: home values, local taxes/public services
 - Social fabric: substance abuse, suicidality

- Globalization connection not necessarily direct
 - Communities in decline, distress, with some globalization impact
 - Belief that ruling elites have failed
- Failures of compensation
- Failures of representation

Failures of compensation

- Pareto improvement often politically difficult
- Incentives to social actors: internalization of externalities
 - Necessity: small open economies
 - Centralization
 - Institutionalized cooperation
- Incentives to policymakers
 - ► Weak in US → no effective compensation (and none to communities)

Failures of representation

- ▶ US: Trust in govt from 50% in 2000 → 20% in 2016
 - Least trust: whites, over 55, no college degree
- ► EU: Trust in EU from 60% in 2004 → 36% in 2015
 - ► Trust in national governments down most in debtor nations, from 50% in 2007 → below 20% in 2015
 - Trust correlated with economic impact of crisis, across countries and individuals
- Correlation with voting for extremist parties populists of R and L
 - But no evidence of underlying ideological change...protest vote

- Form of protest function of political institutions
- Two-party "cartel" forces protest either to extremes, or to attempt extreme takeover of one of the parties (US, France)
- Multi-party (PR) allows for protest votes to go to fringe parties – but fragmentation can allow them entry into mainstream, and government (Portugal, Austria)

Conclusions and implications

- Backlash due to failures of political institutions
- ► Failures of compensation: ineffective response to economic distress
- ► Failures of representation: inadequate concern for large portions of the population
- Degree of failure varies among countries
- Can/will these failures be addressed? Requires social, political, institutional change among opponents of populist nationalism -- currently very little evidence