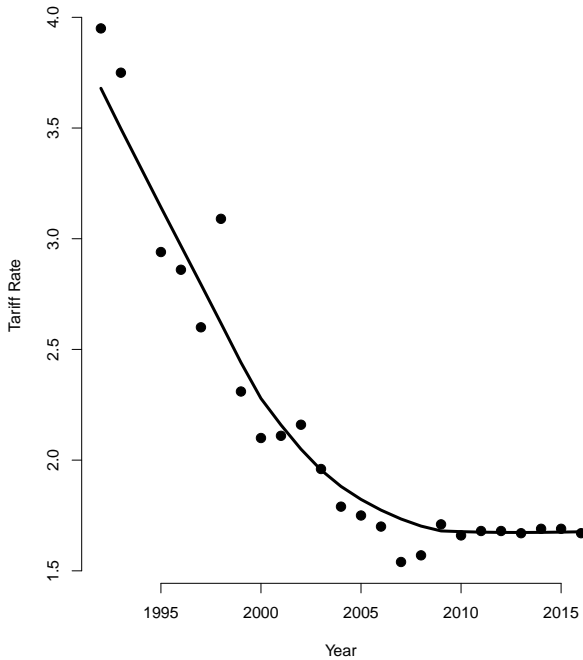


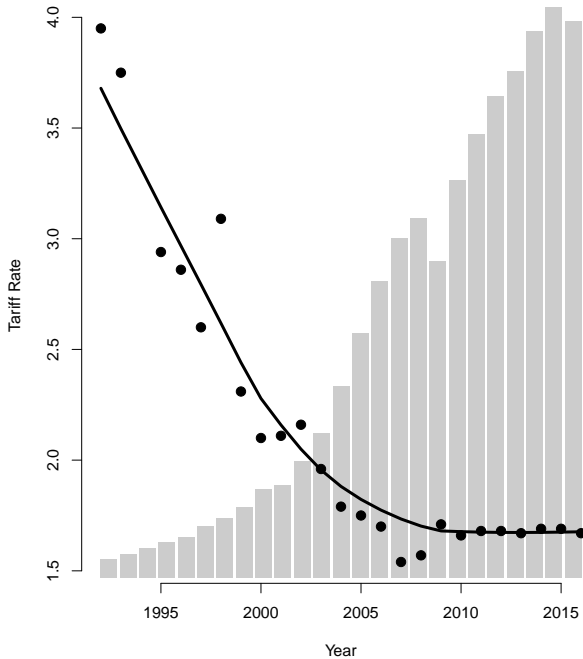
What You See Out Your Back Door:  
How Proximity to Trade Shocks Affects  
Protectionism and Nativism

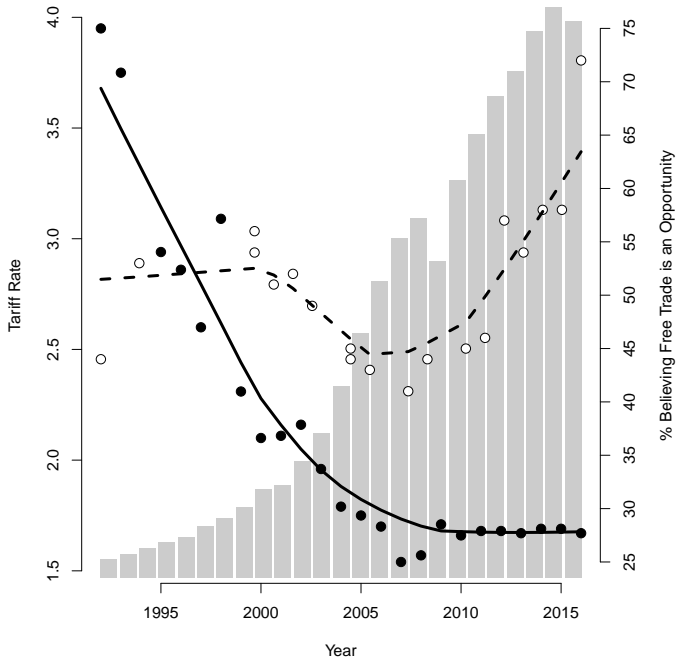
James Bisbee

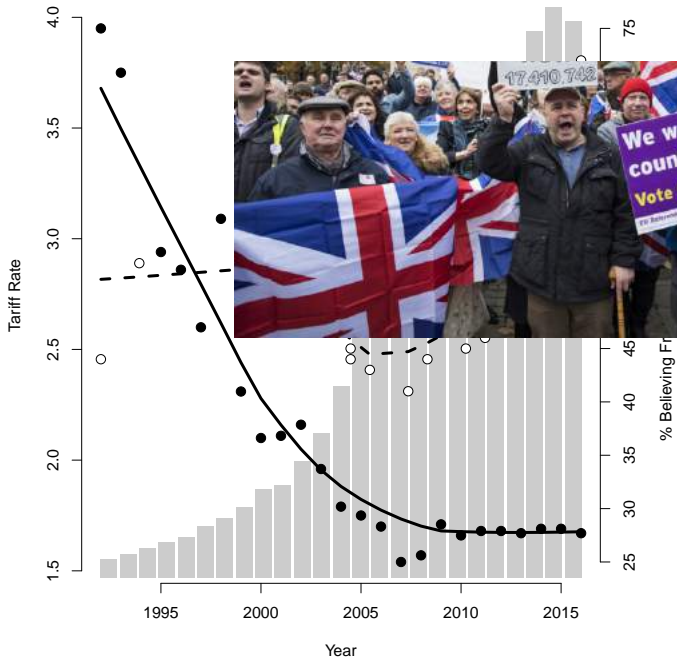
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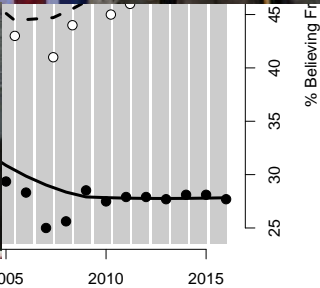
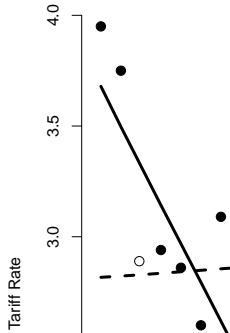
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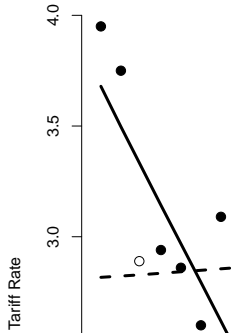








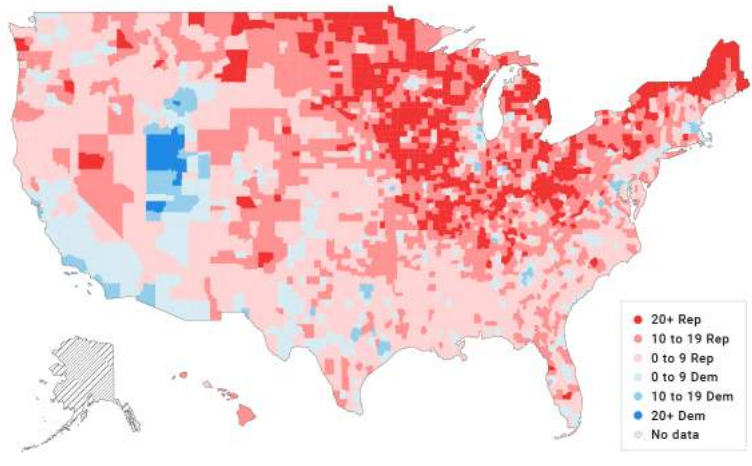
Year



1995



### Trump Shift in 2016 by County





# Introduction

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- Who opposes **free trade**?

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  - Endogeneity in a natural experimental setting
  - How do people learn about trade?
- I connect opinions to local trade shocks
  - Cool data - geolocated opinions and layoffs
  - Cool methods - geospatial weights to characterize how
  - Causal identification using Chinese import penetration

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  - Estimate importance of proximity for opinion formation

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  - Exploit plausibly exogenous variation in trade shocks
- ...to show that
  - Between 2000 and 2016, people who see trade's negative consequences **in their neighborhood** hold more negative views of free trade, immigrants, and globalization.
  - These responses are stronger among those who **live close** to layoffs (“spatiotropism”).

# Roadmap of my talk

- Existing literature
- Theoretical framework
- Methodological Approach
- Data
- Results

## Existing Literature



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- **Less educated** workers in trade-exposed industries  
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- **Economic Voting:** punish incumbents for bad economic performance (Lewis-Beck & Paldam, 2000)
- **Local Labor Markets:** Free trade's negative consequences lead to bad outcomes in...
  - ...unemployment (Autor et al. [ADH], 2013)
  - ...crime (Deiana, 2015)
  - ...local government (Feler & Senses, 2016)
  - ...community fabric (Besley & Case, 2015; ADH, 2015)

# Theoretical Framework

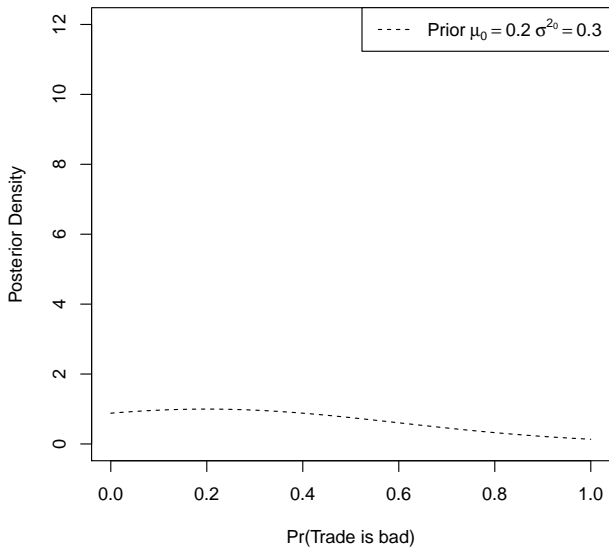
- Bayesian process of preference formation
  - **Information** → Judgment → Evaluation
- Proximity influences information

$$Pr(FT = bad|Info) = \frac{Pr(Info|FT = bad)Pr(FT = bad)}{Pr(Info)} \quad (1)$$

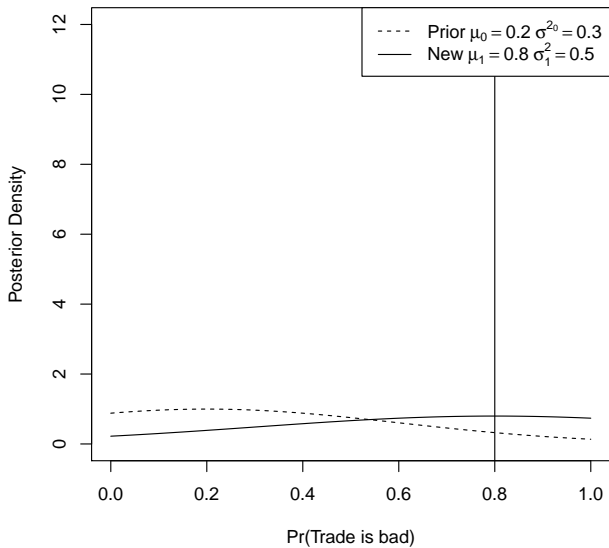
- Precision  $\tau = \frac{1}{\sigma^2}$
- Variance of posterior  $\sigma_{post}^2 = \frac{1}{\tau_{prior} + \tau_{Info}}$

$$\mu_{FT_{bad}} = \mu_{prior} \left( \frac{\tau_{prior}}{\tau_{prior} + \tau_{Info}} \right) + \mu_{Info} \left( \frac{\tau_{Info}}{\tau_{prior} + \tau_{Info}} \right) \quad (2)$$

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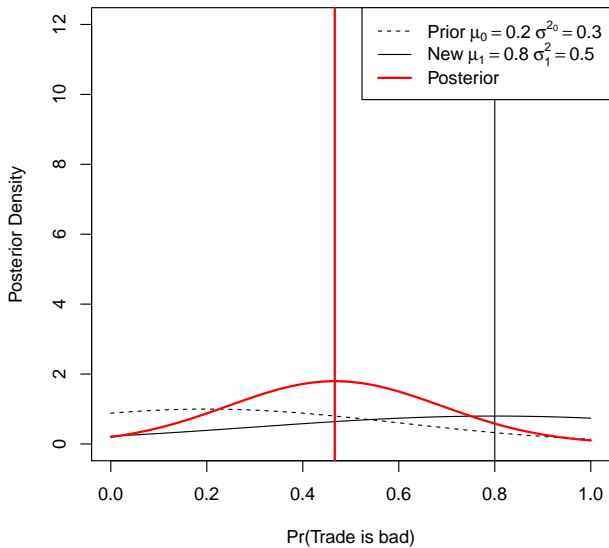


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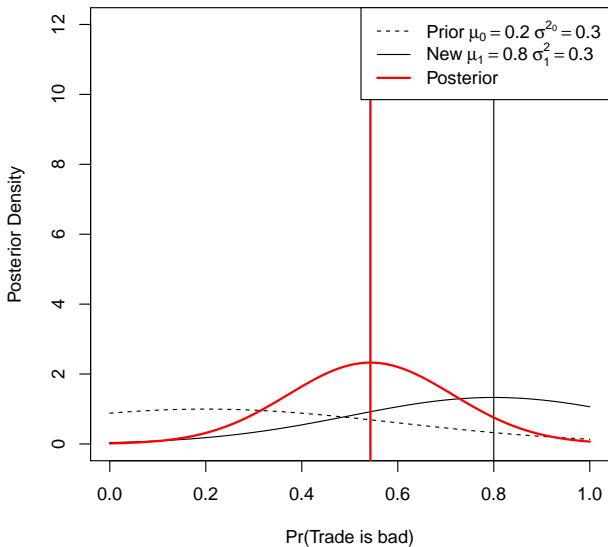




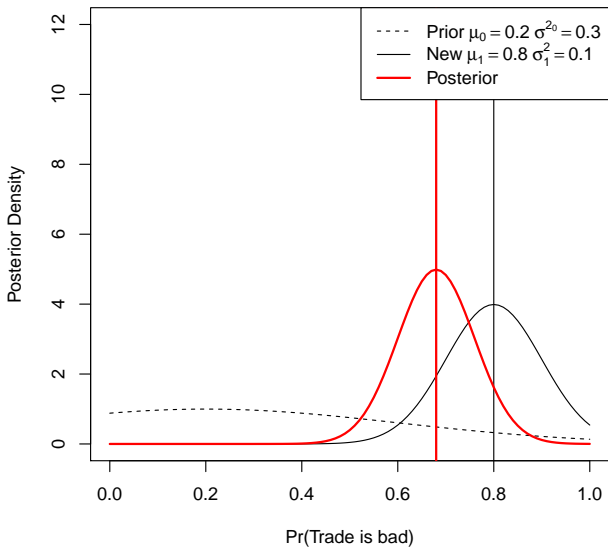
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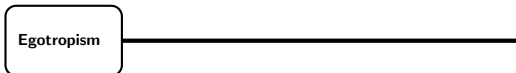
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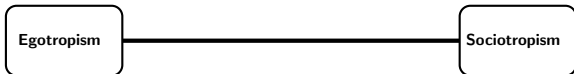
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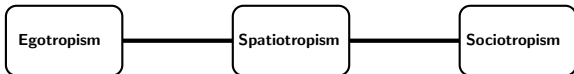
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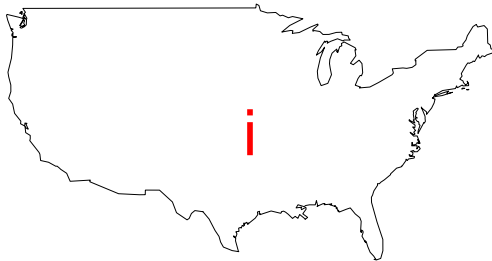


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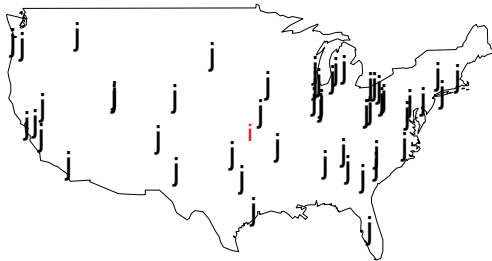
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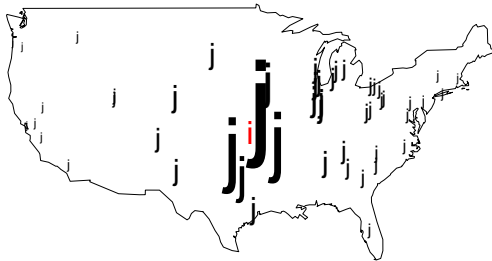
# Egotropism



# Sociotropism



# Spatiotropism





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  - Do trade shocks cause changes in opinion?

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  - Do trade shocks cause changes in opinion? Or do more protectionist people live in more exposed areas?
  - Exploit plausibly exogenous variation in trade shocks from Chinese import penetration
- Challenge #2: Test whether distance matters
  - What is “local”?
  - Measure distance between survey respondents and trade shocks
  - Weight shocks by distance using gamma distribution
  - Search across values of shape and scale parameters

# Data

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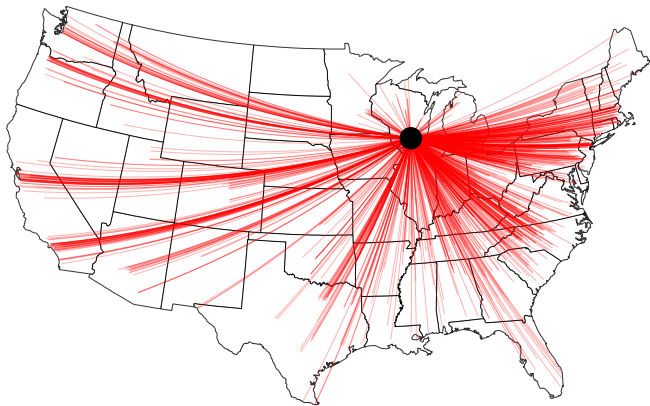
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  - Change in value of imports per worker
  - Aggregated to county-level

# Opinions and Layoffs

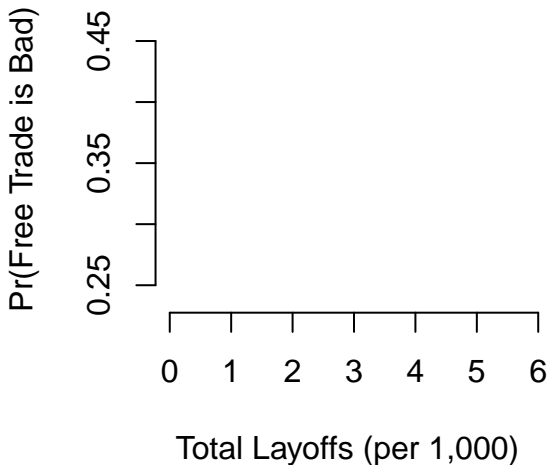


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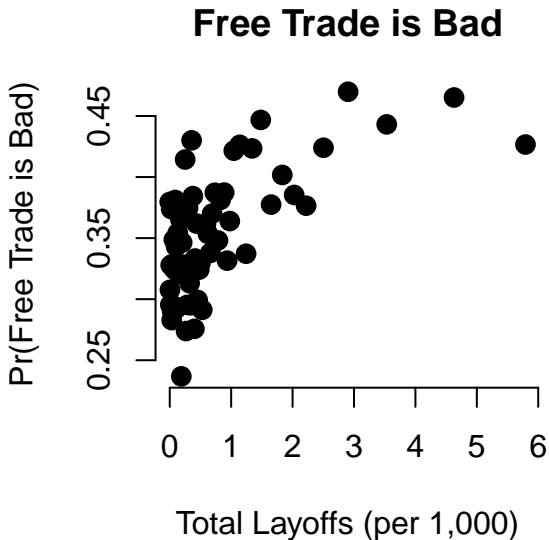


# Do Individuals Respond to Trade-Related Layoffs?

## Free Trade is Bad

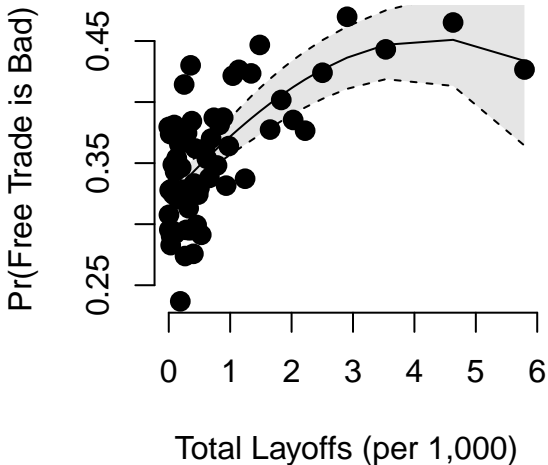


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# Empirical Roadmap

- Challenge #1: Endogeneity
  - Place respondents within counties
  - Compare endogenous, reduced form, and 2SLS results
  - Placebo checks and bundled opinions
- Challenge #2: Localness
  - Use raw geographic coordinates for respondents and firms
  - Characterize whether / how distance matters for opinions

## Specification

$$y_{ict} = \alpha_{c,t-1} + \beta_1 L_{c,t-1} + \beta_2 \mathbf{X}_i + \beta_3 \mathbf{C}_{c,t-2} + \varepsilon_{ict} \quad (3)$$

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  - Local transfers, local employment, local labor force, previous presidential vote, FEC campaign contributions, race and gender, foreign born population, news coverage of trade

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- **C**: county covariates
  - Local transfers, local employment, local labor force, previous presidential vote, FEC campaign contributions, race and gender, foreign born population, news coverage of trade
    - Post-Treatment: Manufacturing employment, news coverage, housing prices

# Protectionism Predicted by Trade-Related Layoffs

---

	Biv.
Layoffs (per 1,000 LF)	0.016*** (0.003)
High School (rel. coll. grad)	
Youngest (rel. oldest)	
GOP Pres Vote (Individual)	
% Foreign Born	
FEC per capita	
GOP Pres Vote (county)	
<hr/>	
Year & Region FE	Yes
Mean Opinion	36.58
1st Stage F-Stat	
Observations	32,824

---

*Notes:* Coefficients represent the increased linear probability of believing free trade is "bad" associated with a standard deviation increase in trade-related layoffs (approximately 4 layoffs per 1,000 labor force).

*Significance Thresholds:* † < 0.10; \* p < 0.05; \*\* p < 0.01; \*\*\* p < 0.001.

*Extensions:*

Robustness

Demographic Heterogeneity

Partisan Heterogeneity

# Protectionism Predicted by Trade-Related Layoffs

	Biv.	+Ind
Layoffs (per 1,000 LF)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.015*** (0.003)
High School (rel. coll. grad)		-0.048*** (0.005)
Youngest (rel. oldest)		0.037*** (0.004)
GOP Pres Vote (Individual)		0.014* (0.006)
% Foreign Born		
FEC per capita		
GOP Pres Vote (county)		
Year & Region FE	Yes	Yes
Mean Opinion	36.58	36.34
1st Stage F-Stat		
Observations	32,824	25,162

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# Protectionism Predicted by Trade-Related Layoffs

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Layoffs (per 1,000 LF)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.015*** (0.003)	0.013** (0.005)
High School (rel. coll. grad)		-0.048*** (0.005)	-0.051*** (0.005)
Youngest (rel. oldest)		0.037*** (0.004)	0.029*** (0.005)
GOP Pres Vote (Individual)		0.014* (0.006)	0.012† (0.007)
% Foreign Born			-0.038*** (0.009)
FEC per capita			-0.002*** (0.001)
GOP Pres Vote (county)			-0.005 (0.007)
Year & Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Opinion	36.58	36.34	36.62
1st Stage F-Stat			
Observations	32,824	25,162	20,396

Notes: Coefficients represent the increased linear probability of believing free trade is "bad" associated with a standard deviation increase in trade-related layoffs (approximately 4 layoffs per 1,000 labor force).

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# Protectionism Predicted by Trade-Related Layoffs

	Biv.	+Ind	+Cty	2SLS 1
Layoffs (per 1,000 LF)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.015*** (0.003)	0.013** (0.005)	0.111* (0.047)
High School (rel. coll. grad)		-0.048*** (0.005)	-0.051*** (0.005)	-0.053*** (0.005)
Youngest (rel. oldest)		0.037*** (0.004)	0.029*** (0.005)	0.027*** (0.005)
GOP Pres Vote (Individual)		0.014* (0.006)	0.012† (0.007)	0.011 (0.007)
% Foreign Born			-0.038*** (0.009)	-0.031** (0.011)
FEC per capita			-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)
GOP Pres Vote (county)			-0.005 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.007)
Year & Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Opinion	36.58	36.34	36.62	36.62
1st Stage F-Stat				41.4
Observations	32,824	25,162	20,396	20,396

Notes: Coefficients represent the increased linear probability of believing free trade is "bad" associated with a standard deviation increase in trade-related layoffs (approximately 4 layoffs per 1,000 labor force).

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# Protectionism Predicted by Trade-Related Layoffs

	Biv.	+Ind	+Cty	2SLS 1	2SLS 2
Layoffs (per 1,000 LF)	0.016*** (0.003)	0.015*** (0.003)	0.013** (0.005)	0.111* (0.047)	0.083** (0.028)
High School (rel. coll. grad)		-0.048*** (0.005)	-0.051*** (0.005)	-0.053*** (0.005)	-0.056*** (0.005)
Youngest (rel. oldest)		0.037*** (0.004)	0.029*** (0.005)	0.027*** (0.005)	0.027*** (0.005)
GOP Pres Vote (Individual)		0.014* (0.006)	0.012 <sup>†</sup> (0.007)	0.011 (0.007)	0.011 (0.007)
% Foreign Born			-0.038*** (0.009)	-0.031** (0.011)	-0.020 <sup>†</sup> (0.010)
FEC per capita			-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)
GOP Pres Vote (county)			-0.005 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.008 (0.007)
Year & Region FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean Opinion	36.58	36.34	36.62	36.62	36.63
1st Stage F-Stat				41.4	109.68
Observations	32,824	25,162	20,396	20,396	20,379

Notes: Coefficients represent the increased linear probability of believing free trade is "bad" associated with a standard deviation increase in trade-related layoffs (approximately 4 layoffs per 1,000 labor force).

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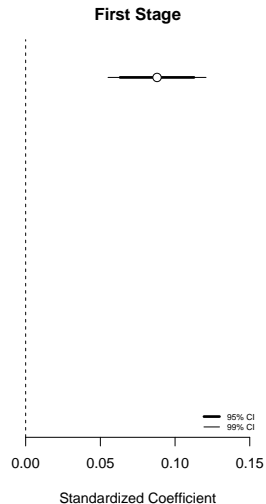
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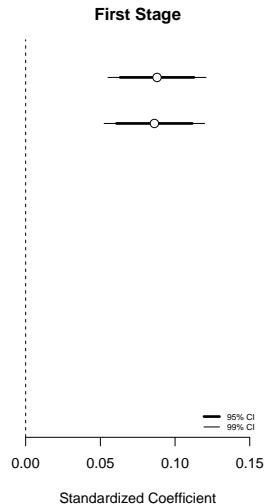
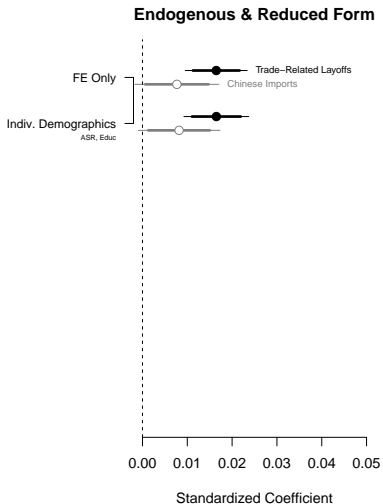
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Partisan Heterogeneity

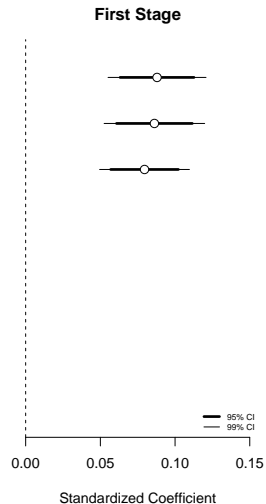
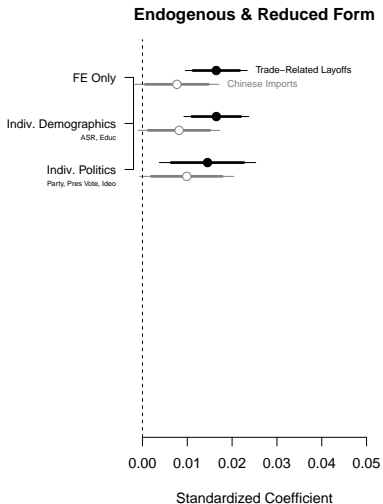
# OLS Analysis



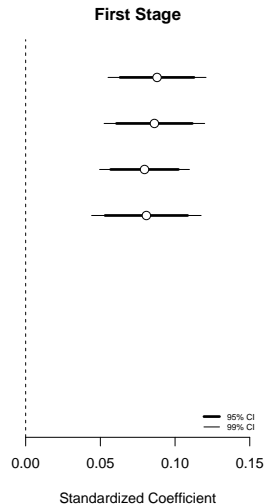
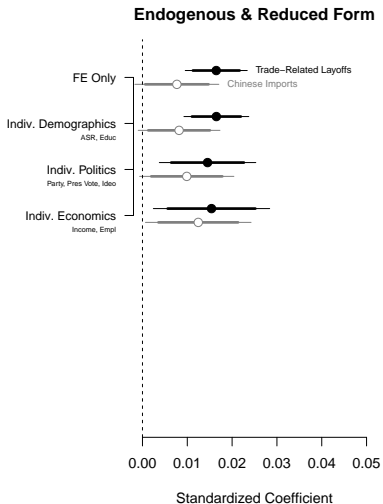
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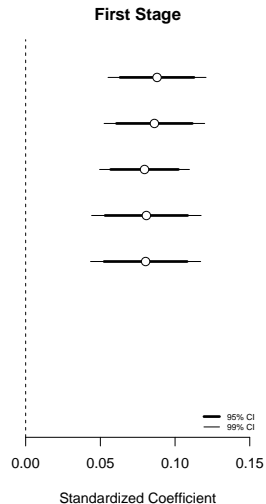
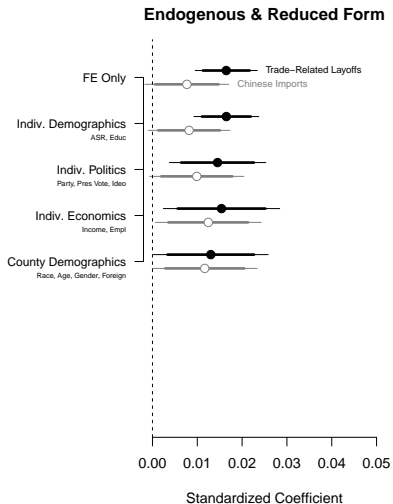
# OLS Analysis



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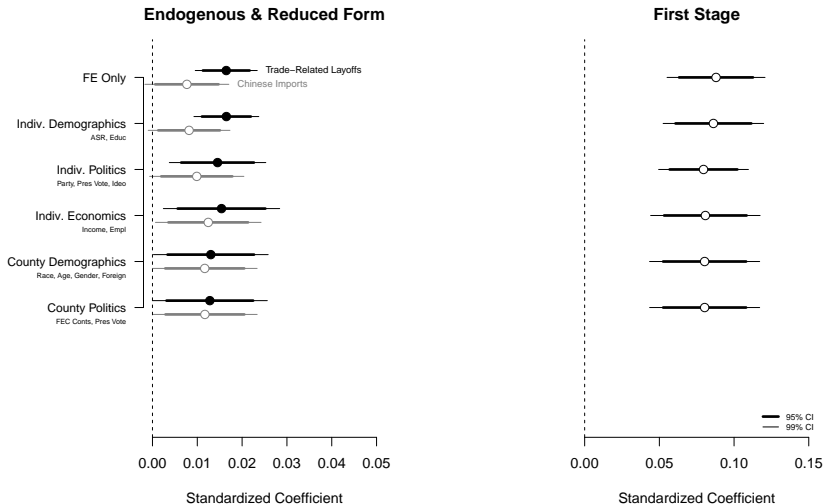


# OLS Analysis

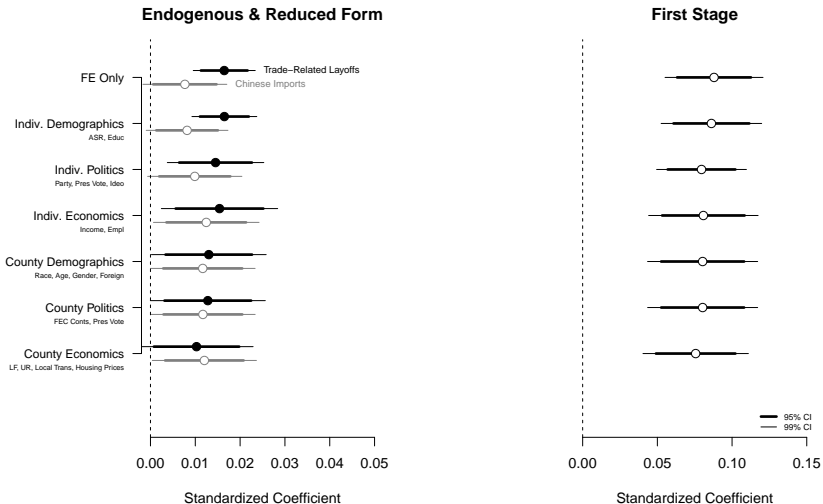




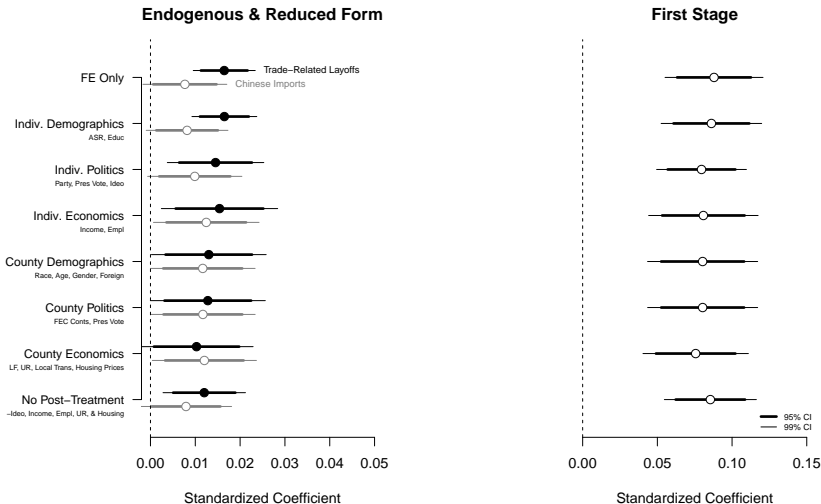
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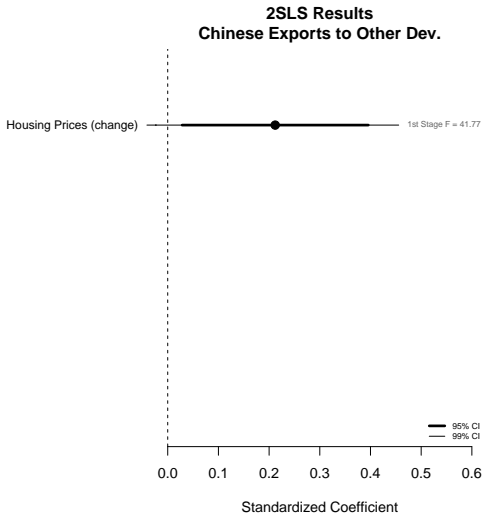
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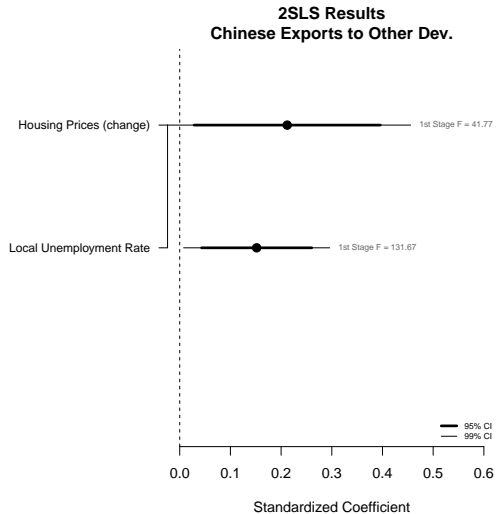
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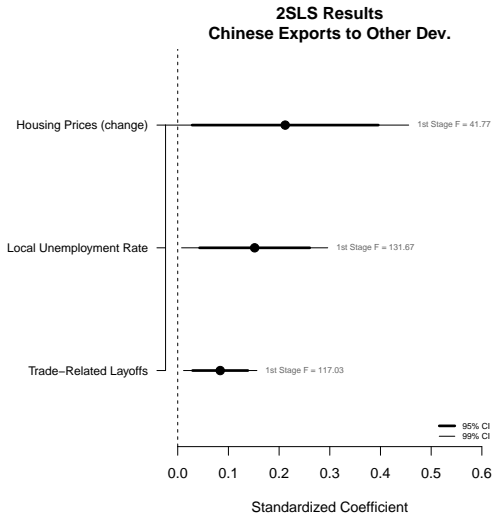
# 2SLS Analysis



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# Bundled Opinions

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- Spatiotropism highlights other economic and social outcomes



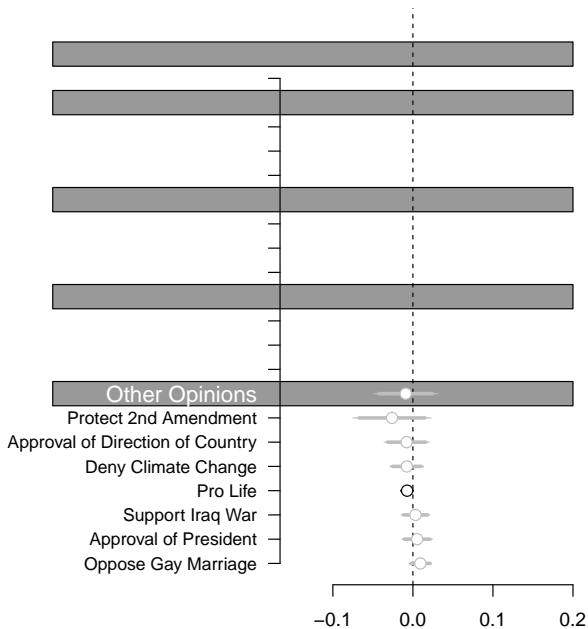
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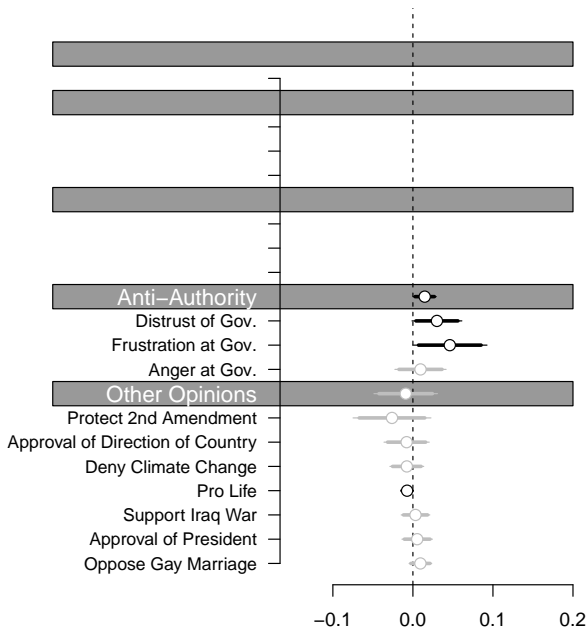
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  - Preference Formation as Memory Access

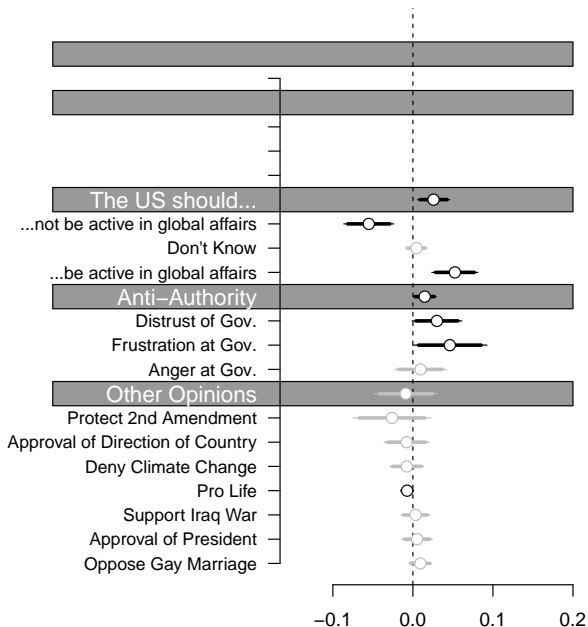
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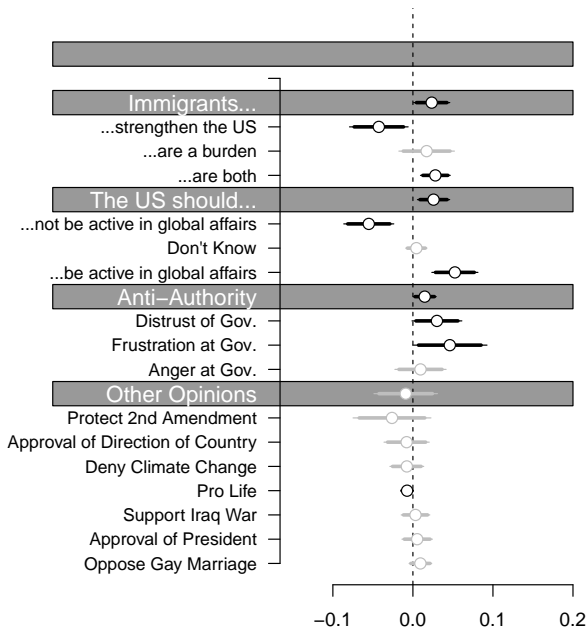
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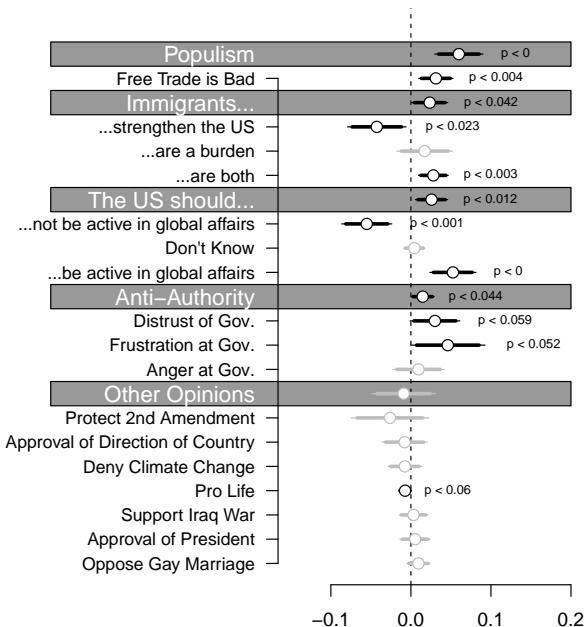
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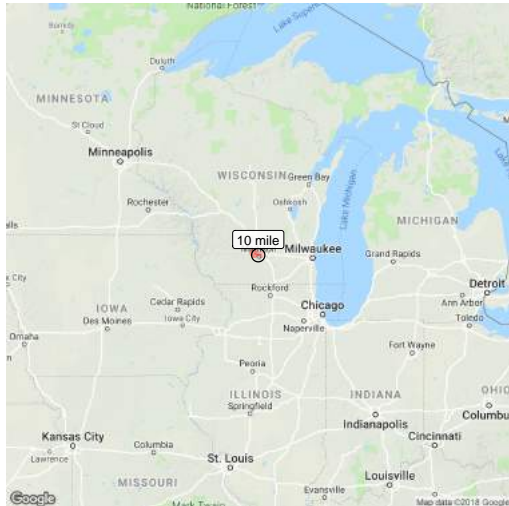
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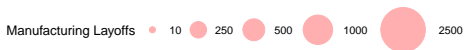
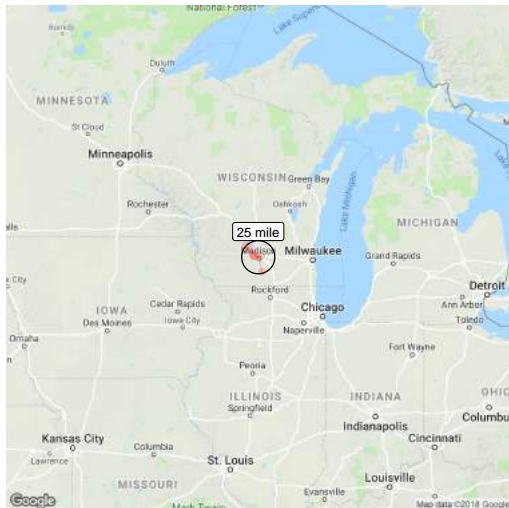
# Different Distances



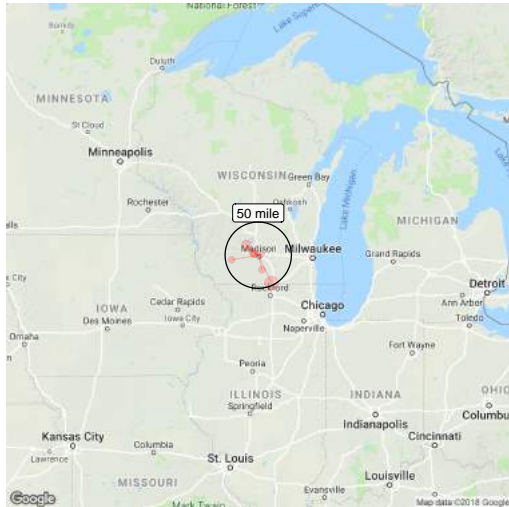
Manufacturing Layouts    • 10    • 250    • 500    • 1000    • 2500



# Different Distances

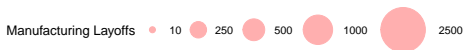
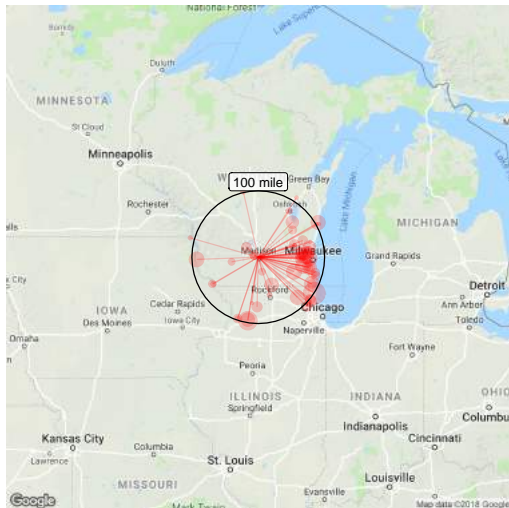


# Different Distances

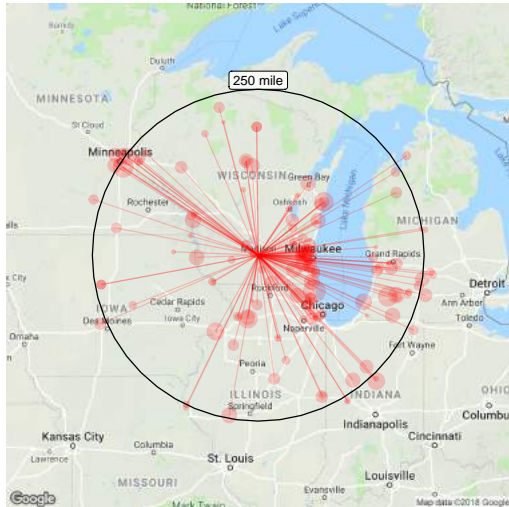


Manufacturing Layouts    • 10    • 250    • 500    • 1000    • 2500

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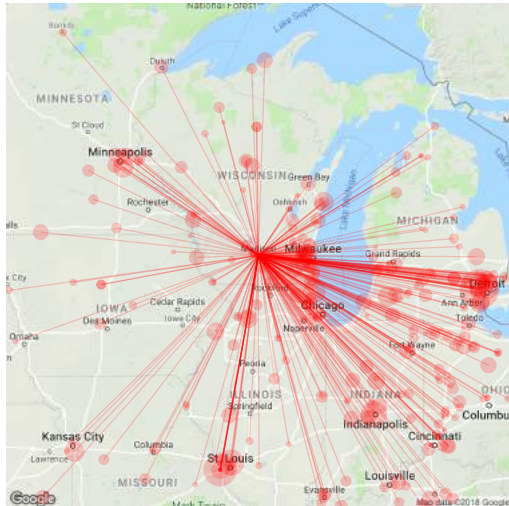


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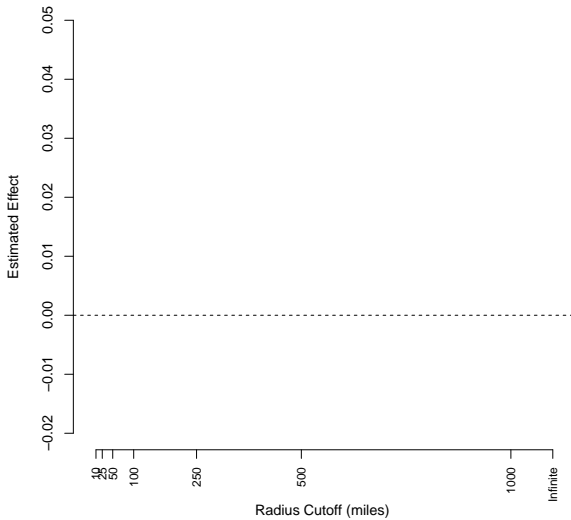
Manufacturing Layouts    ● 10   ● 250   ● 500   ● 1000   ● 2500

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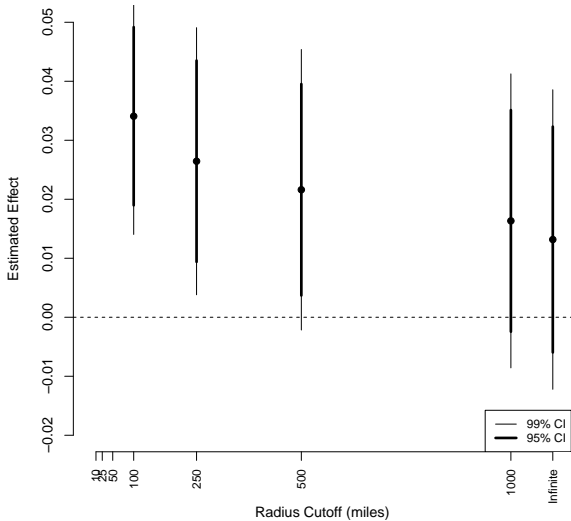


Manufacturing Layouts    ● 10    ● 250    ● 500    ● 1000    ● 2500

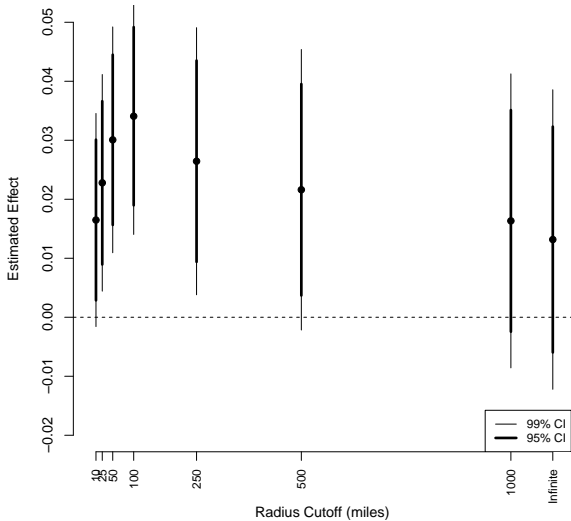
# Results by Distance



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# Grid Search

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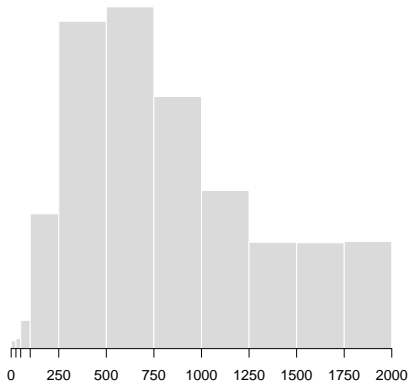
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- Monotonicity assumption tested with gamma distribution for weight  $W$  for distance  $d$

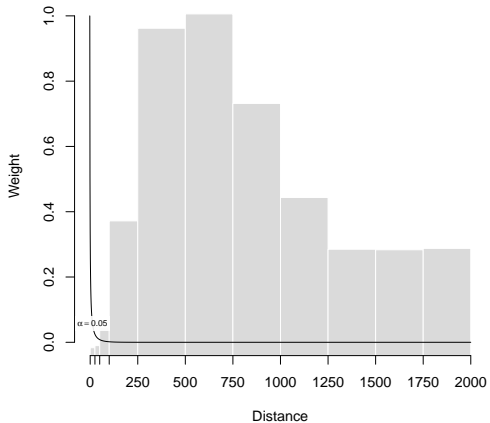
$$W(d) = \frac{\left(\frac{d}{\beta}\right)^{\alpha-1} \exp\left(-\frac{d}{\beta}\right)}{\beta\Gamma(\alpha)} \quad (4)$$

# Grid Search



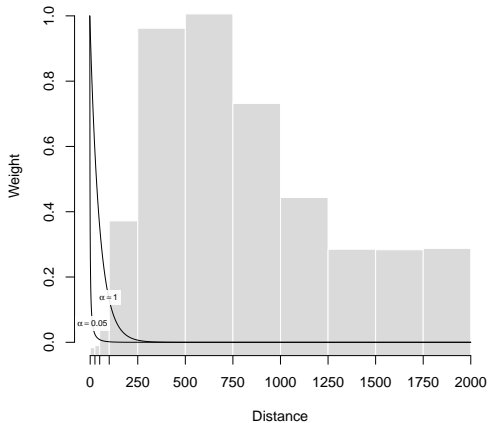
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Hyperparameter  $\alpha$  Example :  $\beta = 50$



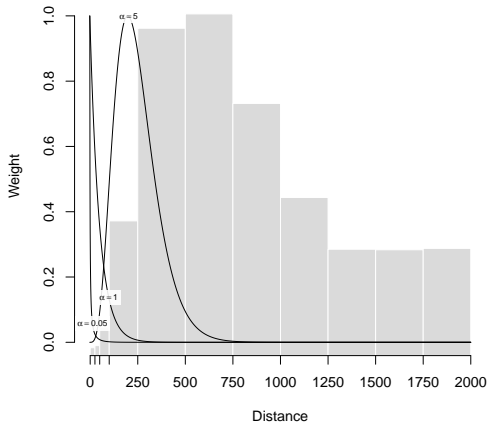
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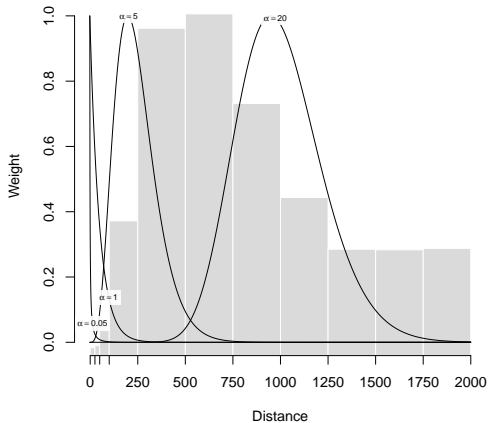
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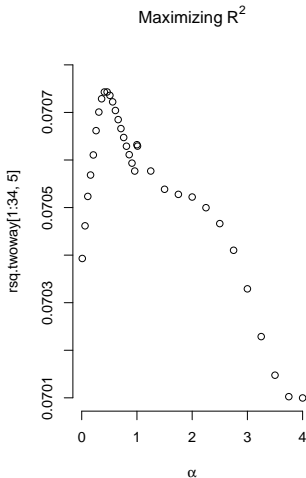
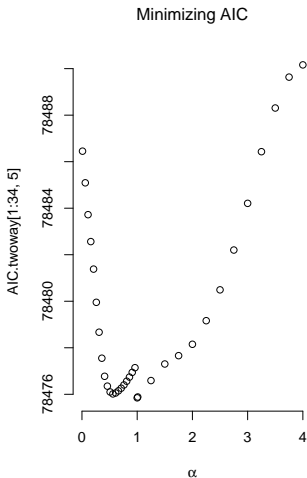


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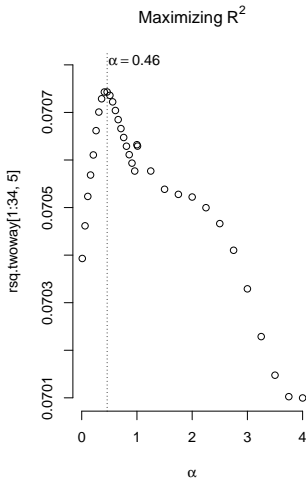
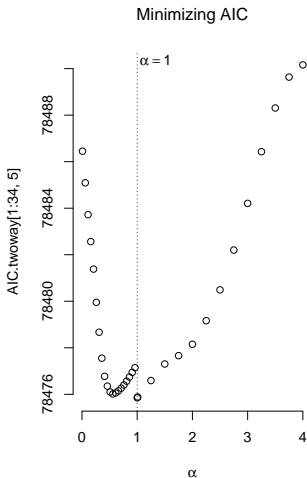
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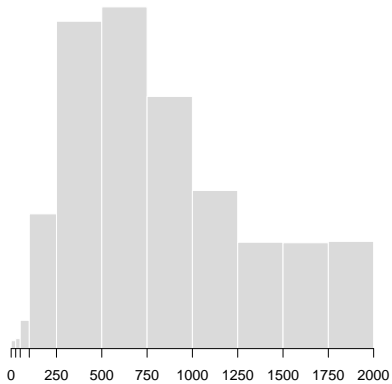


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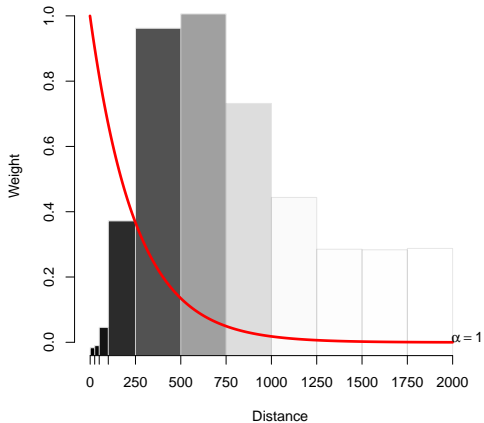
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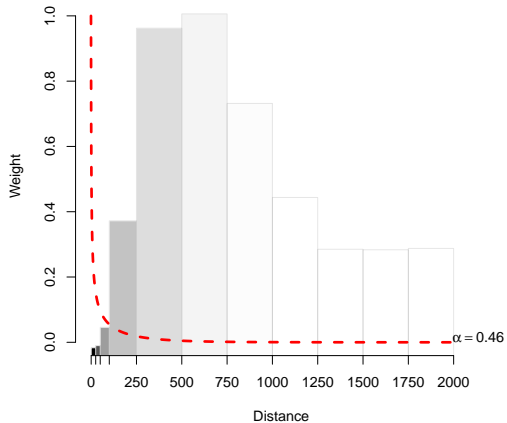
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  - ...other dimensions of **“distance”**: economic / social distance versus geographic

# Thank You!

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Twitter :: [@JamesBisbee](https://twitter.com/JamesBisbee)

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...but you can call me **Jim**

Robustness Checks

Presidential Votes

Trade Salience

Immigrant Salience

Instrument Details

Spatiotropism Model

Bundled Opinions Theory

Spatiotropism Robustness